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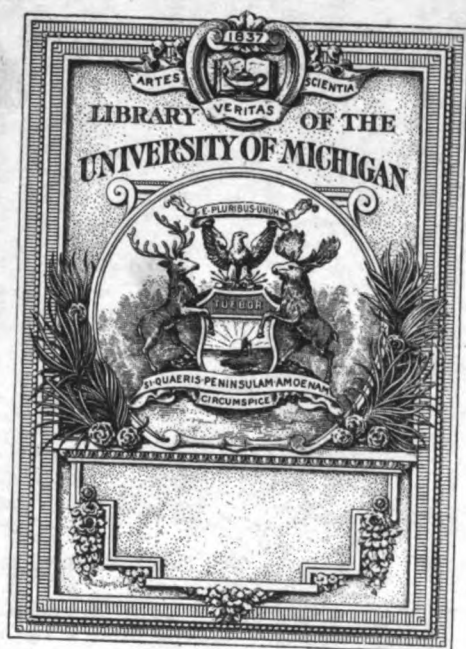
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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY

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Number 1

WHY WAS ROGER WILLIAMS BANISHED?

By HENRY S. BURRAGE,
Portland, Me.

The Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England from 1633 to 1679 were published by the commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1855-9, under the editorial supervision of David Pulsifer, a clerk in the office of the secretary of the commonwealth. In the tenth and last volume of this publication are included the "Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England," and Mr. Pulsifer, in the introduction of the volume, says: "To render this work still more perfect, several acts and minutes of the commissioners, and other documents, etc., discovered since the printing of this volume was commenced, have been carefully transcribed from the originals in the Massachusetts archives, and placed in the appendix." Among these documents are mentioned two letters of Roger Williams, one written in 1654, covering five large printed pages, but without the name of the person to whom it was addressed; and the other, a shorter letter, written in 1675, and addressed to John Leveret, governor of Massachusetts. Having referred to these newly discovered letters of Roger Williams, Mr. Pulsifer makes mention of another discovery, namely, that of an act of the council of the Massachusetts colony in 1676, which conditionally revoked the

action of the general court by which Roger Williams was banished in 1635. Being a council order, it had no place in the official copy of the court records, and consequently was not included in *The Records of the Massachusetts Bay Colony*, printed by the commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1853, 1854, and which are exact copies of the corresponding volumes of court records. But in the course of his examination of the valuable manuscript historical papers in the archives of the commonwealth, this order of the council came under the eye of Mr. Pulsifer, and, that it might at once be made available for historical purposes, he gave it a place in his introduction to this closing volume of *The Records of the Colony of New Plymouth*. The words with which Mr. Pulsifer called attention to this important document with reference to Roger Williams are these: "In consideration of his services, and in consequence of his sufferings in Philip's war, the council of Massachusetts passed the following act, taking off the sentence of banishment, which had been enacted and carried into effect by the general court." The action of the council follows, with the statement that it is to be found in the *Massachusetts Archives*, Vol. X, p. 233. It reads:

Whereas M^r Roger Williams stands at present under a sentence of Restraint from coming into this Colony yet considering how readily & freely at all tymes he hath served the English Interest in this time of warre with the Indians & manifested his particular respects to the Authority of this colony in several services desired of him, & further understanding, how by the last assault of the Indians upon Providence his House is burned^{*} & himself in his old age reduced to an uncomfortable & disabled state Out of Compassion to him in this condition The Council doe Order and Declare that if the sayd M^r Williams shall see cause & desire it he shall have liberty to repayre into any of o^r Towns for his security & comfortable abode during these Public Troubles, He behaving himself peaceably & inoffensively & not disseminating & venting any of his different opinions in matters of Religion to the dissatisfaction of any.

Past by the Council the

31th of M^{ch} 1676.

E[DWARD] R[AWSON,] S[ecretary.]

* MR. SIDNEY S. RIDER, of Providence, R. I., in his *Book Notes*, says: "The home of Williams was not burned by the Indians; on the contrary, the Indians pledged immunity to Williams while burning the houses of other men."

The sentence of banishment on the records of the general court^a is as follows:

Whereas Mr. Roger Williams, one of the elders of the church of Salem, hath broached & dyvulged dyvers newe & dangerous opinions, against the aucthoritie of magistrates, as also writt lres of defamacon, both of the magistrates & churches here, & that before any conviccon, & yet mainetaineth the same without retraccon, it is therefore ordered, that the said Mr. Williams shall depte out of this jurrisdiccon within sixe weekes nowe nexte ensuing w^{ch} if he neglect to pforme, it shalbe lawfull for the Goun^r & two of the magistrates to send him to some place out of this jurisdiccon, not to returne any more without licence from the Court.

But although Mr. Pulsifer in his introduction to the tenth volume of *The Records of the Colony of New Plymouth* inserted this action of the Massachusetts council in 1676 concerning Roger Williams, that action continued to escape the attention of the students of early New England history. The maker of the index to the volume either did not have the introduction in his possession or he failed to pay any attention to it. Accordingly, no reference to the action of the council found its way into the index, and the order of the council, although published, remained in obscurity. Dr. Henry M. Dexter, who published in 1876 his *As to Roger Williams and His Banishment from the Massachusetts Plantation*, does not allude to it, and doubtless never saw it. No mention is made of it even in Oscar S. Straus' *Roger*

^a PROFESSOR DIMAN ("Publications of the Narragansett Club," Vol. II, p. 239) shows that the first session of the general court that passed sentence on Roger Williams was held at New Town, September 2, 1635, adjourned to the next day, and then adjourned to "the Thursday after the next Particular Court." This particular court was held at New Town, Tuesday, October 6, 1635, but September 3 is the marginal date that is erroneously carried through the whole record. The general court followed on Thursday, October 8, 1635. Professor Diman accordingly gives October 8 as the date of the sentence. But DR. DEXTER calls attention to the fact (*As to Roger Williams*, p. 58, note) that Winthrop says the sentence was imposed on the following day. This statement by Winthrop Professor Diman does not overlook, but suggests that Winthrop may have made an error in his record, or that he may mean that the vote determined upon the night before was officially announced the next morning. While Dr. Dexter has good reason for deeming it "much more probable" that the sentence was passed Friday morning, October 9, his statement in the same connection, "I believe I have the pleasure to be the first writer on the subject to state this date of the banishment, Friday, 9-19 October, 1635, with entire accuracy," is characteristic.

Williams, published in 1894, the latest and the best of the lives of the founder of Rhode Island.³

It seems desirable, therefore, to call attention to the discovery announced by Mr. Pulsifer nearly half a century ago, and to raise the inquiry whether the action of the council which it discloses throws any added light upon the cause or causes of the banishment of Roger Williams.

Mr. Williams arrived in New England February 5, 1630, accordingly almost at the very beginning of the great Puritan movement hither. Shortly after his arrival he was invited to officiate at the church in Boston in the place of John Wilson, the pastor of the church, who was about to visit England. But Mr. Williams declined the invitation because, to use his own language, he could not conscientiously minister to an "unseparated people," as upon examination and conference he found them to be. Soon he accepted a call to Salem as an assistant to Mr. Skelton; and, although the court at Boston wrote a letter to Mr. Endicott to the effect that the Salem people would do well to act cautiously, inasmuch as Mr. Williams had refused to fellowship the Boston church, the invitation was not withdrawn, and April 12, 1631, Mr. Williams entered upon his labors in connection with the church. But hostile influences from Boston continued to follow him, and at the end of the summer Mr. Williams removed to Plymouth, where he became the assistant of Rev. Ralph Smith, pastor of the church there. In August, 1633, Mr. Williams returned to Salem, and resumed his labors as assistant to Mr. Skelton. When, a year later, Mr. Skelton died, Roger Williams was invited by the Salem church to take his place. "Both the magistrates and divers elders" in Boston advised the church not to call him; but the church declined to listen to their advice, and Mr. Williams accepted the call and became pastor of the Salem church. More and more, as time went on, it became apparent that the views of Mr. Williams were not acceptable to the authorities at Boston, and at almost every session of

³ So far as I am aware, the rediscovery of this important document was made by Rev. D. B. Ford, D.D., of Hanover, Mass., who, in 1893, included it in an article printed in *Zion's Advocate*.

the court he was present to answer to some complaint. Among other things the magistrates enacted a law requiring every man to attend worship, and to contribute to its support. This Mr. Williams denounced as a violation of natural rights. "No one," said he, "should be bound to maintain a worship against his own consent." In July, 1635, Mr. Williams was before the general court, accused of holding and teaching :

1. That the magistrate ought not to punish the breach of the first table, except when the civil peace should be endangered.
2. That an oath ought not to be tendered to an unregenerate man.
3. That a man ought not to pray with the unregenerate, even though it be with his wife or child.
4. That a man ought not to give thanks after the sacrament, nor after meat.

These are the charges as recorded by Winthrop in his journal.⁴ As action at that time was deferred in order that Mr. Williams might give further consideration to the matter, these charges were still before the court when Mr. Williams was called to make answer to the same at New Town, October 8, 1635. The general court at that time was constituted as follows: John Haynes, of New Town, a rich landowner in Essex, governor; Richard Bellingham, of Boston, a lawyer and ex-recorder of Boston in Lincolnshire, England, deputy governor; John Winthrop, Atherton Hough, and William Coddington, of Boston; Simon Bradstreet, of New Town; Thomas Dudley, of Roxbury; Increase Nowell, of Charlestown; John Humfrey, of Lynn; and Richard Dummer, of Newbury, assistants. Leaving out the three deputies from Salem, who had been disfranchised, there remained twenty-five deputies from nine towns, viz.: John Talcott, John Steele, and Daniel Dennison, of New Town; Richard Brown, Ensign William Jennison, and Edward Howe, of Watertown; William Hutchinson, William Colburn, and William Brenton, of Boston; Dr. George Alcock, John Moody, and William Park, of Roxbury; John Mousall, Thomas Beecher, and Ezekiel Richardson, of Charlestown; Nathaniel Duncan, Captain John Mason, and William Gaylord, of Dorchester; Joseph Metcalf, Humphrey Bradstreet, and William Bartholomew, of

⁴ *Winthrop's Journal*, Vol. I, p. 162.

Ipswich; Captain Nathaniel Turner, Edward Tomlyns, and Thomas Stanley, of Lynn; and John Spencer, of Newbury. How many of the members of the court were present the records do not state, but from the public interest in the proceedings it may be inferred that nearly all were in attendance. "All the ministers in the Bay" were invited to be present. There were at that time in the colony ten churches, with fifteen pastors and teachers. Of these, twelve, it is supposed, were in attendance at the meeting of the court. They were not members of the court, but they held very decided opinions with reference to the accused. In fact, they were the real prosecutors in the case; though Dr. Dexter states the matter a little differently, when he says they were present as "experts in the moral and religious bearing of the matters in dispute—the body of the remaining pastors and teachers of the plantation, to give their advice as *amici curiae*."⁵

The only account of the proceedings of the court at this time is that preserved by Winthrop in his journal. He says:

At the General Court Mr. Williams, the teacher of Salem, was again convicted, and all the ministers of the Bay being desired to be present, he was charged with the said letters, that to the churches, complaining of the magistrates for injustice, extreme oppression, &c., and the other to his own church, to persuade them to renounce communion with all the churches of the Bay as full of anti-Christian pollution, &c. He justified both of these letters and maintained all his opinions, and being offered further conference or disputation, and a month's respite, he chose to dispute presently. So Mr. Hooker was chosen to dispute with him, but could not reduce him from any of his errors. So the next morning the Court sentenced him to depart out of our jurisdiction within six weeks, all the ministers, save one, approving the sentence.⁶

⁵ *As to Roger Williams*, p. 54.

⁶ STRAUS, *Roger Williams*, p. 60, says: "It is a matter for regret that the records do not disclose the name of the one minister who had the courage, the manliness, and the independence to disapprove of the sentence of banishment." DR. DEXTER (*As to Roger Williams*, p. 59, note) thinks that this solitary dissident may have been John Cotton, but he is unable to decide. In a letter to Roger Williams written eight years after the banishment, Mr. Cotton said: "What was done by the Magistrates, in that kinde, was neither done by my counsell nor consent, although I dare not deny the sentence passed to be righteous in the eyes of God" ("Publications of the Narragansett Club," Vol. I, p. 297). To this Mr. Williams replied: "That Mr. Cotton consented not, what need he, being not one of the Civill Court? But that hee counselled it (and so consented) beside what other prooffe I might produce, and what himselfe here under

According to a statement made by Mr. Williams' himself, Governor Haynes, in pronouncing the sentence of banishment, gave the reason for the action of the court in these words:

Mr. Williams (said he) holds forth these 4 particulars:

First, That we have not our Land by Pattennt from the King, but that the Natives are the true owners of it, and that we ought to repent of such a receiving it by Pattennt.

Secondly, That it is not lawfull to call a wicked person to Sweare, to Pray, as being actions of God's worship.

Thirdly, That it is not lawfull to heare any of the Ministers of the Parish Assemblies in England.

Fourthly, That the Civill Magistrates power extends only to the Bodies and Goods, and outward state of men, &c.

In his *Mr. Cotton's Letter Examined and Answered*, from which the above is taken, Mr. Williams says:

I acknowledge the particulars were rightly summed up, and I also hope, that, as I then maintained the Rockie strength of them to my own & other consciences satisfaction so (through the Lords assistance) I shall be ready for the same grounds, not only to be bound and banished, but to die also, in New England, as for most holy Truths of God in Christ Jesus.⁸

The sin of the patents, which rested so heavily upon the heart of Roger Williams, was this, that therein, as Mr. Williams said, "Christian kings (so-called) are invested with Right by virtue of their Christianitie, to take and give away the Lands and Countries of other men." Thoughts concerning this matter, he says, so deeply affected his soul and conscience "that at last he came to a perswasion, that such sinnes could not be Expiated, without returning againg into England, or a publike acknowledgement and confession of the Evill of so and so departing." He accordingly drew up a letter, "not without the Approbation of some of expresseth, I shall produce a double and unanswerable testimony." This he does by saying (1) that Mr. Cotton taught that body-, soul-, and state-killing doctrine of not permitting, but persecuting all other consciences and ways of worship except his own, and (2) that divers worthy gentlemen had with tears confessed to him that they would not have consented to the sentence had not Mr. Cotton in private given them advice and counsel. To this Mr. Cotton replied that he "had no hand in procuring or soliciting the sentence of banishment" ("Publications of the Narragansett Club," Vol. I, p. 328).

⁷ *Winthrop's Journal*, Vol. I, p. 171.

⁸ *Mr. Cotton's Letter Examined and Answered*, "Publications of the Narragansett Club," Vol. I, pp. 324, 325.

the Chiefe of New England, then tender also upon this point before God, directed unto the King himselfe, humbly acknowledging the Evill of that part of the Pattent which respects the Donation of Land, etc." ⁹

Concerning the second charge, "That it is not lawfull to call a wicked person to Sweare, to Pray, as being actions of God's worship," Williams' view was that the taking of an oath is an act of worship, and that, as an irreligious man could not sincerely perform this act of worship, he should not be compelled to perform it any more than any other act of worship. In other words, Mr. Williams was unalterably opposed to any action of the civil power in matters pertaining to religion. There are reasons, however, for supposing that Mr. Williams' opposition to oaths at this time had reference especially to what is known as "the Freeman's oath." Mr. Cotton says:

The magistrates and other members of the General Court, upon intelligence of some episcopal and malignant practices against the country, made an order of Court to take trial of the fidelity of the people, not by imposing upon them, but by offering to them an oath of fidelity, that in case any should refuse to take it, they might not betrust them with place of public charge and command.

Professor Diman, however, very justly remarks:

While it is quite probable that the opposition of Williams to the oath of fidelity had in the eyes of the magistrates, just at this juncture, a special political significance (Palfrey, *History of New England*, p. 410), as the language of Cotton implies, yet it is clear that, in the mind of Williams himself, it was connected solely with religious scruples.¹⁰

⁹ Mr. Williams gave expression to his views on this point in writing, but the writing has not come down to us. His contention seems to have been that the land belonged to the aboriginal inhabitants, and that payment should be made to them by the colonists. At least this may be inferred from his own conduct in establishing his colony at Providence. The lands upon which he and his associates settled there he purchased of the Indians upon his arrival, and this purchase was confirmed to him March 24, 1638, when the grant signed by the original grantors was extended so as to include all the land between the Pawtucket and Pawtuxet rivers. Later Roger Williams secured in England a patent for the lands he had purchased from the Indians, an act which evidently he deemed necessary in order to protect his own rights and the rights of his fellow-colonists. It was such a protection as in 1686, on account of the abrogation of the colonial charter, the colonists of Massachusetts Bay in various places sought to obtain by purchasing of the Indians the lands they occupied.

¹⁰ "Publications of the Narragansett Club," Vol. II, p. 49, note.

The third charge, "That it is not lawfull to heare any of the Ministers of the Parish Assemblies in England," is explained by Winthrop, who says Mr. Williams "had so far prevailed at Salem, as many there (especially of devout women) did embrace his opinions, and separated from the churches for this cause, that some of the members, going into England, did hear the ministers there, and when they came home the churches here held communion with them."¹² In other words, Mr. Williams, as on his arrival in New England, was a rigid separatist.

The fourth charge, "That the Civill Magistrates power extends only to the Bodies and Goods and outward state of men, &c.," has reference to Mr. Williams' ringing utterances in reference to religious liberty. The church in Boston, almost from the time of Mr. Williams' arrival in New England, had maintained that the civil magistrate might inflict penalties for spiritual censures.¹³ March 4, 1635, the general court took this action :

This Court doth entreat of the brethren and Elders of every church within this jurisdiction that they will consult and advise of one uniform order of discipline in the churches, agreeable to the Scriptures, and then to consider how far the magistrates are bound to interfere for the preservation of that uniformity and peace of the churches.¹⁴

It will be seen that these charges in some respects differ from those given by Mr. Winthrop in his account of the proceedings at the meeting of the court in July. Mr. Winthrop makes no mention of Mr. Williams' views concerning the patent and separation, but he does include his views concerning the extent of the authority of the civil magistrate and concerning oaths. The probability is that the two charges mentioned by Mr. Winthrop which do not appear among those mentioned by Governor Haynes, viz., "That a man ought not to pray with the unregenerate, even though it be with his wife or child," and "That a man ought not to give thanks after the sacrament, nor after meat," were regarded as comparatively unimportant, and

¹² *Winthrop's Journal*, Vol. I, p. 176.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 53.

¹⁴ *BACKUS, History of the Baptists*, Vol. I, p. 51.

so at the meeting in July were suffered to drop out of sight. As given in *Winthrop's Journal*, the charge with reference to Mr. Williams' views concerning the limits of the duties of magistrates differs from that given in Mr. Williams' report of the charge as stated by Governor Haynes, and the difference is especially worthy of notice. As stated by Governor Haynes, the charge was as follows: "That the Civill Magistrates power extends only to the Bodies and Goods, and outward state of men, &c." Mr. Winthrop states the charge thus: "That the magistrate ought not to punish the breach of the first table, except when the civil peace should be endangered." This last clause accurately states Mr. Williams' position. He did not deny the just powers of the civil magistrate. In his *Mr. Cotton's Letter Examined and Answered*, referring to the charges that had been brought against him, Mr. Williams called attention to the fact that none of them tended "to the breach of holy or civil peace, of which," he says, "I have ever desired to be unfeignedly tender, acknowledging the ordinance of magistracy to be properly and adequately fitted by God to preserve the civil state in civil peace and order, as he hath also appointed a spiritual government and governors in matters pertaining to his worship and the consciences of men."

John Cotton, who denied that the sentence of banishment was an act of persecution, and euphemistically referred to the banishment as an "enlargement, where a man doth not so much loose civill comforts as change them," reduced the causes of Mr. Williams' banishment to two: (1) his violent and tumultuous carriage against the patent, and (2) his vehement opposition to the oath of fidelity. It will be noticed that Mr. Cotton makes no reference to Mr. Williams' denial of the jurisdiction of the magistrate in matters of conscience. In fact, Mr. Cotton insisted that Mr. Williams' opinions concerning soul-liberty had nothing to do with his banishment. He eliminated other causes also, causes mentioned by Mr. Winthrop and Governor Haynes. Writing quite a number of years subsequent to the banishment, in a somewhat wordy discussion with Mr. Williams in which the causes of the banishment were reviewed, Mr. Cotton claimed

that it was Mr. Williams' "heady and busie pursuit" of his "Doctrines and Practices" which led to the action of the general court.

This view in recent times has been revived by the late Professor J. L. Diman, who said "Roger Williams was banished, "not for the mere holding of opinions, but for the turbulent assertion of them." The implication is that the Puritan leaders of the Massachusetts Bay colony would have overlooked Mr. Williams' "newe and dangerous opinions" if he had made them known in a more quiet and orderly way.

It is not doubted that they would have left the Salem pastor undisturbed if he had been willing to refrain from giving any expression to his obnoxious views. They desired that he should retract them, but if he would not do this, they would have been satisfied if he had been content to keep these "newe and dangerous opinions" to himself. But Mr. Williams was a religious teacher, and the requirements of his position he would faithfully meet. Any other course on his part would have been a cowardly abandonment of his well-known principles concerning religious liberty. As occasion offered, or might seem to demand, he was ready at any sacrifice to state his views in the light he believed he had received.

Now, to say that he was "violent," "tumultuous," "turbulent," in the expression of his views, and that we are to find in this the cause of his banishment, is to overlook the plain facts of the case in so far as they have come down to us in the reports we have concerning the proceedings connected with the banishment.

Certainly, nothing is more evident than that the charges against Mr. Williams had to do with opinions, not with Mr. Williams' expression of those opinions. Mr. Winthrop, in his account of the proceedings, makes no statement that indicates in the remotest way that the manner in which Mr. Williams had asserted his views came before the court. He was charged with holding certain opinions, and these opinions he firmly declined to retract. Mr. Hooker, who "was chosen to dispute"

⁴⁴ "Publications of the Narragansett Club," Vol. II, p. 4.

with Mr. Williams, was not able to "reduce him from any of his errors," and the sentence of banishment followed. So, too, in the sentence of banishment we have the statement that Mr. Williams had "broached and dyvulged dyvers newe and dangerous opinions," and that he declined to retract them; but nothing whatever is said concerning his "violent" and "turbulent" assertion of these opinions. This was John Cotton's later justification of the action of the general court, but we hear nothing of it at the time of the banishment. If Mr. Williams' "violent" and "turbulent" assertion of his "newe and dangerous opinions" led to his banishment, should we not expect to find some hint of it in connection with the proceedings of the court?

In his *As to Roger Williams* the late Rev. Dr. Henry M. Dexter takes a still more singular position. "It is true," he says, "that Mr. Williams did hold, in an inchoate form, and had already to some extent advocated, that doctrine of liberty of conscience with which his name afterward became permanently identified. It is true that the language of the official sentence is susceptible of a construction which might include this among his 'newe and dangerous opinions.' It is true that Mr. Williams did himself claim that it was so included." But the action of the court, Dr. Dexter holds, was "solely taken in view of his seditious, defiant, and pernicious posture toward the state;" and he says: "I cannot help thinking that the weight of evidence is conclusive to the point that this exclusion from the colony took place for reasons purely political, and having no relation to his views upon toleration, or upon any subject other than those which, in their bearing upon the common rights of property, upon the sanctions of the oath, and upon due subordination to the powers that be in the state, made him a subverter of the very foundations of the government, and—with all his worthiness of character and general soundness of doctrine—a nuisance which it seemed to them they had no alternative but to abate, in some way safe to them, and kindest to him."¹⁵

There is not the slightest evidence that Roger Williams, at the time of his banishment, held in an "inchoate form" his

¹⁵ *As to Roger Williams*, pp. 79, 80.

doctrine of soul-liberty, as Dr. Dexter asserts. The first charge preferred against Mr. Williams by the Massachusetts Bay authorities, according to Mr. Winthrop, as has already been stated, was this: "That the magistrate ought not to punish the breach of the first table except when the civil peace should be endangered." Governor Haynes stated the charge in different words, viz.: "That the Civill Magistrates power extends only to the Bodies and Goods, and outward state of men, &c." There is certainly nothing "inchoate" here. In both statements we have clearly and unmistakably the great doctrine of soul-liberty, that in the exercise of his religious opinions man is responsible to God alone. In other words, any interference on the part of the civil magistrate in matters of religion is a violation of the most sacred of human rights, "except when the civil peace should be endangered." This last statement shows that at that early period in his career Roger Williams held and asserted that liberty of conscience did not mean unbridled license. This was always his view. In a letter which Knowles, in his *Life of Roger Williams*, quotes from the records of Providence, Mr. Williams makes his position unmistakably clear:

That ever I should speak or write a tittle that tends to such infinite liberty of conscience is a mistake, which I have ever disclaimed and abhorred. To prevent such mistakes, I at present shall only propose this case: There goes many a ship to sea, with many hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and woe is common, and is a true picture of a commonwealth, or a human combination or society. It hath fallen out sometimes that both Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks, may be embarked in one ship; upon which supposal, I affirm that all the liberty of conscience that ever I pleaded for turns upon these two hinges; that none of the Papists, Protestants, Jews or Turks, be forced to come to the ship's prayers or worship, or compelled from their own particular prayers or worship, if they practise any. I further add that I never denied that, notwithstanding this liberty, the commander of this ship ought to command the ship's course, yea, and also command that justice, peace and sobriety be kept and practised both among the seamen and all the passengers. If any of the seamen refuse to perform their service, or passengers to pay their freight; if any refuse to help, in person or purse, towards the common charges or defence; if any refuse to obey the common laws and orders of the ship, concerning their common peace or preservation; if any shall mutiny and rise up against their commanders and officers; if any shall preach or write that there ought

to be no commanders or officers, because all are equal in Christ, therefore no masters or officers, no laws nor orders, no corrections nor punishments; I say I never denied, but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel and punish such transgressors, according to their deserts and merits.¹⁶

But, while admitting that Mr. Williams did hold, though in an "inchoate form," the doctrine of liberty of conscience at the time of his banishment, Dr. Dexter denies that this was one of the "newe and dangerous opinions" for which he was banished. His "exclusion," he says, was "for reasons purely political and having no relation to his notions upon toleration."¹⁷ In what has now been said it is not denied that the members of the general court in their banishment of Roger Williams were influenced by other considerations than his unyielding attitude with reference to soul-liberty. Mr. Winthrop, in his account of the proceedings of the court, and Roger Williams himself, in his recital of the statement made by Governor Haynes in pronouncing the sentence of banishment, make it clear that other matters were before the court and doubtless did enter into its decision. But the same testimony, as we have seen, is equally valid proof that Mr. Williams' doctrine of soul-liberty was also before the court. It was there in the form in which he held it throughout his career. Nor is this all. It was expressly mentioned by Governor Haynes as one of the causes that led to the banishment. To say, therefore, with Dr. Dexter, that Mr. Williams' banishment was "for reasons purely political and had no relation to his notions upon toleration" is to close one's eyes to the very plainest facts connected with the action of the general court in this case.¹⁸

¹⁶ "Publications of the Narragansett Club," Vol. I, pp. 45, 46.

¹⁷ *As to Roger Williams*, p. 79.

¹⁸ March 20, 1900, this paper was read before the Rhode Island Historical Society. Hon. J. H. Stiness, justice of the supreme court of Rhode Island, who presided, called attention at the close of the paper to the fact that in November, 1644, the general court of the colony of Massachusetts Bay passed this vote:

"It is ordered and agreed, that if any person or persons within this particular jurisdiction shall either openly condemn or oppose the baptism of infants, or go about secretly to seduce others from the approbation or use thereof, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the administration of the ordinance, or shall deny the

The only new document bearing upon this matter is that which records the action of the council of the Bay colony in 1676, offering Roger Williams an asylum in some one of the Massachusetts towns during the Indian troubles. What light, if any, does this action throw upon the causes of Mr. Williams' banishment?

First of all, the fact should be mentioned that two of the members of the council in 1676, Simon Bradstreet, afterward governor of the colony, and Daniel Dennison, were members of the general court in 1635, when the banishment of Roger Williams was decreed, while all the remaining members were personally as familiar with matters that led to the banishment of Mr. Williams as with those connected with any other prominent event in the early history of the colony.

Now if, as Dr. Dexter says, Roger Williams was banished by the general court "for reasons that were purely political," it would seem that in the action of the council in 1676 we should find some indications of that fact. There is not the slightest hint in this action, however, that the banishment of Roger Williams was purely for political reasons, and had no reference whatever to his peculiar "notions" or opinions. These peculiar "notions" or opinions were especially noticed in the sentence of banishment, mention being made of the fact that Mr. Williams had "broached and dyvulged dyvers newe and dangerous opinions," and that he maintained the same "without retraccon." It is noteworthy that in the action of the council in 1676 it is stated that Mr. Williams, hitherto restrained, might come back into the colony for security to his person, "he behaving himself peaceably and inoffensively & not disseminating & venting any ordinance of magistracy, or their lawful right to make war, or to punish outward breaches of the first table, and shall appear to the court wilfully and obstinately to continue therein after due time and means of conviction, every such person or persons shall be sentenced to banishment."

The bearing of this enactment upon the contention of Professor Diman and Dr. Dexter is easily recognized. This action was only nine years after the banishment of Roger Williams, and shows the temper of the Bay colonists with reference to the Baptists of that time. A denial of the right of magistracy to punish outward breaches of the first table was still a crime punishable with banishment. Any expression of Baptist opinions was still as objectionable as in Roger Williams' day.

of his different opinions in matters of Religion to the dissatisfaction of any." This may mean that Mr. Williams might have a refuge within the limits of the colony, if he would so guard his utterances with reference to matters of religion as not to give offense to the Bay colony people. Or it may mean that any expression whatever of his religious opinions would not be tolerated if they were displeasing to the people. In either view there is a recognition of the fact that Mr. Williams' doctrine of soul-liberty was certainly one of the causes that led to his banishment. If we take the view that Mr. Williams might have an asylum in some one of the towns in the Bay colony, provided he would so guard his utterances on matters of religion as not to give offense to the people there, this would seem to be a concession to the position Roger Williams held in his doctrine of soul-liberty. It will be remembered that the first of the charges brought against Mr. Williams at the time of his banishment, as reported by Mr. Winthrop, was that Mr. Williams held "that the magistrate ought not to punish the breach of the first table, except when the civil peace should be endangered." In other words, according to Mr. Williams' own well-known view, the magistrate might justly interfere if the civil peace should be imperiled. As we have seen, Roger Williams never held any other view. With him soul-liberty was not license, even in matters of religion.

If we take the other view, that if Mr. Williams accepted the proffered asylum no expression whatever of his different opinions in matters of religion would be tolerated, there is in the action of the council most clearly and unmistakably a recognition of the fact that Mr. Williams' doctrine of soul-liberty was involved in his sentence of banishment, and still stood in the way of his return to any of the towns of the colony for security in a time of distress.

Mr. Williams did not avail himself of this offer on the part of the council. It may be that he felt secure in his seat at Providence, notwithstanding the hardships he had endured in common with other New England colonists in that period of conflict with the Indians. It is more likely, however, that he regarded the action of the council as involving complete silence

on his part in matters of religion during his proposed residence in the Bay colony. Such an agreement, whether expressed or implied, would be a denial of the great principle which from the time of his arrival in New England Mr. Williams had so tenaciously held and advocated, and which had now become inseparably connected with his name. Never had he been accustomed to refrain from giving expression to any of "his different opinions in matters of Religion," and we cannot think of Roger Williams in circumstances so distressing as would prompt him to accept an asylum at a price that would indicate a renunciation of his long-cherished principle of soul-liberty.

The action of the Massachusetts council, however, is delightful evidence of the kindly feeling that was entertained for Roger Williams by the leaders of the Puritan colony, and, while it must have awakened memories that were not altogether pleasing, it could hardly have failed to have reached and touched his heart.

A PLEA FOR RITSCHL.

By L. HENRY SCHWAB,
New York.

RITSCHL's great work on *Justification and Reconciliation* was published in three volumes in the years 1870 to 1874. The first of these volumes, which deals with the history of the doctrines, has been translated into English. The most important of the three, the last volume, which contains the systematic exposition of the system, presents serious difficulties to the translator. Not only is Ritschl's style complex in the extreme, but it proceeds entirely upon lines of German theology. Every idea is traced in its genealogical ascent through a mass of authorities, of many of whom English readers have never heard; so that the book is hopelessly German.

This is unfortunate, more especially as up to the present time the English and American reader, if he is limited to literature in the English language, is almost wholly dependent for his knowledge of the German theologian upon unfavorable criticisms. It is indeed, in my opinion, a theological calamity that, since the publication of Orr's *The Ritschlian Theology and the Evangelical Faith*, scholars among us are looking upon Professor Orr as the final authority upon Ritschlianism. Any man who does not read German, but who wants to know something about the system with which all Germany is alive, will take up Orr's book. And after reading it he will probably dismiss the subject with the comfortable conclusion that after Orr has given his verdict nothing more is to be said; and he will close the book with a sigh of relief: "That settles Ritschl."

It was first thought in Germany to settle Ritschl in the same easy way; but Ritschl would not be settled, nor will adverse criticism permanently settle him in this country or in England. Nothing, indeed, is so easy as to criticise a system in detail, as Orr has done. Think of what unanswerable criticism could be made upon the doctrine of the Trinity, upon prayer, in fact upon

almost any article of our faith! Moreover, Ritschl seems to have aroused to an unusual degree the power of theological misunderstanding, and he is freely credited with absurdity, sometimes to the great increase of the critic's hilarity.

Perhaps it is, therefore, not out of place to begin this plea for Ritschl with a personal confession. The writer, whose work has been the very practical endeavor to bring home to people, most of whom were very little given to thought, the comforts and the incentives of the gospel, has been immeasurably helped by Ritschl. No other theologian has enabled him so thoroughly to appreciate the power of Christianity for this as for every age, and he can realize the truth of the verdict which the German historian Nippold pronounced upon Ritschl: "The joy of preaching the gospel entire and alone has been awakened by no theologian of the past decades to a greater degree than by Ritschl."

I shall endeavor to give as clear an exhibition as is possible within the narrow limits of a paper of the peculiarities of Ritschl's system, and for this purpose I shall arrange the matter under four heads.

I. EPISTEMOLOGY.

The first task of the systematic theologian is to determine his theory of knowledge. We have to do here with the well-known distinction between the thing itself and its properties. This apple, what is it? Is it the red of its color, its shape to the eye and touch, the sweetness of its taste? Or is there something behind these properties? Is there the essential apple out of reach of the senses? Three answers have been given. There is that of Plato, who says there is this essential apple, the thing in itself, the substance, the idea of the apple, of the mountain, of the man, of the horse, behind the attributes through which each of these comes into contact with our senses. This theory is utterly condemned. One illustration will serve to show the importance to every thinker in the sphere of religion of this condemnation. It is precisely by the help of this Platonic theory of a thing at rest behind the thing as we see and feel and know it by the senses that the doctrine of transubstantiation is upheld. Any apparent impossibility can be predicated of the substance

as long as we separate it from the properties in the bread and the wine.

The other two theories are those of Kant and Lotze, which are closely allied. Waiving the question as to whether Ritschl misunderstood Kant, it suffices to know that Ritschl adopts the theory of Lotze. The thing itself, the essence of the thing, is known to us, not as distinct from the properties, nor as the cause of the properties, but it is known *in* the properties. The apple is known to us in its color, taste, smell, etc. We know nothing whatever about any supposed essence or idea or substance of a thing behind that which appears to our senses, and any reasoning which is based upon the separation of the thing and its properties is fallacious. The apple is what we see, feel, taste, and smell it to be. The mountain is what we see it to be, what we feel it to be when we climb it; we know it in its attributes, and in no other wise. The human mind is simply incapable of penetrating to the essence of things. This theory must not be confused with the sensationalism which denies the thing and believes there exists nothing but properties. The thing exists as the unity of its properties, but it cannot be dissociated from the properties, it is known only in its properties.

It is a common thing to leave all carefulness and exactitude to the scientist, and to dump all slovenliness into the theological workshop. And yet, how many errors might be avoided, even for the practical thinker, by a little attention to these fundamental principles! One or two illustrations will suffice to show this. If this theory of cognition is true, God is unknowable in himself, and comes within the range of our intellect only as he has revealed himself. We shall understand how this thought contributes to the emphasis which Ritschl places upon the revelation of God in Christ. Again, Lotze's theory of cognition has a far-reaching and practical influence upon psychology. It is the commonest thing in the world to speak of the soul as of something behind its activities. This is a mistake; we cannot get to the soul behind its manifestations. All we know of the soul is what we feel, will, or know. This does not mean a denial of the existence of the soul, as some psychologists deny

it. It means simply that whatever life of the soul there may be away from the feelings, from its knowing and willing, is *terra incognita*. Every active influence upon the soul is instantly met by a counter-activity of its own, and all talk of the state of the soul at rest, or any other wise than as manifesting its life by the activity of its powers, is a dealing in shadows.

From this principle of psychology is derived Ritschl's strong opposition to all mysticism. There is hardly anything which he sets himself to combat so earnestly as he does this tendency. Whether the conclusion he draws does or does not necessarily follow from the premises may be doubtful; but there can hardly be a question that the principle of psychology as enunciated, which I take to be unimpeachable, would, if borne in mind, obviate a good deal of extravagance in religious thought and practice. When religion is hidden away in the inaccessible depths of the soul's inner life, it is not a very practical thing, and is very apt to lose itself in those aberrations of fanaticism and raptures of contemplation of which the history of religion in the East has given us such noted illustrations. We speak rightly of the communion of the soul with God. But that communion is not something passive; it is bound to make itself known and felt by the putting forth of the soul's energies, in sanctifying thought and feeling, in producing harmony and peace, good-will and love. Grace is not poured into the soul as into a vessel; such has been too often the utterly inadequate and materialistic conception. If God gives grace, that mysterious influence must rouse the soul to energy; and grace is known only by its effect in stirring the soul to life and producing spiritual and ethical activity.

II. CHRIST AS THE REVELATION OF GOD.

It has been repeatedly asserted by German writers that Ritschl's chief claim as a revolutionizer of theology is the emphasis which he placed upon the historic Christ as the revelation of God. Whether this be true or not, it is certain that this part of his teaching should receive full recognition. Ritschl was not in the first instance a philosopher. He did not begin

his studies of religion with theories of cognition, with setting up the distinction between the theoretical and the practical judgment. Ritschl's mind was in the first instance religious and practical. He was intensely stirred with the practical ineffectiveness of religion in our time, and felt a strong desire to place Christianity once more before the world in its power over the individual and the national life. This practical nature of the Ritschlian theology cannot be too much emphasized, especially where, as here and in England, the only thing masses of men know about Ritschl is that vague philosophical conception which they call the "value-judgment."

Practical necessities were the prime motive power in the system we are considering, and it was the study of history and his intense preoccupation with the records of Christ's life in the gospels that induced Ritschl to emphasize so strongly the historic Christ as the center of the Christian theological system. The life of Christ is to us the revelation of a God who remains otherwise unknown, or at least inadequately known, and misunderstood by his works.

It will be seen from this that Christ is made the center of the Christian system in a manner different from that which obtains in the traditional theology, and that this represents a going back from St. Paul to the gospels themselves. The influence of the Pauline theology upon the church has been immense. Protestant conceptions of Christianity are traced back through the heroes of the Reformation to St. Augustine, and through him to St. Paul. But St. Paul knew little or nothing of Christ in the flesh. Historically, Christ stood to him simply as the one redemptive sacrifice, and this view, indifferent to the individual events of the life, looked upon the whole of that life as one act of humiliation. It was a deed once done, an act once realized; and from that realization there went out a virtue lifting our lives into a new sphere: "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature."

It is not my purpose here to fix the place of this conception in the system of dogmatic theology, or to say what permanent value and importance attaches to it. But it is certain that this

distinctively Pauline idea is not the same as that in which Christ, according to the gospel of St. John, sums up the significance of his life: "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." We may believe that Christ as the redeemer from sin and Christ as the revealer of God are reconcilable conceptions, necessary parts of a complete Christian system of theology; but they certainly start from two different points of view, and, as thus stated, they represent two different aspects of Christ, two different elements in our relation to Christ.

Ritschl emphasized the truth of Christ's revelation of God. He believed that God in his essential nature is beyond the range of our faculties, that we cannot know God as he is; but this philosophical denial only served to strengthen his sense of the importance of a revelation. The master-motive in his speculation was practical. Ritschl saw that at the very center and core of life's mystery is the problem of God, and the question of all questions for us is: What sort of a God can we believe? As human beings we find ourselves bewildered by a fundamental contradiction. We are a part of nature, subject to nature's forces, the mere playthings in the hands of colossal powers. And yet, something within us rebels against this fate. While we are subject to the world, we yet feel ourselves superior to the world, and there is a voice within us which never ceases to tell us that, in spite of all that appears to the contrary, we are better than the brute that perishes and the flower that fades. Nothing that we have ever seen or heard on earth can solve this contradiction but the conception of God as he is revealed by Jesus of Nazareth; and in the belief that, as Christ was, so is God the human spirit comes to rest and finds its happiness. "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father;" if that is true—the credibility of the words depends upon another line of reasoning, but is here presupposed—then we may turn from all that is disheartening in the history of the world and in the lives of men, from death and sickness, from the triumph of the wicked and the sufferings of the innocent, and say: In spite of it all, God is love.

One effect of this fundamental view of Christ will be readily

seen; it reduces any antagonism in the Godhead to harmony. Protestant theology has been largely dominated by the conception of an opposition between the two persons of the Trinity, and the doctrine of the atonement was taken to embody the reconciliation of that opposition. In the popular religion this antagonism in the Godhead was carried so far that the ideas of justice and revenge were exclusively associated with the Father, while all ideas of love were confined to Christ. So we have had two Gods, an angry God and a loving God. Among theologians this opposition was softened, and the effort made to minimize the antagonism while yet upholding the principle of the reconciliation is today one of the curiosities of theological literature. Nothing is more certain within the sphere of theological science than that human thought cannot retain an opposition within the Godhead and be consistent with itself. It is utterly impossible to conceive God the Father as the object of the change that was to be wrought by the atonement, except upon suppositions which are subversive of monotheism. Whatever the consequences may be, intellectual honesty is bound to acquiesce in this conclusion. But if this door is closed, Ritschl opens up another, or at least points to another which has always been open and which discloses a vista of comfortable truth. For a striking suggestion of the power and reach of that truth I should like to refer to Browning's poem "An Epistle."

Mr. John Fiske, in his *Idea of God*, has enlarged on the conception of deity, which he holds to be commensurate with our present state of knowledge. As introductory to the disquisition, written with the author's usual brilliancy of style, he gives us a survey of the "rapid growth of human knowledge." We are introduced to "the air-bladder of early amphibians," and to the "ascidian and aphioxes;" we are told of the "unresting march of discovery;" "we stand awestruck before the stupendous pile of chemical science;" "molecular physics," "the conservation of energy," "spectrum analysis," "comparative anatomy and palæontology," the "cell-doctrine," "natural selection," and everything else of the kind are brought out, and the names of a score or more of scientists are paraded before our eyes.

One can imagine the impatience with which a Plato or a Kant would have brushed away this display of knowledge, which, striking enough in itself, is utterly meaningless as an introduction to "the idea of God." For they would have known that all this wonderful achievement of the modern intellect has not advanced our knowledge of God by one hair's breadth. A knowledge of modern thought may sometimes dazzle the imagination, but when we realize that essentially we still stand where Plato stood whenever we strive to penetrate beneath the phenomena to the realities of things, we shall rather be sobered; and the only progress along these lines that we have to boast of is our greater willingness to say that we do not know.

This is what Ritschl recognizes. Men have pretended to tell us who and what God is. They have tried to impress us with their cosmological, teleological, and ontological proofs, and they fail to convince. They have talked to us about the absolute and the infinite, the self-subsistent and the first cause. We hear the words, we know how they are spelled; but what are they to us? The very term "absolute" means that God stands outside of all relations; but how can he at the same time stand to us in the relation of that which is known? Therefore of the absolute, whatever it is, we can form no conception whatever. And if we could, what good would it do us? These terms are, in fact, nothing more than the confession, which the human mind makes when it has come to the end of its reach, that there is something beyond. We are obliged to believe that there is somewhere a world which is different from this in which we live, and the mind that can take in the laws of that world is of a different order of intelligence from ours. That is really what we mean when we speak of the absolute and the infinite.

There is one way, and only one, Ritschl says, by which we can know God. He has revealed himself; and that revelation is in the life of a human being, Jesus of Nazareth. "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." Look at Christ, know him; not as a spectral being existing somewhere in a mid-region between man and God, but as a man of flesh and blood, a man who really lived, whose life was subject to much the same

vicissitudes as ours, who thought and felt and acted as we do. The picture which our imagination constructs from the records must be, not like the heraldic image, a mere conventional figure, but the lifelike representation of the artist, bringing the reality vividly before the mind.

The revelation of Christ carries the knowledge of God home to us in one word—love. Love is the all-sufficient definition of God. You may strip everything else away as unnecessary; when you have conceived God as love you think of him as the Christian ought to think of him, and nothing more is needed. Think of God as love, or do not think of him at all. This is the final conclusion to which Ritschl comes, and for that conclusion the historic Christ is the one and only proof. The more intimately we know Christ, the more we shall be assured that his claim to represent God in human form was true, and the more we shall be satisfied to rest in his revelation of God as a God of love.

The position which Ritschl assigns to Christ in the religious life of the individual gives reality to the doctrinal statements of our creeds respecting Christ's higher nature. There is a disposition to allow to these statements the honor of a formal recognition, but practically to place all emphasis upon Christ as our example. We have grown tired of theological wrangling and take refuge in the imitation of Christ; that is so simple. Mr. Gordon says: "Jesus is our supreme example. There is in him a mighty imitable, reproducible character. The imitation of Christ is the task of humanity."¹ Ritschl, and those who think with him, utterly reject this cutting of the christological knot. But this reflection carries us forward to the next point.

III. THE NATURE AND OBJECT OF RELIGION.

Perhaps the shallowest thing that has been said in our century by any man of high authority is the dictum which Matthew Arnold took delight in repeating, that "conduct is three-fourths of life." And yet that sentence has had a tremendous influence; and there is no perversion of truth, no one-sidedness

¹ *The Christ of Today*, p. 67.

of Christian conception, which has so intrenched itself in the church as that which these words represent. It is echoed and reëchoed from thousands of pulpits through the land as the great theological discovery of the age.

Ritschl may claim the gratitude of the religious world for exposing the superficiality of this conception. He recognized and taught that the religious life revolves about two distinct centers, which he likens to the two foci of the ellipse. He distinguishes clearly and emphatically between the moral and the distinctively religious. I think he does not seriously attempt to reduce the two elements to unity, or, if he does, he fails. The religious and the ethical are both essential to the Christian life, but the one does not follow upon the other; they are independent factors of our spiritual experience.

The neglect of the religious or spiritual, which obtains in our modern life, leaves certain elements of the New Testament unexplained. It makes nothing of the forgiveness of sins, so prominent in the teaching of our Lord; it has no understanding for Christ's conception of the "eternal life." The Pauline theology, that mightiest leaven in the spiritual world, which again and again has rescued the church from superstition and given it new life, is wholly unintelligible from the purely ethical point of view. St. Paul's magnificent conception of Christian liberty, the unsurpassed grandeur of his thought at the close of the eighth chapter of Romans, his fundamental belief in justification and the redeeming power of Christianity—these belong to a different world from that of the Christian moralist, to whom "conduct is three-fourths of life;" nor can he attach any significance to a faith that "overcomes" the world such as made Christian truth worth while to St. John.

The purely ethical view of Christianity shuts itself out from one large department of life, and that the most important of the two which come within the province of religion. In this modern world of bustling activity we think a great deal about what men *do*, but we are apt to forget that more important than what men do is what men *are*. What men do belongs to the ethical part of religion; what men are comes under the distinctively religious.

We have a name for it—character—which is distinctly Christian. The ancients had no word in their language corresponding to it. It came to us with that religion which teaches that man's all-absorbing interest is the relation of his being to God. The very announcement of the word "character" is a vindication of that which goes before all doing. You may conceive a man as gifted with all the virtues, and yet you have not embodied the conception of that peculiar thing we call character. The word demands a unity of being which is far beyond all mere ethical consideration. Its meaning is not reached until you conceive of a state antecedent to conduct, of a something from which conduct springs; until you have recognized man as a being whose position toward God needs to be set right before his relations to men can be determined.

It is the very denial of all that we mean when we speak of manhood to look upon man as a mere doing machine. What is the mystery of humanity before which we stand in awe? Wherein consists the true grandeur of human life? What is the secret of the spell that comes over us as we contemplate that most wonderful of pictures which St. John draws for us, Christ before Pilate; that makes us after so many centuries recur to that figure standing before the Roman governor as the ideal of manliness? He did nothing, or at most he spoke a few words, but he *was* something; and if ever a second Raphael shall come and place before our eyes the ideal of man, as the first Raphael gave us the ideal of woman, we shall see it in the unruffled calm, in the undisturbed confidence of Jesus before Pilate; in his perfect mastery of the situation. And is it not just this calm, this confidence, this mastery that gives the touch of splendor to Christian heroism, the heroism of apostle, martyr, saint, and prophet? And yet to this grandeur of what has been highest and noblest in Christian history is assigned the significance of a beggarly fourth of life.

The purely ethical conception of Christianity represents a retrograde movement from the religion of Christ toward Judaism, the Judaism, not of an Isaiah, but of the law. It leaves out of consideration the immanence of God in the religious life.

Ritschl has emphasized once more, as the primary and most essential element in the Christian religion, the relation of the individual personal life to God. Man's self, his inmost being in its essential nature and disposition, his character, is determined and fixed by his relation to God. There is no greater contrast in the world of men than that between a godless and a godly life. God or no-God is the first of all questions when we speak of man, what he is, of the tone and quality of his being, of the latent powers within him, of his mastery of the world or his subserviency to it. Man is what he is according to his fellowship with God or his alienation from God.

Ritschl's expression for that life in God which goes before all outward manifestation of the life in conduct is the "eternal life" — Christ's own expression. In his explication of this state and the process of attaining it, Ritschl gives new meaning to the technical terms which had almost become meaningless symbols in worn-out theological systems, and had come to be treated with impatience and almost with contempt: forgiveness, justification, reconciliation, the kingdom of God.

The end of religion is the eternal life. This is the life as spiritually or religiously determined, in distinction from the life as ethically determined, life from the point of view of man's relation to God as distinguished from life as determined and ruled by the law of conduct. This eternal life is not something of the future; Christ plainly indicates that it is of the present, that we enter it now: "He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, *hath* everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but *is passed* from death unto life." It is, therefore, a life which, begun now, outlasts the present and reaches over into another world; a life over which death has no power.

Sin comes between man in his natural state and this eternal life. Ritschl rejects the doctrine of original sin, because it separates sin from the person that sins, it detracts from personal responsibility, and it fosters rather an æsthetic aversion to sin than a sense of guilt. Ritschl holds that the phenomenon of sin in human life is best expressed by the "kingdom of sin."

Following in the steps of Luther, he gives a more comprehensive definition to sin than is usual. It is not only the actual transgression of the divine law, but is found wherever there is a declination from the normal ideal of life. Sin is, therefore, the power over the individual which causes alienation from God, and is felt not only in the guilty conscience, but in the restlessness of the worldly life, in the lack of faith, in the absence of calm, confidence, and trust. All this is simply the manifestation of godlessness. Sin, therefore, is the barrier between man and God, the obstacle which keeps man out of the eternal life in communion with God. This must be overcome, if man is to enter into the ideal life, if he is to know the consummation of human happiness.

It is idle to attempt to explain the origin of sin, and Ritschl does not attempt it. It is enough to know that this strange power stands as a perpetual barrier between us and the attainment of our ideal in communion with God. To overcome this barrier is the object of what is distinctive in the Christian religion. And here we are introduced to the processes which are known under the technical names atonement, reconciliation, justification, forgiveness. It is impossible here to do more than indicate with the utmost brevity the salient points of these doctrines as Ritschl sets them forth. It has been already shown that the effect of the atonement is not a change in God; God is ever the same; he has from all eternity forgiven; he stands ever ready to receive back the penitent sinner. But Ritschl does not hold that Christ's function was merely a proclamation of forgiveness. Such a view supposes a very superficial knowledge of the power of sin. The object of the atonement was to change man, not God; to bring home to man, in his alienation from the author of his being, the reality and the power of the divine forgiveness. For this task—so much vaster than the flippant, superficial view of human nature imagines—something more was required than a prophet or an example. It called for a sacrifice, and that sacrifice was rendered in the life and the death of Christ. The life and the death go together and are inseparable as the one sacrifice for the redemption of man from the power of sin.

The change in man which is thus effected by the atonement of Christ is named forgiveness or justification. The two mean the same thing. There is no distinction of positive and negative, such as theological systems have made. Here again Ritschl gives a far more comprehensive meaning to the terms than that which is customary. Just as sin meant more than the mere isolated transgression, so forgiveness means more than the mere remission of future punishment. Sin is whatever stood in the way between God and man, and forgiveness is the removal of that barrier; it is the process by which man is placed once more in fellowship with his God, where he of right ought to be. As the effect of sin was not only the disturbed conscience, but restlessness, perturbation, spiritual darkness, so forgiveness means not only the quieted conscience, but mental and spiritual calm, confidence, hope, trust, joy, mastery. Man is once more reconciled to God, and reconciliation is the completion of the process whose initiation is denoted by forgiveness. Intercourse is restored between man and God, as it was to the sinful woman when Christ forgave her sins, as it is restored between friend and friend when the injury has been forgiven and the obstacle to fellowship removed. From being self-centered, or world-centered, man becomes God-centered.

This completes the conception of life as spiritually determined. It is very simple. There enter into it three elements: the eternal life, or the life in communion with God; sin as the obstacle to that life; the atonement and forgiveness as the appointed means for overcoming that obstacle.

It will be evident that the state which Ritschl teaches as antecedent to conduct is not an empty, mystical condition of the soul, but a state of feeling. Ritschl's definition of religion will make this still more clear. The traditional theology leaves out man's relation to the world in its conception of religion. Ritschl attempts to show that Christianity shares with all religions, from the most materialistic fetichism up, this fundamental trait, that a supernatural power, whether demon, angel, shades of the departed, or God, is appealed to for protection against the adverse powers of the world. Man knows himself subject to natural and moral

forces, and impotent to resist. Nevertheless, there is in him an ineradicable feeling of superiority to the world, and the essential nature of Christianity, as of all religion, is to come to the rescue of this unconquerable instinct in man by bringing supernatural power to his aid. In Christianity God does this for man when he raises him into fellowship with himself. This fellowship, therefore—or the eternal life, as it is called—this state of the soul antecedent to conduct, is not simply a mystical exaltation, but it manifests itself in those feelings which indicate man's superiority to the world around him, in "the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free," in the faith of him that has "overcome the world."

This conception of religion, as defined by our relation to the world and to God, it is needless to say, has been severely criticised. So have all of Ritschl's detailed explications of doctrine. And it is right that they should be criticised. But over the details it is to be hoped that the essential thought may not be blurred or forgotten. That Ritschl has rescued from oblivion a truth which will bear the richest fruit in years to come, that in this rescue men will feel with increasing force that power has once more been given to the gospel of Christ, I have no doubt. Whether they will trace that renewed power to Ritschl, or whether it will come to them through many other channels, and they never know its source, makes little difference. Those who know what they owe to Albrecht Ritschl will bear witness to his power.

Thoughtful men, meditating upon life and death, have with a true instinct turned to the great seers for the solution of the ever-present problem. The great lights of our time—Browning, Tennyson, Wordsworth—have brought comfort and strength to many a perplexed and struggling soul. But apply to the works of these seers the new discovery of a late generation that "conduct is three-fourths of life," how shallow and unsatisfactory they appear, measured in the light of that principle! For they have little or nothing to tell us of conduct. It is the lesser lights that deal with questions of conduct. The master-singers have won their high place because they have laid bare the deeper

springs of life; they have enshrined themselves in the hearts of men because they have spread before our eyes visions of the realities which lie at the roots of our being, from which all conduct springs, and have satisfied, each in his measure, the cravings of the soul for the beautiful and the true. The theology of Ritschl has satisfied many a hungry soul, because, like the work of the great singers, it is true to life.

The belief in forgiveness as the constitutive principle of Christianity is developed by Ritschl in his explication of the church's function. The church is the sphere of forgiveness; the communion of believers is constituted by the principle of forgiveness. Forgiveness is the mark and token of that higher life which, although never realized in its purity, yet, so far as it is realized, consists in the fellowship of man with God. The purer that fellowship, the purer the church, and the more perfectly she performs her function of drawing men into the sphere and within the influences of the higher life, and so continuing the work of Christ upon earth. This is the kingdom of God, not a system of teaching, but a life, progressing toward its more perfect realization and looking to its consummation in another world.

God may find his way into human hearts by other means, but that does not vitiate the belief that the church, instinct with the life of Christ, making the "eternal life" real to the eyes of the world, is the divinely appointed means for the extension of Christ's kingdom, doing justice to the truth that the ideal life of Christianity cannot be defined in creeds or described in language, but can be truly known only in the lives of its living representatives. And realizing that the ideal life consists essentially in the forgiveness of sin, we may find herein the fulfilment of the promise: "Whosoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven them."

IV. THEORETICAL AND RELIGIOUS JUDGMENTS.

We come now to our fourth and last point, the distinction between theoretical or scientific knowledge and distinctively religious knowledge.

This is the one element of the system which has been seized upon and emphasized as distinctively Ritschlian and revolutionary, and although there appears to be a tendency among German writers to deprecate this emphasis, I believe that the general feeling is right. For, whether what Ritschl says is new or whether he merely gives expression in accurate language to a certain feeling or way of looking at things which is in the air—the principles which he has formulated as fundamentally regulating our religious conceptions appear to me to be revolutionary in their effect upon theological thought. Theological and religious ways of thinking have undergone a profound modification, and this not only among those who have come under the direct influence of the Ritschlian theology, but generally. There is a different spirit, the point of view is changed, the focus of interest has moved. One might briefly express this change by saying that it is a change from logic to life. Theological facts, from being the mere data of logical process and inference, have come to be looked upon as the possible clues to the meaning of living phenomena. Everywhere we see life, experience, the knowledge of human nature, coming to the front. The dogmatic theologian used to be satisfied when he had by severe process of reasoning established the bare facts. The mere expression and the harmonious ordering of supersensible truths was all that was called for. Now we want to know the meaning of those facts, the bearing of those truths. To lay bare the throbbing life underneath the cold statement; to uncover the action and reaction between the soul's life and the truth as it is revealed; to make clear, not only the possibility, but the necessity of Christian truth—this is what the best theological thinkers are trying to do. And this change has been, if not initiated, at least accelerated, by the principles which Ritschl enunciates.

What, then, has Ritschl done? Perhaps there is no other subject of thought upon which there is such vagueness and such an amount of misrepresentation. The principal idea which nine out of ten men who have ever heard his name associate with Ritschl is that he has exalted feeling into a norm and criterion

of religious thought; and he never fails to be reproached by his critics with being "subjective."

Humanity would be greatly benefited if some future pope of the intellectual life should inflict a penalty upon all writers who use language which they have not clearly defined to their own minds. And among the first offenders he will doubtless cite before his tribunal those who have used the word "subjective" carelessly. "Subjective idealism" is a well-known philosophical theory, and it is a fair charge to bring against Ritschl. But it is a very different thing to say that he is "subjective," that he does not acknowledge an "objective" standard, and by means of such vague language to create a prejudice, equally vague and undefined, against the system.

There are two definitions of the word "subjective." The first and strict definition denotes that which pertains to the consciousness of any particular person, in distinction from that which is without the consciousness of that person. Now, if the charge against Ritschl is that his judgments, being based upon feeling, are more subjective than those in which the intellect alone does all the work, we may well ask: Does the intellect belong any less to the person that judges than do the feelings? Or can I judge with another person's intellect? Is there any other way known of arriving at a conclusion than by the faculties of the person himself? The mere formulation of these questions would seem to make it plain that, according to the strict definition of the word, a pure intellectual judgment and what Ritschl calls a "value-judgment" are equally "subjective."

But the term is probably used by the objectors according to a looser definition as implying that which is arbitrary, upon the assumption that the feelings are more arbitrary, more subject to caprice, than the pure intellect. If his is true, then the moral law is capricious; for it is not based upon logic, but solely upon feeling. It will hardly do to ascribe superior regularity, uniformity, and trustworthiness to the operations of the mind in these days of spiritualism, hypnotism, Christian science, faith-cure, etc., all of them aberrations of the intellect. In fact, if anything is today safe from the individual caprice of any

intellectual charlatan that comes along, it is at most a few of the plainest ethical principles, which rest for their support solely upon that sentiment which is opprobriously called "subjective."

With the very vague ideas of Ritschl's insistence upon feelings there is commonly joined the equally vague belief that Ritschl excludes all metaphysics from theology; and here misapprehension and loose thinking have fairly run riot. Granted that there is no generally accepted definition of the word, one has a right to express some astonishment when Ritschl's critics identify metaphysics with dialectics, or the employment of the reasoning power in general. Whatever metaphysics is, it is but fair to judge what our author says about it according to the definition which he himself adopts. He very clearly expresses himself as following Aristotle in understanding by the term "the investigation of the general grounds of all being," and he explains his meaning as follows: "The things which come within the sphere of our knowledge are distinguished as nature and as spiritual life. In the investigation of the common grounds of all being no account is taken of those characteristics in which we find the difference between nature and spirit, and by virtue of which these two groups are recognized as essentially different."^a Ritschl's thought is perfectly clear-cut, and anyone who takes the trouble can understand it. Before his mind, contemplating the phenomena of the world, there stood this mysterious, ever-present, unreconciled contrast and opposition: man's spiritual nature on one side with its lofty claims, and on the other side the world of nature, an apparently insurmountable bar to the claims of the human spirit. To the purely intellectual view of the universe this opposition means nothing, and metaphysics cannot recognize it. This ground Ritschl takes because, by his definition, he distinctly denies to metaphysics the competency to furnish an adequate theory of the universe (*Gesamterkenntnis der Welt*). The sphere of metaphysics is not universal, but restricted. Its function is not to solve the problem of life. This task, the highest which can engage the human powers,

^a *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, 2d ed., III, 16.

belongs to religion; and for this task the initial truth, the fundamental fact, the starting-point of all reasoning, is found in the contrast of spirit and nature.

Ritschl does not discard metaphysics, as has often been said. Metaphysics has its place in religion. It is an "elementary, merely formal mode of knowledge," but as such it is essential, in its proper place, to religious thought. Metaphysical conceptions "embrace and dominate" all other knowledge. They impose laws upon thought, while the *matter* of thought is found in the contrast of spirit and world which is outside of the metaphysical sphere. I have already endeavored to show, under the first heading, how Ritschl bases his whole system upon certain metaphysical principles.

German writers make much use of the word *Weltvorstellung*, for which the English language unfortunately affords no equivalent. It means that view of the world which any person forms who has thoughtfully considered all the phenomena of life—the theory of the universe which will account for what we know of the universe. The materialist has his theory of the universe, the pantheist has his, and the Christian has his. But only that department of knowledge, that mode of thought, which is able to embrace all the phenomena of the world can give us a theory of the world. Metaphysics deals with a restricted sphere, with one aspect of things, and therefore is unable to furnish the key which is necessary for a satisfactory theory of the whole. As such it is on a par with other disciplines, with history, with geology or physics. Any of these may furnish valuable data for the formulation of the complete theory, but neither metaphysics nor any other department of knowledge is able to survey the whole field, and therefore cannot give the key desired. Religion alone can give us a theory of the universe, because it alone surveys the whole field. It belongs to religion alone to take into account the mysterious opposition between spirit and the world, this elementary fact which is incapable of analysis, but which, like all other elementary facts, needs to be taken into account in formulating the final theory.

We are thus brought face to face with the mystery of human consciousness, which no terms of mere intellectual denotation can adequately express, as the fundamental fact in Ritschl's peculiar view of religion. And this underlies his theory of the "value-judgment."

All knowledge is acquired by the forming of judgments. The raw material of knowledge is the sensations. Upon these the mind works in forming judgments. The act of knowledge consists in taking these sensations within the consciousness. This process is performed in two different ways. Theoretical judgments, whether in ordinary or in accurate scientific reasoning, are made in one way; religious judgments are formed in another way. In all theoretical judgments the intellect alone operates; in religious judgments the feelings have something to say. In theoretical judgments the mind defines its sensations and classifies them according to their origin, their character, and their connection with other objects; and the activity of the mind in this process is a purely intellectual activity (waiving the questionable distinction which Ritschl draws between "accompanying" and "independent" judgments of value). Not so in the religious judgments. The process is not a purely intellectual one. The feelings have here a legitimate sphere of influence. In the vindication of the feelings as a legitimate factor toward determining the mental conclusion lies the peculiarity of the Ritschlian theory of the value-judgments.

The determination of theoretical truth proceeds according to the rules of logic. Reasoning is thrown into the form of the syllogism, and the conclusion is drawn from the correct statement of major and minor premise according to laws which exist as intuitions of the mind. This process of knowledge has been accepted ever since men began to observe the laws of the mind and to reason according to them. It is, therefore, not surprising that considerable confusion should be created by the statement, which is now advanced, that there is a means of arriving at the truth outside of logic, with which the laws of ratiocination have nothing to do. It is well worth while, however, to examine somewhat closely into this theory before we

condemn it; it may perhaps turn out to be neither so novel nor so startling as it at first appeared.

No doubt, whenever a religious truth presents itself to the mind, there goes with it a certain feeling, either of attraction or repulsion; we feel that the truth in question is either helpful or hurtful to us. Ritschl tells us these feelings are not to be discarded, are not to be eliminated, in order that we may arrive at a disinterested, unbiased judgment. Such a thing does not exist; entire mental disinterestedness is a figment of the imagination. The feelings have a perfect right to be consulted.

Apply this theory to the central truth of Christianity, the divinity of Christ. The older theology sought for proof-texts and built upon the record of the resurrection. But the texts themselves need to be proved true, and if the resurrection can be proved as a historical fact, there is an end of all argument. But in that case people could not refuse to believe it, as many do. We see clearly, therefore, that Christianity cannot rest upon such weak premises, neither in fact does it, except in the imagination of some theological logicians. If, on the other hand, following a safer method toward the solution of the christological question, we allow ourselves to come under the spell of the character which the gospels depict for us, if we measure the lofty claims he made, and if then we feel it to be a psychological impossibility that he whose life was so beautiful, and who, withal, was so sober, should have been either a deceiver or self-deceived—in the mental process through which we pass in forming this judgment we base our conclusion upon the truth of those feelings which the story of Christ's life excites in us, of which we can give no logical account; and this is the "value-judgment." And from this first impression, from this "value-judgment," we proceed, by a process which is more of the nature of dialectical reasoning, to the divinity of Christ.

Again, take such doctrines as forgiveness or justification: from the point of view of the logician they are quite meaningless; it is only when you appreciate the feeling, the human need, which they express that you come to realize their significance. It is the acknowledgment of the value which the

Christian truths embody for the feelings or the spiritual life that is covered by the somewhat formidable-sounding and awkward term "value-judgment."

It will be seen, I hope, from what has been said, how unjustified is the charge of subjective idealism that has been brought against Ritschl. The meaning of that accusation is that Ritschl does not care for facts, that religion lies wholly and solely in the feelings, regardless of whether there are any facts corresponding to those feelings or not. To anyone who has studied Ritschl this is simply preposterous, and it might be well to weigh one's words carefully before bringing an accusation of such egregious folly against a school of thought which, whatever may be the extravagance of a few of its extreme representatives, may well claim our respect for its seriousness and the depth of its spirituality. One of Ritschl's followers says: "It is indeed clear, and Ritschl knows it as well as his opponents, that it means death to all religion when the objective truth of the religious conceptions becomes uncertain; that no man can pray to the God whose reality he no more believes; that he no longer fears or trusts such a God."³

What Ritschl does maintain is this, that the feelings are just as legitimate a guide to reality as the pure intellect. The value lies, not in the feelings as such, but in the feelings as a guide to the truth. And surely, in this contention Ritschl is not an iconoclastic innovator. The truth to which he has called the attention of the Christian world is as old as Christianity itself, and what Ritschl has done is simply to uncover the primitive truth which had become overlaid and hidden. This "Ritschlianism" is not a new philosophical speculation. The marvelous stirring of men's thoughts which this man has produced is not the effect of his own power. It is not Ritschl's thought, it is Christ's thought, it is St. Paul's. Ritschl has simply given an analysis of the faith which is as old as the gospel. Metaphysics, dialectics do not account for it. There is a certain mysterious element in that faith, which eludes the logical process; and the nature of that element the German theologian has made clear.

³TRAUB, *Ritschl's Erkenntnistheorie*.

Ritschl's theology is, therefore, a vindication of the simple faith of the gospel. Those who assail it must deny the power of that faith, and are obliged to hold that only logicians who are capable of giving dialectical account of their belief can have any certitude in questions of religion. As a matter of fact, we know that multitudes of men and women have lived holding the comfortable truth of the gospel with the strongest possible conviction, who have known nothing of logic or of theology. Christ made his appeal constantly to that faith which is above logic. Your metaphysical theologian can give no account of that faith. Ritschl has taught us to understand that a theology which gives no account of the greatest thing in the Christian religion needs reconstruction. And what we call "Ritschlianism," and think of as eminently a peculiarity of these latest times, is little more than a return to the simplicity of Christ.

In another way, finally, Ritschlianism is a return to Christ: it is bringing us back to that for which Christ essentially stood. There is no tendency more pronounced in the history of the Christian church than the tendency back to Judaism. The essential religious principle of Judaism was obedience to the law. Foreshadowed by the Old Testament, there came with Christianity a higher religious principle into the world. Obedience to the law was superseded by obedience to the God in the human heart. That principle has as yet proved too lofty for the generality of mankind. They have always sought something external, some visible authority to lean upon. The doctrine of an infallible Bible presented Christians with a new law, just as external as the old. Criticism, by exposing the human workmanship of the Bible, has shaken its authority as an oracle. But strangely enough, even the critic seems to be yielding to the infatuation of an external authority, and some of his school claim to offer to us a new, an expurgated, a rationalized Bible, which yet shall be just as infallible as the old Bible. But surely the futility of this latest achievement of scholarship will be detected, and under the divine guidance the Bible will come to be acknowledged, not as an infallible oracle, but as a witness to the truth, of inestimable value—a witness, not a law imposed upon man from without.

And while this process of readjustment is going on, those who believe in divine providence will thank God that a great teacher has been raised up to open up to men an insight into the very core of Christianity where the truth abides high above all questions of Bible criticism.

I shall conclude this paper with the tribute to Ritschl by a man whose name has become one to conjure with in England and America. Professor Harnack, in his recent publication, *Thoughts on the Present Position of Protestantism*, says: "I cannot speak of these high matters without laying a wreath of profound gratitude on the tomb of Albrecht Ritschl. He grasped the fundamental ideas of the gospel and of the Reformation with vigor and insight, and separated them from the romantic, ecclesiastical, philosophical, and mystical entanglements and fetters in which they had become involved. What he discovered was not new; other men may have deserved thanks in other respects; but multitudes of Christians throughout the world owe to him the confidence and the joy which they feel. This we shall never forget."

ISAIAH'S PROPHECY CONCERNING THE MAJOR-DOMO OF KING HEZEKIAH.

By ADOLF KAMPHAUSEN,
University of Bonn.

1. IN 1851 the Strassburg professor Eduard Reuss published at Jena a treatise of more than a hundred pages entitled *The Sixty-Eighth Psalm: A Monument of Exegetical Pains and Skill to the Honor of Our Whole Fraternity*, which, from an array of some four hundred expositors, furnished what, in Hupfeld's opinion, was a delightfully readable review of the conflicting expositions of that song and at the same time a contribution to the history of human aberration. Let no one fear that I am about to bring forward such a host of expositors. My object in discussing the section Isa. 22:15-25 is rather essentially to read a lesson of caution and modesty from the errors to which able expositors have given currency. I do not propose to give a *complete* commentary on the prophetic passage in question, which belongs linguistically to the easier portions of Scripture. This is the less necessary since laymen quite unacquainted with Hebrew can judge for themselves from the authorized English and German translations whether I have a right to maintain that the Isaianic prophecy concerning Shebna has been unsatisfactorily treated hitherto by many scholars of all tendencies, even by comparatively careful expositors.

2. The prophecy in question (Isa. 22:15-25) runs as follows:

15. Thus saith the Lord, Yahweh of hosts:

Up, go to Shebna, the treasurer,

Who superintends the house of the king [and say]—

16. What hast thou here? And whom hast thou here?

That thou hewest out here a grave for thyself:

Hewing out thy grave on the heights,

Excavating thy dwelling in the rock.

17. Behold, Yahweh will sling thee, O man! yea sling:

And will strongly seize thee.

18. He will roll thee up firmly into a clue

[And toss thee] like a ball into a far country:

There shalt thou die, and there shall be thy stately chariots,

Thou disgrace of the house of thy lord.

19. So do I spurn thee from thy place:

And from thy station he tears thee away.

* * * * *

20. And it comes to pass on the same day :
 That I call my servant Eliakim, son of Hilkiah,
21. And clothe him with thy coat,
 And with thy girdle I gird him,
 And thine authority I put in his hand :
 And he will be a father to the dwellers in Jerusalem and to the
 house of Judah.
22. And the key of the house of David I put upon his shoulder :
 That when he opens no man may shut,
 And when he shuts no man may open.
23. Then drive I him as a nail in a sure place :
 And he becomes a throne of honor to the house of his father,
24. And all the glory of his father's house hangs upon him,
 The shoots and the sprouts, all the small vessels :
 All vessels from the basins to the pitchers.
 * * * * * *
25. On the same day, is the saying of Yahweh of hosts,
 The nail gives way which [now] is driven in a sure place :
 And it is broken off, that it falls,
 And the load that hangs on it goes to the ground ;
 For Yahweh hath spoken it.

3. The translation here given is exactly the same as that presented, with my coöperation and approval, in the second volume of Bunsen's *Bibelwerk* (Leipzig, 1860); only for "the Eternal" which Bunsen, following the precedent of the French Protestants,¹ has used, I have substituted *Yahweh*. Before I compare the translation with that of the authorized English and German Bibles, I wish to give a brief preliminary glance at its relation to the most recent scientific translation and interpretation, which I hope afterward to set forth in full detail. The latest work is one which I mention with the more pleasure because we owe it to a scholar who aims simply at scientific results, and who has admittedly done very great service in connection with the acceptance of German biblical science among Bible students in England and America. I refer to Cheyne's commentary contained in the *Polychrome Bible*.² This book, on account of its author and editor, may

¹ Cf., e. g., the Geneva Bible of 1605 at vs. 15 (Isa., chap. 22) which begins : *Ainsi a dit le Seigneur, l'Éternel des armées.*

² *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah.* A New English Translation, printed in colors exhibiting the composite structure of the book. With Explanatory Notes and Pictorial Illustrations. By REV. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford, and formerly Fellow of Balliol College, Canon of Rochester. [In the *Polychrome Bible*, edited by PAUL HAUPT.] London : James Clarke & Co., 1898 ; New York : Dodd, Mead & Co. ; Stuttgart : Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. Pp. xii + 216, 4to. M. 10.

well claim an international character. Paul Haupt is a German Assyriologist who for many years has taught the Semitic languages, along with the exposition of the Old Testament, at the Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore, and as editor of the great biblical work known as the *Rainbow Bible* has secured the coöperation of numerous German, English, and American scholars in a scientific undertaking which unites in peaceful rivalry theologians of different churches and nations.

Cheyne's view of the composite structure of this prophecy I hold to be equally erroneous with the denial of the unity of the book of Daniel. For the printing of the original text I by no means required, for critical reasons, the use of different colors which, in my edition of the text of Daniel in the *Polychrome Bible*, serve only to distinguish, for the laity, between the Hebrew and Aramaic portions. While I believe that the whole passage Isa. 22:15-25 was written by the prophet at one draft, Cheyne, on the other hand, supposes that only the beginning of the section originates with Isaiah, and gives vss. 19-23 as "First Addition" and vss. 24 ff. as "Second Addition" in light-blue print. Plainly this complex hypothesis cannot appeal to the *simplex* as the *sigillum veri*. In my view it also lacks what is much more important, viz., good exegetical grounds. I must frankly declare that it owes its existence to unhistorical or dogmatic interpretation. Out of this false exegesis have arisen various speculations of an untenable criticism. The same may be said of Duhm's attempt in Nowack's *Handkommentar zum A. T.* (Göttingen, 1892), whom Cheyne, with his well-known readiness to adopt new views from scholars who appear to him experienced critics, has almost completely followed. He could also the more easily follow Duhm because the attempt of the latter is distinguished by a certain logical consistency.

The "and say" inserted by Bunsen at the end of 22:15, for which the German Bible, aiming at still greater clearness, gives "and say to him," is in the King James English Bible rendered by *and say*, italicized like all the words which are not expressed in the Hebrew, but implied in the context; cf. Isa. 8:19, where Cheyne rightly interpolates "give this answer." Similarly I, with numerous exegetes, insert "now" in Isa. 22:25, a word which has its exegetical justification in the words "on the same day" of vs. 20 and vs. 25. After Cheyne's article on Isaiah appeared in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1881, his exposition of the prophecy of Isaiah (*The Book of Isaiah, A New Translation with Commentary and Appendices*), published in 1880-81,

rapidly passed through several editions; the third edition appeared (cf. Strack, *Einleitung in das A. T.*, München, 1895, p. 208) in 1884 at London (2 vols., pp. 310, 317). Later followed Cheyne's *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* (London, 1895, pp. xxxix + 449), to which, with the author's coöperation, a well-merited German translation (Giessen, 1897) by Jul. Böhmer, a Lutheran clergyman in Kemnitz, was accorded. In quoting from Cheyne's writings on Isaiah I cite as "Translation" his work in the *Polychrome Bible* (1898); references to his "Introduction" are, however, to the above-mentioned translation of it by J. Böhmer, to which Cheyne himself has supplied certain features not found in the English original. Cheyne's work, *The Book of Isaiah Chronologically Arranged* (cf. Franz Delitzsch, *Bibl. Kommentar zum Jesaja*, 3d ed., Leipzig, 1879, p. xxxvi), had already appeared in 1870, a fact which I mention here only as evidence that the book of Isaiah has been the favorite study of the Oxford scholar for decades. Finally, in August, 1899, appeared in Part 10 of the *Polychrome Bible* (pp. iv + 208, 4to, in seven colors; M. 12.50) Cheyne's critical edition of the Hebrew text.

When I think of the position of biblical science a generation ago, at a time when I reviewed in the *Theol. Studien und Kritiken* (1863, pp. 792-816; 1872, pp. 747-60) Samuel Davidson's *Introduction to the Old Testament*, and the first volume of the *Speaker's Commentary*, I can only rejoice at the vast strides which biblical studies have made since that day in England and America. The Anglican theology, roughly awakened by the onslaught of Bishop Colenso, lacked at that time the scientific character, especially in so far as it was almost wholly devoted to the mechanical theory of inspiration and was subservient to a false apologetic which passed as orthodox. Whereas H. Ewald, who in my view was the greatest expounder of the Old Testament in the nineteenth century, could welcome the not very important work of a Samuel Davidson in the *Göttinger gelehrten Anzeigen*, 1862, p. 1187, as "a noble monument of a more thorough and profitable biblical science that was newly beginning in England," the progress of Old Testament studies in England and America in the last decades has been so great that I must pronounce a knowledge of the English language to be absolutely indispensable to every German who would independently keep abreast of the time in those studies. In the interests, however, of my countrymen who are not familiar with English, I rejoice that J. Böhmer has published in the German language the "Introduction" of the English scholar, and share his desire that Cheyne's work may

contribute to rendering the bond between English and German theology ever more fully recognized and valued, and ever more closely knit.

I will touch, in passing, upon a small transposition of words in 22: 15 f. which was first suggested by Cheyne in the "Corrigenda" of the *Polychrome Bible*, p. 211. Already in the "Introduction" he expresses the opinion, following Duhm, that the words "touching Shebna, the overseer of the palace" are found in the wrong place. Although J. Meinhold (*Die Jesajaerzählungen*, Js. XXXVI-XXXIX, Göttingen, 1898, p. 76) also concludes that the words may be understood as an inscription to the prophecy, and are perhaps to be removed from their present position, I hold that Duhm's idea that the last five words of vs. 15 are to be regarded as an inscription is improbable, and I see no valid reason for this assertion of his: "the compiler has not observed that the inscription (if it was not written in afterward) has fallen to the end of vs. 15." Much less can I agree with Cheyne when, after the inscription *Against Shebna the Governor of the Palace*, he makes vs. 16b follow immediately on vs. 15a, wherewith the fourteenth of the genuine prophecies of Isaiah begins. He puts in a footnote the allegedly faulty אֲדֹנָי, i. e., the Lord, which stands before JHVH Sabaoth, because it seems a later addition to the genuine text, and translates: "Thus says JHVH Sabaoth: Go in to this prefect that hews out his sepulcher on high, cutting himself out in the rock a habitation, and say," etc. The suffixes in קִבְּרֵי and לֵי can certainly be fitly enough rendered, if this change suggested by Dr. Furness be made, although, as the well-known use of the article in addressing persons shows (cf. the Hebrew *Grammar* of Gesenius-Kautzsch, 26th edition, § 126e), they would present no difficulty in Hebrew. But this apparent advantage is more than counterbalanced by the loss of the rhetorical beauty involved in the change of person, as in Gen. 49: 4.³ I hold with Tuch and Dillmann to the Massoretic text, which Duhm here rightly translates: "Thou, who hewest out his sepulcher on high," etc. It was an error when Rosenmüller in the *Scholia* (3. Aufl., Leipzig, 1833) regarded vs. 16b as a parenthesis and thought that we have here "*non verba prophetæ ad Sebnam, sed enarrantis, et describentis locum quo Sebna sepulchrum sibi paraverit, ut lectores superiorum verborum vim magis sentiant.*" This error must be styled a complete retrogression, since older expositors had given the correct explanation, e. g., J. G. Eichhorn (*Die hebräischen Propheten*, Göttingen, 1816, I, p. 278) and W. Gesenius,

³ I am aware that that great lover of change, C. J. Ball, in the *Polychrome Bible*, at the end of Gen. 49: 4, declares the text to be corrupt, but without ground.

who in his *Jesaia-Kommentar* compares with this passage Mic. 1 : 2 for the change of the form of address into the third person ; see also Ed. König, *Syntax*, § 343^l.

4. In regard to Isa. 22 : 15, or the first verse of our section, Duhm rightly retains the **אֲנִי** which so solemnly commences the words of threatened judgment, but the imperative **בֵּא** which he, like Luther, translates "go in," is, in his view, not quite clear. For my part I decidedly prefer the view of the Authorized Version of 1611, which leaves out of account the distinction between **אֵל** and **עַל** and translates, "Go, get thee unto this treasurer, [even] unto Shebna, which [is] over the house [and say];" so also, for example, Gesenius translates, "Up I go to this [royal] councilor, to Shebna, the overseer of the palace [and say]." The celebrated Dutch expositor Campegius Vitringa, whose exposition of Isaiah lies before me in the edition of Büsching (Halle, 1749), not only finds in the occurring of **עַל** after a previous **אֵל** the expression of an elegant form of speech,⁴ but also thinks that Isaiah thereby indicates that the prophecy is directed *against Shebna*, and that he attacks him unawares. Delitzsch's interpretation in the *Biblical Commentary* (Leipzig, 1879) is similar, viz., that with **אֵל** is interchanged the **עַל** which is commonly used of a stronger coming *against* another (1 Sam. 12 : 12), and which here refers to the superior power of the prophetic word. It is simpler to follow the Authorized Version in repeating the *unto*; this we prefer, taking with it **בִּוֵּא** in the frequently occurring (*e. g.*, Gen. 31 : 18 ; 45 : 17) signification of "betake oneself," and, with Siegfried and Stade (*Hebr. Wörterbuch*, p. 513), recognizing our verse as one of those numerous passages in which **עַל** and **אֵל** are used interchangeably. According to the well-warranted view of Siegfried and Stade, this faulty substitution of **עַל** for **אֵל**, which is attested by parallel passages (*cf.* Isa. 2 : 2 with Mic. 4 : 1), was occasioned, here and in the other places cited by them where the two prepositions occur near together, "by the circumstance that the Aramaic, to whose influence the Hebrew language, in its last phase, and the transmission of the Old Testament text were subjected, did not possess the preposition **אֵל**, and the interchange could the more readily take place since particular verbs could be combined with both of them in different meanings, *e. g.*, **בִּוֵּא**, **דָּבַר** (Jer. 11 : 2), etc." Cheyne himself remarks on the correction of **עַל** into **אֵל**, "rightly if these words are Isaiah's." Although the passage in question gives

⁴ *Cf.* ED. KÖNIG, *Syntax*, § 319^v, who regards **עַל** here as a substitution for **אֵל** for the sake of variety.

the name of the official who is being warned and that of his divinely chosen successor only once, Duhm entirely removes the name Shebna, and thinks that the man who inserted the words "Against Shebna the overseer of the palace" at the end of vs. 15 was in error in taking the foreign official for Shebna the overseer of the palace. This error must have been occasioned, to quote Duhm's own words, "by the foreign sound of the name שְׁבְנָא and the circumstance that the name of Shebna's father is not given. We can no longer determine what the true text is; but that Isaiah did not write the closing words of vs. 15 is indicated by the double title as well as by the עַל, which cannot easily be regarded as a scribal error on account of the foregoing אֵל. Isaiah did not require to name the man, who was of course known to every townsman." In regard to this remarkable specimen of argumentation it is sufficient to say with Cheyne: "We have no reason to doubt that the prophecy refers, as the last words of vs. 15 say, to Shebna, and that he was the predecessor of Eliakim as overseer of the palace." One who wished to do so could of course suspect, because of its appellative meaning, even the name of Eliakim as well as that of his father, as the famous Baur of Tübingen found the Onesimus of the epistle to Philemon suspicious. A wag might even propose the fantastic interpretation, "sit down then!" that is, "down with thee to the ground."⁵ Without concurring in Rosenmüller's supposition of a parenthesis, Guthe's translation, edited by Kautzsch, supplies a free imitation of the prophet's indignant expression, "Let him hew out for himself yonder his sepulcher on high," etc., which agrees excellently with the שְׁבְנָא in vs. 15, where it is employed contemptuously (cf. Isa. 6:9; 1 Sam. 10:27).

5. Abr. Kuenen (*Historisch-critisch Onderzoek*, Leiden, 1889, p. 69), like many expositors, infers from Shebna's name and Isaiah's words to him (vs. 16a) that he was a foreigner in Jerusalem. In regard to the name opinions are certainly very much divided. Apart from our section the name Shebna, usually written שְׁבְנָא,⁶ occurs four times in the book of Isaiah (36:3, 11, 22; 37:2), and likewise in the parallel passages 2 Kings 18:18, 26, 37; 19:2. According to the customary

⁵ Vitringa (*loc. cit.*, p. 474), as since writing the above I have noticed, actually found something prophetic in the name, deriving it from שָׁב, and, in his usual way of playing upon words, saw, in the translation *return, go back, yield*, the foreshadowed destiny of the proud minister who was to give place to a better man.

⁶ Siegfried and Stade remark that the form שְׁבְנָא occurs only twice (2 Kings 18:18, 26), but they regard Hezekiah's palace prefect and chancellor (scribe) as the same person.

view, which also approves itself to us, the same person is meant in all the nine places, he having been first the manager of Hezekiah's household and afterward state secretary (*cf.* Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebr. Lexicon*, where also all the passages for שְׁבִנְיָה and the apparently identical שְׁכִנְיָה are cited). With Siegfried and Stade compare שבניר, in Levy, *Seals and Gems*, pp. 40 f. Franz Delitzsch (*loc. cit.*, p. 257, note 1) remarks that the brother of the famous Hillel was also called Shebna, and then continues: "In the full form of the name שְׁבִנְיָה (also Phœnician), which is interchangeable with שְׁכִנְיָה (*vicinus dei*), שְׁכָן is equivalent to שָׁכָן (constr. from שָׁכַן), *cf.* Aram. שָׁכַב, שָׁכַב, *vicinus*." In Gesenius' *Thesaurus* שְׁכָן is called "*radix incertae significationis, fort. 'crevit,' 'adolevit,' cf. שָׁכַן 'tener, mollis fuit adolescens,' and corresponding to it שְׁבִנְיָה, fort. 'adolescentia,' nisi est pro שְׁכִנְיָה nom. pr. (quem adolescere fecit Jova?)*." It is very possible that the name of God may have been connected with this proper name, as, *e. g.*, Wellhausen (*Gött. gel. Anzeigen*, 1899, p. 244) explains the זְבִינָה mentioned in Esdr. 10:43 (*cf.* Jos., *Ant.*, xiii, 268, 273) as "bought servant, *i. e.*, of God," in accordance with Dan. 2:8. It is equally possible that we should leave Phœnician and Arabic out of account for the derivation of Shebna, and say with Cheyne (*Translation*, p. 159): "It is probable that Shebna was of Syrian origin." But be that as it may, the idea which with the utmost probability we infer from the context, *viz.*, that he was a *parvenu*, is of much greater importance. This is not denied even by Winer (*Bib. Realwörterbuch*, 3. Aufl.), who, however, will not admit the inference from the Aramaic form that the man must have been a foreigner. Most expositors rightly find it probable, with Winer and Cheyne, "that he was a leader of the party which favored alliance with Egypt against Assyria."

Shebna, the name of whose father is wanting in all the nine passages, was a *homo novus*, or, as George Adam Smith (*Expositor's Bible*, London, 1888, p. 317) most aptly calls him, an "unfamiliar intruder who had sought to establish himself in Jerusalem, after the manner of those days, by hewing himself a great sepulcher." This leads us to consider the question whether in the title of this article I have rightly compared the position of the person threatened in this prophecy with that of the Frankish major-domo. Shebna is designated as אֲשֶׁר עַל-הַבַּיִת, and it is not advisable, with Cheyne's critical edition, p. 196, to read שָׁר for אֲשֶׁר or to change the עַל standing before שְׁבִנָּה into ל. The title אֲשֶׁר עַל-הַבַּיִת might indeed, on account of the ambiguity of

the last word, be understood otherwise; that is, it could be taken, as in the old versions, to designate a temple official. But this old interpretation, which Jerome also credulously adopted under the influence of his Jewish teacher (*cf.* August Pfeiffer, *Opera omnia*, Utrecht, 1704, p. 369), translating גַּבֵּר in vs. 17 by *gallus gallinaceus*, is decidedly to be rejected, and can be called important only in having possibly contributed to biasing the judgment of many expositors in regard to this passage. עֶלְדִּיבִית simply is never used in regard to a temple overseer in the Old Testament. The context of our section (*cf.* Isa. 22 : 21 ff.) plainly shows that the prophecy is addressed to an exalted secular official, whom Luther, on account of his high rank in the royal court, calls the *Hofmeister* (steward); therefore I content myself with citing a few parallel passages and refer, for the Septuagint and other old versions, to the detailed discussion in Rosenmüller's *Scholia*. According to 2 Kings 15 : 5, Jotham as prince-regent bore the title of a governor of the palace, or, as it is also translated, *Haushofmeister* (house steward). Ed. Riehm (*Handwörterbuch*, 2d ed., pp. 645, 1466) rightly infers from this that Shebna by this title is designated as the first state official, standing very near the king, or as the highest minister of state. According to Gen. 41 : 40, Pharaoh set Joseph over his house and thereby assigned to him the place nearest the throne; *cf.* also 1 Kings 4 : 6; 18 : 3. On the other hand, I regret that Riehm again brings forward the idea that the Shebna who, according to 2 Kings, chaps. 18 f.; Isa., chaps. 36 f., accompanied the steward Eliakim when commissioned by Hezekiah to conduct the negotiation with the ambassadors of Sennacherib, and to solicit the intercession of Isaiah, was perhaps not the person threatened in Isa., chap. 22. Certainly there is no logical impossibility in the idea that two state officials in very high positions under the same King Hezekiah may have borne the same unusual name of Shebna; but this hypothesis of two different persons named Shebna substitutes, in a way disallowed to the historian or exegete, the abstract possibility for the actual reality which to all appearance is alone warranted. Evidently this hypothesis, which is also approved by Rüetschi in the second edition of Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie* (art. "Sebna"), is of purely dogmatic origin. Having read in Isa., chap. 22, that the prophet commissioned by Yahweh threatened Shebna with the speedy loss of his position and removal to a foreign country, these interpreters are not satisfied with a mere partial fulfilment of the prophecy, since they presume that the divine threat could not have failed of complete accomplishment. We shall see more definitely afterward how injuriously this dogmatic presupposition has affected exegesis.

6. In his exposition of our passage, which first appeared in the year 1714, Vitringa, who explicitly declares the closing verse easy, *i. e.*, requiring no special elucidation, and, with the great majority of expositors, rightly understands it of the fall of Shebna, gives an interesting account of his view of the fulfilment of this prophecy. He thinks that Shebna had attained to the high office of steward, probably under Ahaz—an hypothesis, not in itself improbable, in which he had been preceded by Hugo Grotius and which we meet again in the writings of H. Ewald (*Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, third edition, Vol. III, pp. 370, 663; *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes*, second edition, Vol. I, p. 401). Moreover, Vitringa infers from vs. 18 that Shebna, after being dismissed in disgrace, fled in shame and fear secretly to Assyria or Babylon in the same stately chariot in which he was wont to appear in Jerusalem, with a view to stirring up the king of Assyria against Hezekiah. In this flight, which took place not long before the campaign of Sennacherib, the prophecy had its first fulfilment. After the unfortunate issue of that campaign, Shebna closed his career in ignominy under Assyrian rule. Vitringa will not allow that this Shebna who, according to the threatening of the prophet, was to die far from Jerusalem, was identical with the one mentioned in 2 Kings, chaps. 18 f., and supports this supposition of several persons of the same name, forced upon him by orthodox dogmatics, by pointing out the improbability that Hezekiah, in sending to Isaiah, would employ as his messenger an enemy of that prophet. This difficulty quite disappears, as will be shown, if only we do not proceed on the untenable presupposition of a complete fulfilment of the prophecy.

Winer also does not doubt that Shebna, who had recommended the alliance with Egypt, was really dismissed, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, and that Eliakim mentioned by Isaiah was his successor; but he thinks that "Shebna, as is often the case with such favorites, was not wholly removed from the court; he held the less considerable and influential office of a שֹׁפֵט, probably, just as nowadays retiring ministers may be appointed ambassadors or chiefs of provinces." Schenkel, in his *Bibel-Lexicon*, not only supposes that Shebna had provoked the anger of the prophet by his arrogance and harshness, but adds also the doubtful supposition that he had aroused the jealousy of Hezekiah by locating his sepulcher near the tombs of the kings. Nevertheless, because he knew how to make himself indispensable to the king, he retained the confidential position of a royal scribe, and then, after the invasion of the Assyrians under Sennacherib,

his relations with Isaiah had improved. Emphasizing especially vs. 21, Cornill, in *Stade's Zeitschrift*, 1884, p. 97, makes the just remark: "The invective against Shebna deals less with the person of this dignitary than with Jerusalem suffering through the abuse of his official power." Unprejudiced criticism, it seems to me, cannot possibly see in the term *father* a title. So H. Ewald conjectured that, with the removal of Shebna to another official position, the chief gravamen against him, namely, the promotion of unworthy favorites, was obviated, and that there was a real amendment on Shebna's part, just as Riehm, in view of Isa 37:2, presupposes his repentance, unless a different person is spoken of under the same name.

7. For the understanding of this and every prophetic passage it is important that we form a correct view of the relation of the king to the prophet, such as we miss in J. G. Eichhorn and many other writers. This famous representative of the so-called *rationalismus vulgaris* says, *loc. cit.*: "It seems to have belonged to the duties of a court prophet among the Hebrews to announce to the first minister of state the displeasure of the king, when he had incurred it, together with the punishment of his transgression; and to report to those who obtained an office at court that they were appointed to their posts. Such an announcement, whereby Isaiah at one time informed the overseer of the palace, Shebna, of his removal from his office, and in the king's name declared Eliakim his successor, survives in this section." These acts of dismissal and nomination on the part of the court prophet in the name of the king are supposed by Eichhorn to have been performed at the same time in Yahweh's name, "since the king regarded himself as the deputy of Jehovah, the invisible king of the land." Moreover, he thinks that "Shebna, who was sent along with Eliakim in the capacity of scribe to Sennacherib's generals, must either have been a different person from the overseer of the palace or, if he was the same person, the decree of banishment must have been canceled, the dismissal must have been modified, and altered to a transference to an inferior post." Gesenius rightly rejects this view of the relation existing between the king and the prophet, and employs against it, not only the analogy of other prophecies which, like the present, refer to a single individual (*cf.* Amos 7:17; Jer. 28:15 ff.; 29:21 ff.; 39:13 ff.), but also the circumstance of its apparently incomplete fulfilment.

However much I assent to Gesenius' view that Isaiah is not here spoken of as the executor of a royal commission, I do not find that

this scholar has attained a quite correct view of the relation of the king to the prophet. In his commentary he describes Shebna as the head of the party opposed to the prophet, and says: "Just at a point of time when he believed that his position was most secure he lost the confidence of the king who, as always (?), gave heed willingly to the advice of the prophet; his fall was determined, and now (?) the prophet through this utterance gives vent to his just displeasure with him, announcing, along with his dismissal, his exile (*i. e.*, his expulsion from the land). Apparently this latter punishment was not inflicted; the king confined himself to a change of officials, or he was received again into favor. That such prophecies were rather maledictions and execrations than properly predictions plainly appears from Amos 7:17. Here it is further especially noteworthy that no (?) reason is given for the punishment denounced upon Shebna. No doubt, however (unless something has fallen out before this passage), it must be attributed to the general reason that Shebna belonged to the irreligious anti-theocratic party." Yet for one who can sufficiently place himself in the spirit and aim of this prophecy, the prophet by no means fails in indicating reasons for the divine threat of judgment. The attentive reader who notes how Shebna's successor is described as a servant of Yahweh, *i. e.*, a pious man (vs. 20), and as a benefactor of the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the house of Judah (vs. 21), can easily infer the possession of the opposite of those virtues by Eliakim's predecessor, and can presume, on Shebna's part, the want of the fear of God as well as ruthless oppression of the people.

Vitringa, not satisfied with the literal fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy, speaks also of a mystical fulfilment on account of Rev. 3:7. He thinks that, because the description of the Savior as the possessor of the key of David in this passage of the Apocalypse refers to Isa. 22:22, Eliakim is plainly a type of Christ. One might fancy that Jewish expositors, biased by the typical view of the person of Eliakim (*cf.* also Heb. 3:6) current among Christians, may have been led to an unfavorable idea of this man, so that they ascribe to him a nepotism of an objectionable kind. But this idea is shown to be false from the fact that even in the pre-Christian Greek translation, although it is well known that the Septuagint is rather to be treated as the oldest exposition than as an aid to textual criticism, we find the erroneous application of the title of house steward to a temple official, and that Jerome (*cf.* Rosenmüller, *Scholia*, p. 153) following the Targum at vs. 25, remarks: "*Quod autem ait: in die illa auferetur paullus, qui fixus fuerat*

in loco fideli et quae sequuntur, multi ad Sobnam referunt, quod Eliakim infixo paxillo, prior paxillus, qui infixus fuerat, corruat. Sed quia sequitur, et peribit quod pependerit in eo, quod dejecto Sobna nequaquam factum est, intelligimus hoc dici, quod deposito Sobna pontificatum acceperit Eliakim, cuius sacerdotii dignitatem subvertit extrema captivitas." Here the words "*quod dejecto Sobna nequaquam factum est*" again plainly betray the fact that the exegesis is dependent on the dogmatic view. The reference of vs. 25 to Eliakim is only apparently applicable if we go back mechanically to vs. 23. Here, at any rate, Eliakim is denoted by עֲלִיָּאִים or nail, so that from a superficial consideration one may believe himself justified in viewing עֲלִיָּאִים in vs. 25 as so referring back to vs. 23 that the announcement of Eliakim's fall is thereby intended. But an unprejudiced exegesis, which has its glance directed to the whole of this section, can only agree with Rosenmüller in accepting the view of Raschi and Kimchi, fully stated by him, which regards vs. 25 as announcing the fall of Shebna, who was at that time still in possession of the highest office under the king.

I. A. Dathe remarks clearly and aptly at vs. 25: "*Quoniam Eliakimo constans et stabilis fortuna in munere suo promissa fuerat, non probabile videtur, de eodem in hoc versu esse sermonem. Sed videtur propheta denuo lapsum Sebnæ prædicere et in eum transferre eundem tropum a clavo desumptum, quo de Eliakimo fuerat usus;*" only instead of the repeated *videtur* a stronger expression would have been more appropriate. The force of the context is clearly given by the analysis of John Piscator in his *Bibelwerk* (Herborn, 1644) in the following words: "*Depositio Sebnæ a præfectura aulae indicatur primo verbis propriis, v. 19: deinde amplificatur antithesi disparatorum, quatenus præfectura illa promittitur Eliakimo, vv. 20 sqq. Postremo illustratur simili exemptionis paxilli e pariete, v. 25.*" Piscator speaks briefly and to the point at the last verse: "*[Paxillus iste] præfectus aulae, Schebna. Metaphora ex collatione versus 23.*"

8. The stricture expressed in section 7, against Eichhorn and Gesenius, of having erroneously conceived the relation of the king to the prophet, cannot be directed against Duhm, inasmuch as this scholar, for whom only vss. 15-18, excluding 15^bβ, could have "quite properly belonged to Isaiah," expresses the view that "undoubtedly the high official was quite passive before the formidable man of God, and the scene, which certainly did not occur in absolute privacy, was so far already a signal humiliation for the upstart." The words with which Isaiah, at the end of vs. 18, brands the great man as the

disgrace of the king's house equally show the bold spirit of the intrepid prophet, and his steadfast conviction that as the messenger of the Lord Yahweh of hosts, he must personally announce to the potentate his doom of speedy dismissal from his high office. Himself inwardly assured of the divine will, the prophet, who had no respect of persons, certainly took even the king by surprise with the announcement of this dismissal, especially as the promotion of Eliakim was immediately connected with it, the latter being an outstanding man in Jerusalem, well known to the king and the whole court. Hezekiah carried out the divine will by substituting Eliakim for Shebna as the highest state official. The prophecy of Isaiah, as we may suppose with Ewald (*cf.* 6), was not fruitless, since in any case it made an end of the promotion of unworthy favorites. The removal of Shebna would have been a half measure, had it not brought in a better successor. We need not, however, with Piscator, influenced by the inadmissible idea of a complete fulfilment of the prophecy, have recourse to the very improbable supposition that Shebna was delivered up to the Assyrians by the king, and so was carried off to Assyria. The merit of the man of God suffers no abatement, although Shebna did not die in the far East, but, in spite of the literal meaning of vs. 18, at Jerusalem. Therefore Isaiah did not find it necessary to suppress his prophecy against Shebna on account of its presumably mere partial fulfilment. On the contrary he has, with his wonted skill, recorded this prophecy, which is of course not a prediction. And this skill is shown, according to the correct analysis of Piscator (*cf.* 7), in the fact that not only the beginning, but the continuation and conclusion, of the prophecy refer to Shebna's deposition.

On the other hand, Duhm is wrong in saying: "It is strange that Isaiah should appoint the new minister." It is certainly self-evident that such depositions and appointments were the prerogative of the king, not of the so-called court prophet. While Duhm regards vss. 15-18 quite intelligible, the address to Eliakim appears to him "full of difficulties." But these difficulties are only such as the expositor himself has made. Even more than at the appointment of the new minister Duhm wonders at the circumstance "that Isaiah sought at the same time to promote his whole family." If the prophet had really wished only to say that the advancement of a certain man to the first office under the king would, as is still the case everywhere, bring increased influence to his whole kindred, he would have passed over in silence the advancement of his whole family, which, as a self-evident

matter, required no special mention. Ed. Reuss (*Die Propheten*, Braunschweig, 1892, p. 179) remarks more appropriately on vss. 23 f.: "All these figures offend our taste: the fastened nail means the secure position of the new minister; the following words say that all his relatives, without distinction of merit or of the social position of individuals, will *hang* upon this nail. Nowadays this is called nepotism, camaraderie, etc. In the ancient East it was the rule. A famous example was that of the Barmakides at the court of the Abbassides. The vessels are just the members of the family in the widest sense. Isaiah certainly did not mean thereby to assail the honor of his patron or protégé." Only through unjustifiably reading a meaning into these verses which emphasize Eliakim's ability can we find in them any charge of nepotism. We have rather to concur with the famous Hugo Grotius, who remarks at vs. 21, "*Optime voce patris expressit boni magistratus officium*," and then explains vs. 25 as follows: "*Sobna remoto, simul removebuntur omnes ejus clientelae. Volunt enim novi magistri aulae ministros per totam aulam habere sibi obnoxios*." "It is quite unaccountable, however," continues Duhm, "that Isaiah, in the same breath (with the promotion of the whole family), announces the downfall in disgrace of the newly appointed minister—for that vs. 25 applies to Shebna, not to Eliakim, is only the solution of a desperate exegesis." I am quite willing to admit that we have here to do with a question of exegesis. Duhm's faulty exposition is the cause of his violent critical operations. When he calls the only warranted exegesis desperate, I think this predicate should rather be applied to his truly desperate double assumption. Duhm regards vss. 19-23 "as the addition inserted by someone who had 36:3 before his eyes, and perhaps one who was somehow interested in the family of Eliakim," and he holds vss. 24 f. as "another addition by one who was an enemy of the family of Eliakim, and who, therefore, cannot have lived before the exile. Vss. 15-18 were probably composed during the reign of Hezekiah." We shall see that Cheyne (*cf.* 3) is not the only one who has followed his leadership in regard to this double assumption.

9. In proof of my assertion, which I have intentionally thus candidly stated, an exegesis of this *whole* passage is not required; this will appear also if we fix our attention briefly on the only word of vs. 15 (*cf.* 4) which has not yet been discussed. I mean the expression **שְׁבַנָּה**, which is also without importance for my assertion, and in regard to whose meaning opinions still differ. Rüetschi, though he rightly allows that their downfall was announced through Isaiah to Shebna

and his whole circle of relatives, wrongly said in 1861 (*cf.* Herzog, *Real.-Enc.*, 1st ed., XIV, 172) that סֵכֶן, along with the immediately following words אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַבַּיִת, refers to the house steward. This error was probably occasioned by Luther's translation, "Gehe hinein zum Schatzmeister Sebna, dem Hofmeister," which, as a free translation, has in the revised German *Volksbibel*⁶ received no correction, because a correction appeared unessential for the meaning. Luther, indeed, chose different German words for the two different expressions, since he rendered סֵכֶן by "treasurer" and the succeeding words by "governor of the palace." The new editor of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch*, Frants Buhl, translates סֵכֶן by "Pfleger," "Verwalter" ("guardian," "steward"), but he thinks it doubtful whether the word is to be derived from a special Hebrew verb סָכַן, "to care for," "tend," "take charge of," which occurs, perhaps as a Canaanism, in the Tell-el-Amarna letters (*Zeitschr. für Assyriol.*, 6, 248), or whether, along with סֵכֶן, it is an older equivalent of the Assyrian *šaknu* (*i. e.*, "prefect," "superintendent;" *cf.* Isa. 41:25), and compares the מִסְכְּנוֹת, or "provision cities," mentioned, *e. g.*, Exod. 1:11, which Ed. König (*Syntax*, § 267a) explains as "seats of government." Besides the masculine

⁶ While referring to my treatise, *Die berichtigte Lutherbibel*, Rectoratsrede, mit Anmerkungen (Berlin, 1894, pp. 66, 8vo), I may for various reasons call attention to the importance of the German *Volksbibel*. The revised edition of Luther's German translation, which was prepared by a commission of the German Evangelical Church Conference, and which has now been officially adopted in nearly all Germany, can, as we know, be compared, as regards fidelity to the original text, neither with the English version of 1611 nor with many later versions which have risen on Luther's shoulders, *e. g.*, the Zürich Bible for 1868, which has been revised anew after the original text, and which gives at vs. 15 the rendering, "Go in to this steward (*Verwalter*), to Sebna, who is set over the house." The commendable principles to which the pious translators of the Authorized Version were devoted Paul Haupt has printed in the introduction to Cheyne's translation (pp. ix-xii), doubtless to the benefit of many learned German despisers of the *Volksbibel*. One very often finds in English writings on biblical subjects all sorts of observations on the renderings of the Authorized Version and their justification. In this way biblical scholars of English speech fulfil a duty to their country and the church, and contribute to making the true sense of the words of the Bible, on which all Protestant confessions, in opposition to those of the Romish and Greek churches, are founded, ever more accessible to the laity. My sincere desire is that many German scholars also will become more sensible of their duty in this respect, bearing in mind that only the best that can be done in setting forth the *Hebraica veritas* is good enough for the people. As a member of the committee of revisers who were officially charged at Halle in 1871-90 to bring Luther's Bible into a form better corresponding with the original text, I know the need of the revised edition better than perhaps any Old Testament theologian now

participle, Siegfried and Stade's Hebrew *Lexicon* mentions also the feminine form סִכְנָת, 1 Kings 1:2, 4, i. e., "female attendant." J. D. Michaelis (*Supplementa ad Lexica Hebraica*, p. 1756), who specially builds upon the Arabic سَكَن, *familiaris fuit*, tries two different derivations, which lead him to the same signification, "chamberlain" (*familiaris*, i. e., *amicus regis*), and thinks that Shebna was the first among the chamberlains of Hezekiah. Gesenius compares 1 Kings 4:5 and 1 Macc. 11:26 f., and regards the "king's friend" as his councilor. The Authorized Version, in its translation "treasurer," to which Cheyne prefers "prefect," follows, with Luther, the Targum, Ibn-Ezra, and others, and goes back to the already mentioned passage Exod. 1:11. Perfectly untenable is Doederlein's view, which is well controverted by Rosenmüller, viz., that סִכְנָת is to be explained according to Eccl. 9:15 f. as *artifex* and the סָ before Shebna as *pro*, as if the matter concerned the actual builder of the mausoleum engaged by Shebna.

10. After having, at the first verse, conceded only a small textual error (cf. 4), viz., סָ instead of סִכְנָת (cf. Ewald, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch*, § 217i, and A. Noordtrij, *Het Hebreeuwsche Voorzetsel* סִכְנָת, Leiden, 1896, living. Yet I cannot express myself with sufficient severity in regard to the utterly absurd review in which the otherwise highly deserving Paul de Lagarde expressed his sentence of condemnation (*Göttinger gel. Anz.*, 1885, pp. 57-96) upon the so-called *Probe-Bibel*. By the *Probe-Bibel*, which appeared in 1883, just 400 years after Luther's birth, is meant the first preliminary impression of the revised Bible carried out under commission of the Eisenach Church Conference, which, after the end of the second revision, was for some years subjected to the public judgment, in order that as wide a circle as possible might participate in the revision. At length, after the numerous suggestions which came in had been examined and used, the *Probe-Bibel* was issued in the revised edition, and since 1892 has been used by innumerable German-speaking Evangelical Christians. If the *Probe-Bibel*, whose divergences from the common editions of the Luther Bible were indicated by special type, was a valuable improvement on the German *Volksbibel*, and an aid to its understanding, still one was quite justified in wishing that the final third revision should betray less anxiety to cling to Luther's literal and now partly antiquated forms, and should go farther in improving the sense. This wish has been fulfilled as far as was possible in the given circumstances. The revision committee did not trouble itself about the opposition of the orthodox, to whom the whole work of correction appeared doubtful, or at least superfluous for the people who had the catechism and hymn-book in their hands, and just as little about the view, verging on the Catholic prohibition of the Bible, expressed by P. de Lagarde (concerning whose anti-Protestant leanings see Beyschlag's *Deutsch-evangelische Blätter* of April, 1891; cf. also Websky's *Protestantische Monatshefte*, 1899, p. 286), or about the doctrinaire ideas of dry-as-dust scholars who would have only the theologians read the Bible. With some degree of success the assured results of exegetical inquiry of the post-Reformation centuries have been incorporated into the

pp. 90-112), and having rejected more radical proposals of that kind, we shall require the supposition of alterations neither for the consonant text nor for the pointing in the remaining verses. While asserting this, I think it not superfluous to remark that a sound critic of the text has nothing to do with all sorts of possible alterations, but can accept only such corrections as bear the stamp of probability. This is not the case with the alterations and suggestions proposed at Isa. 22 : 17-19. Rather we must regard these collectively from a scientific standpoint as retrograde steps, in comparison with the older correct view of the passages in question, or as superfluous, as in the case of the transposition of vs. 16*b*, which we have already (4) mentioned. In vs. 17 J. D. Michaelis (*Anmerkungen für Ungelehrte*, 1779, p. 124) would point גִּבּוֹר according to Ps. 52 : 3 as גִּבּוֹרִי and translate it "thou robber," just as he finds that the address "thou murderer" suited the Doeg carried over from 1 Sam. 22 : 9 in the inscription of the psalm. In connection with the explanation of גִּבּוֹר, which Duhm translates as "hero" (*Held*) and Cheyne much better as "mighty man," what Wellhausen says on Ps. 52 is worthy of remark: "The person addressed is not an alien tyrant, but a Jew in high position (*cf.*, *e. g.*, Isa. 22 : 15)." I regard it also as unnecessary, following the example of Ps. 52 : 3, to prefix, German *Volks- und Kirchenbibel*. However much may still remain to be desired, it may yet be confidently maintained that, although only such changes were allowed as, while conforming to the original text, appeared to be, from the point of view of edification, important and unquestionable, the revised edition is based on literary, exegetical, and linguistic studies such as have never been hitherto applied in so thorough and comprehensive a way to any edition of the Luther Bible.

The revision committee was composed of university professors and practical theologians very expert in Scripture, who not only came from different German-speaking regions, but also represented different theological and ecclesiastical tendencies. Thus, if not an absolute, yet a considerable, guarantee was given that in the changes made on the basis of the original text mere subjective inclinations would not determine the results. Therefore I specially recommend a comparison of the *Probe-Bibel* of 1883 and the final revised edition with the earlier copies of the Luther Bible widely disseminated by the German and by the British Bible Society. I make this recommendation the more confidently from the circumstance that an expositor so far above all affectation of superiority as T. K. Cheyne (*Einleitung*, p. 34, note 2) at Isa. 7 : 15 appeals against Luther and certain expositors to the revised Bible, in which not only Delitzsch, but also Bertheau, Riehm, Schlottmann, and others have decidedly rejected Luther's view. Just because a large percentage of its corrections of the Luther Bible are really the result of a sound exegesis, the revised Halle edition, which is now printed in different parts of Germany, can be recommended as an exegetical help. Certainly it is not authorities, but simply and solely good reasons, which have to decide matters in science. Yet, on the other hand, one knows that four eyes, not to say thirty, may easily see things which escape two.

with Duhm, the article to the vocative, taking it from the foregoing word, which he would read מַלְאִיךְ (cf. Ed. König, *Syntax*, § 220b and § 3290). Duhm and Cheyne are right, however, in following the Peshito, Aug. Pfeiffer, and others in considering גַּבְר as vocative (cf. Ed. König, *Syntax*, §§ 285 f.) and reject the translation *Manneswurf* preferred by Delitzsch. For the rest, Cheyne, who lets the Hebrew text stand at vs. 17b, had no need to leave untranslated the ἀπαξ λεγ. here occurring, because he rejects Duhm's false interpretation of it as "too violent." No doubt Siegfried and Stade's *Lexicon* declares vs. 17 to be corrupt, appealing in evidence thereof (cf., however, J. D. Michaelis, *Supplem.*, p. 1883) to the Septuagint, which, however, it must be remembered, is in the case of the book of Isaiah a bad translation. Certainly the Septuagint, which, according to the *Lexicon* just mentioned, must have used the reading מַלְאִיךְ, was led astray by Lev. 13:45, and Hugo Grotius, in accordance with that verse, believes that Shebna was threatened with leprosy, while Piscator translates *amicit te splendide*, in order to set vs. 18 (*Sed arctissime convolvit te, ut pilam, [projicietque] in terram, etc.*) in striking contrast. Along with Buhl, who translates *fold together* (*susammenwickeln*), or still better with Hitzig, Delitzsch, etc., who give *seize* (*fassen*), *fasten up* (*packen*), I find it easy to clear myself of the imputation of bringing in a ὑστερον πρότερον. This imputation appears quite intelligible, since unquestionably the order of time in the transactions could only be that Shebna was first seized, then rolled up into a clue, and finally slung far away. Yet Hitzig in his *Commentary* (Heidelberg, 1833), which perhaps with good reason (cf. Herzog, *Prot. Real-Encyclop.*, second edition, VI, p. 168) is regarded as the best of his exegetical works, has sufficiently shown that Isaiah here follows a genuine Hebrew idiom which occurs even in prose. The prophet, in the impetuosity of his address, effectively puts first what is most important, and says Yahweh will hurl Shebna far away from his stately sepulcher, wherein he had hoped at some time to be laid, and then brings in the middle clauses which he had passed over in his haste. Since Hitzig, as it seems to me, has greatly contributed, by the weight of his authority, to the erroneous reference of vs. 25 to Eliakim which has become more current of late, and since this eminent exegete often (cf. Herzog, *Prot. Real-Enc.*, loc. cit., p. 171, and Frankenberg's *Handkommentar zu den Sprüchen*, p. 17) loses himself in the details of logical connection, his right exposition of vs. 17a must be all the more highly rated. Finally, whoever finds this half verse too short may, with Duhm, bring over into it the vocative "O man!"

Also at vs. 18 we must unhesitatingly refer the fixing of the consonant text back to Isaiah himself. It is a matter of indifference for the sense whether, with Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 118 α , we regard כְּהֵנָּה as *comparatio decurtata*, and with Buhl, who compares כֶּבֶד, understand it according to the Mishna Hebrew as "ball," or whether, as I prefer it, we consider כ here, not as a radical, but as a prepositional consonant; so, e. g., does A. Schultens (*Animadversiones philo.*, Amstelaedami 1709, pp. 343 ff.), who for Isa. 29:3 emphasizes the improbability of a repeated *comparatio decurtata in eadem voce*; cf. also Ed. König (*Syntax*, § 299 α). It also makes little difference whether we take the emphatically repeated תָּמָּה, corresponding to the thrice given פֶּה of vs. 16, in the usual meaning of "thither," or, like the sonorous closing word of the book of Ezekiel, in the sense of "there." Ed. König (*Syntax*, § 330 α) says that, through a certain obscuration of the linguistic sense, תָּמָּה was partly or wholly used for "there." According to Ewald (§ 216 α), who rightly takes תָּמָּה as "there," this small word, which shows the remains of an old case, had become further shortened into תָּמָּה, "there." I may refer to the German *dort*, which (cf. Moriz Heyne, *Deutsches Wörterb.*, Leipzig, 1890) originally denoted the direction, but which already in O. H. German served to indicate the idea of abiding, and to the equivalent form *dorten*, amplified for the sake of euphony. When Piscator translates, *ibi movieris ibique (desinent) curricula tua magnifica, O ignominia*, etc., only the cessation of existence artificially inferred from the idea of death is false, but otherwise the translation is correct. The Authorized Version, which, in spite of the accentuation, follows the Targum, has, "and there the chariots of thy glory (shall be) the shame of thy Lord's house," thus mistaking the address at the close of vs. 18; in common with this Duhm has "chariots of honor," while Cheyne, with Piscator, Hitzig, etc., gives the better rendering "thy splendid chariots." It is scarcely permissible with Eichhorn, Delitzsch, etc., to translate, in brief succession, "there" and then "thither." Cheyne's translation, "thither shalt thou go to die and thither will go," etc., is preferable. As Delitzsch justly says: "The dignitary riding in a lordly equipage is even then occupied with directing the building of a hereditary sepulcher;" and the plural "chariots" likewise suggests that for Shebna, after his dismissal, i. e., after the loss of the highest official position in Jerusalem, there remains nothing further than to ride off with his gorgeous chariots to a distant land. According to Dillmann, the mention

of chariots is a derisive touch, since these would no longer belong to the exiled man.

11. After having discussed vss. 17, 18, we pass on to vs. 19, which, according to Hitzig, develops a consequence of both the foregoing verses, inasmuch as Shebna's expulsion to a foreign land at the same time left his office vacant. In regard to the first word, וְהִדְפֹּתִי, I do not wonder that the use of the first person here is a difficulty to many expositors, because both before and afterward God is spoken of in the third person. In opposition to Luzzatto, who in vs. 19 would make the king the subject, Delitzsch rightly emphasizes the view that in each half of the verse Yahweh must be the subject. Neither the translation of Ed. Reuss nor the note which he appends to it appears to me justified; the translation runs: "I spurn thee away from the post! Thou shalt be dragged down from thy place!" and the note: "*I*—thus indignantly speaks Isaiah, and it may be doubted whether Isaiah puts himself here in place of God or lets God himself speak." While I agree, however, with Duhm and Cheyne that in both halves of the verse Yahweh is the actor, I must blame these scholars for unjustifiably finding a stumbling-block in the change of person, and in regard to textual criticism countenancing here a regrettable retrograde step. We read in Cheyne's critical edition, p. 108: "אֲדַחֵשׁ, Houb., Lowth, Bredenk., Duhm, Grätz, with Peshita and Vulg.; Massoretic text דִּחֵשׁ." By putting this among the examples adduced of an abrupt transition from one person to another, the grammar of Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 144*p*, assumes the correctness of the text in these places, as others had done before. Already Hitzig, in both his translations of Isaiah, even in that of the prophetic books which appeared in 1854, had found no occasion to alter the text, as he openly shared the view of Gesenius, "that it must not be regarded as a various reading when the Alex., Syr., and Vulg. make the persons agree." Certainly the text-critical value of the Septuagint for particular books (*e. g.*, Samuel, Kings, Ezekiel) has been rated very highly, but for other books (*e. g.*, Isaiah, Job, Daniel) it is just the other way; and, in spite of Nöldeke and Wellhausen, this truth is unfortunately not sufficiently considered by many expositors in our own day. Dillmann's assertion (*Der Prophet Jesaja*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 41) is perfectly right that the Septuagint version of Isaiah "swarms with corrupt readings, omissions, and misconceptions." Even in those correct glosses which are not open to this charge one cannot accept offhand a reading which differs from the ordinary Hebrew text. Thus it is altogether absurd for

Lowth at vs. 15 to insert καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀντὶ in the text. And Duhm's procedure appears to me perfectly unwarrantable when, on the basis of a false textual criticism, he claims as his literary-critical or historical discovery the emendation found in the first person. To quote his own words, Duhm thinks "the editor who added to the original text lets Yahveh speak in the first person, while Isaiah spoke of him in the third." But this distinction between the editor and Isaiah has no sound basis, being dependent upon the supposition that vs. 19 comes *post festum*, because the official driven into exile no longer required to be dragged from his place. Duhm is inclined to the view that vss. 19-23 were added by someone who at the end of vs. 15 identified the steward or manager with Shebna, and besides he gives the following conjecture in regard to the first of those verses: "This verse was introduced the better to bring in the substitution of Eliakim for the foreigner, perhaps also because vss. 17 f. were not fulfilled if Shebna is there meant." The Vav commencing vs. 19, which Piscator renders by the Latin *nam* (*propulsabo te [inquit] de statione tua*), while Eichhorn and Gesenius do not express it in their translation, we may freely translate as "Yea" (*cf.* Ps. 90: 19), or as "And so." However much the reference of the two verbs to the dismissal of Shebna as an already accomplished fact—a view which Umbreit thinks in itself possible—conflicts with the syntax, we may unhesitatingly, with Ewald, render Vav by "So." Gesenius has plainly said that "the prophet, as his habit is, places the literal description in vs. 19 after the figurative expression for expulsion in vss. 16, 17," and Ewald expands this in somewhat artificial language by his remark at vss. 17-19, (Isaiah has) "first expressed himself at vss. 17, 18a with uncommon power and penetrating severity, only finally at vs. 19 descending to a milder form of speech, passing then also from the first to the third person as in 14: 30." In reference to the elsewhere occurring change of person, Rosenmüller rightly finds fault with Lowth for appealing to the Syriac and Vulgate, when he says: "*solent hi interpretes, non minus quam nostri, permutationes illas sibi insolitas vitare. Sic Alexandrino verbum utrumque persona secunda passiva reddere placuit;*" and he remarks on the collective singular יִשְׁבַּנָּה in vs. 21, for which several codices, cited by Kennicott and De Rossi, give the plural: "*inde quod Alexandrinus cum ceteris interpretibus veteribus in plurali vertit, nihil certi potest colligi.*" What I have already adduced in regard to the textual criticism of this section will be sufficient, so that I have no need to repeat what I have remarked, in the *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1888, pp. 576-80, in regard to the manufacturing

of conjectures which is now in fashion, and also regarding the over-estimate of the Septuagint.

12. Before I now consider more closely how, following Hitzig's precedent, Duhm was led to his complicated hypothesis (*cf.* 3 and 8), I remark that Rudolph Kittel, one of the latest workers in this field, has the doubtful merit of having introduced, in the *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch* (Leipzig, 1898), in place of the correct interpretation of his three predecessors, Knobel, Diestel, and Dillmann, the reference of vs. 25 to Eliakim. Kittel could appeal for this erroneous exposition to a goodly array of authorities already cited by Dillmann, and the names of the Targum, Jerome, Hitzig, Hendewerk, Drechsler, Delitzsch, Bredenkamp, and von Orelli have perhaps imposed upon many readers. He might have appealed also to the learned Pietist, J. H. Michaelis, whose short notes in the Halle Bible of 1720 are specially interesting. For this worthy expositor, as for Vitranga (*cf.* 7), Eliakim is a type of the Christ, and Michaelis shows with special clearness whither the dogmatic exegesis leads. The pious theologian of Halle explains the beginning of vs. 25, "in die *adversus gentem Judaeorum*," but cites, in support of this, not the foregoing *בְּיָמֵי הַדָּוִד* of vs. 20, but vs. 5; then he remarks in regard to the falling of the nail which is repeated from vs. 23, "*Mors Eliakimi non ipsi, qui figuram gessit Christi Jesu, sed domui Juda in poenam praedicitur*," although the reference in our passage (vs. 18) is to the death of Shebna, nowhere to that of Eliakim.

Hitzig rightly regards vs. 20 as the beginning of the second part of the section, but he wrongly makes the third part begin at vs. 24, while he holds, through a faulty exegesis, that vs. 24, which with vs. 25 belongs to vss. 20-23, is a later addition. This error arises from his regarding vs. 24 as proclaiming the culpable nepotism of Eliakim and vs. 25 as describing his downfall, so that the motive in vs. 24 is stated before the fact of the downfall instead of being made to follow it. At vs. 25 Hitzig asserts that "the mistake is scarcely possible, yet older and more recent expositors have made it, of referring the nail which is pulled out to Shebna, of whom there is no more mention whatever. It is as clear as day that the nail here is the very same as that of vs. 24." The threat of the future downfall of Eliakim is opposed to the spirit of vs. 23, which promises a permanent position; therefore vs. 25, along with the preceding verse, must be declared a later addition. The allegation that downfall and permanence are contradictory is indisputable. The conclusion, correct in itself, drawn from the

alleged contradiction of vss. 23 and 25, would be likewise indisputable, if the premise was not false, whereas it rests upon a faulty exposition of vs. 25 by a scholar who loses himself in details of logical connection (*cf.* 7 and 10). As to this, Hitzig expresses himself uncertainly, deeming that Isaiah may have concluded the second part at vs. 23, and supposing either that "his lord's" had originally stood there instead of "his father's," in beautiful contrast to vs. 18, or that vs. 23 δ had been wanting at first, and that the words "for Yahweh hath said it," which now stand at the end of vs. 25, had occupied its place. But when Hitzig says at vs. 24 that Isaiah drops the figure of the glorious throne (vs. 23 δ) and returns to the first figure (vs. 23 α), or to that of the nail, he asserts at the same time that כבוד in vs. 24 α must mean something else than in vs. 23 δ , for "renown," "pomp," accords neither with "sprouts" nor with the expression "all the small vessels" which comprises his whole(?) kindred. Along with Luther and the Authorized Version, I can only regard it highly improbable that the same word should have a different sense in vs. 24 α from what it has immediately before in vs. 23 δ , and I hold it as an unwarranted assertion that the whole kindred was denoted by the phrase "all the small vessels." In reality, the author of vss. 24 f. is the same Isaiah who has announced the call of Eliakim in quite general terms in vs. 20, and who first in vs. 21, through the bestowal of Shebna's robe and girdle, has designated him as the latter's successor, in order to proclaim to him in express terms the transference to him of the official dignity. It is the same writer who then in vs. 22, in connection with the just-mentioned (vs. 21 α) official dress, has assigned to Eliakim the dignity of grand vizier, Arab. ⁹وَزِير, *i. e.*, according to Freytag, "*administrator rei publicae et vicarius principis*" (from the verb *wasara*, Arab. ⁹وَسَّ, *i. e.*, *portavit, sustinuit*, *sc. onus grave*; *cf.* Isa. 9:5), in other words, the highest office under the figure of the key upon his shoulder, and who finally in vs. 23 has indicated the permanence and brilliancy of this dignity under the two figures of the firmly driven nail (vs. 23 α) and of the seat of glory (vs. 23 δ). If we now inquire why Isaiah in vs. 24 returns to the first of these two figures, just as vs. 22 is connected with the first half of vs. 21, the answer is easily found. The prophet depicts the luster which Eliakim's new dignity casts permanently upon his whole family exclusively under the figure of the nail, because he thereby seeks to pave the way for the transition to vs. 25, which announces not only the downfall of Shebna, but that of his whole connection. Simultaneously with Eliakim's promotion falls Shebna's whole

connection. The words "in that day," repeated from vs. 20, are not put aimlessly at the commencement of vs. 20, and are in no wise identical with **אִתְּךָ**, as one might almost be led to suppose by Hitzig's supplement, hypothesis.

Although Hitzig avoids the error into which he might have been led by the alleged contradiction, pointed out by him, between vss. 25 and 23, and adheres to the genuineness of Isa. 22 : 15-25, yet by abandoning the unity of the section through the supposition that both the last verses are a later addition he has unconsciously undermined the view hitherto held as to the Isaianic authorship of the entire eleven verses. It could not escape the acuteness of Duhm that such a later addition must have had a different author. He is perfectly right in calling it "an odd idea that Yahweh's servant Eliakim immediately upon his nomination should be so decidedly suspected, or rather accused, of nepotism, so that his downfall required to be straightway announced." The exegetically false reference of vs. 25 to Eliakim makes the author of the supplementary passage appear an enemy of Eliakim. Duhm, indeed, to his regret, knows nothing whatever of what has roused the animosity of the writer of vss. 24 f. against Eliakim and his family; but he has no doubt that a member of the post-exilic community might give vent in vss. 24 f. to his ill-will, and did really give vent to it. Moreover, Duhm calls vss. 24 f. an addition to an addition, which, ignoring vs. 23b, connects itself with the figure in vs. 23a; at the same time, he knows that Eliakim's enemy sought by **כְּבֹד**, instead of which **כֶּבֶד** would more precisely answer to the **מִשָּׁנָה** of vs. 25, to make a mocking word-play on the similar expression in vs. 23b, and so plainly indeed that the lines in vs. 23 cannot be interchanged with each other. The first supplementer, as has already been mentioned (*cf.* 8), must have written vss. 19-23 on the basis of Isa. 37 : 3, where Shebna is subordinated to Eliakim, but not yet exiled, induced by the interest which he perhaps took in Eliakim's family.

13. Having discussed Duhm's view, which is shared by Cheyne and others, let us now proceed to test this hypothesis of a double addition, examining some reasons for it which have not yet been treated of. That the hypothesis rests upon a false exegesis has already, I hope, been sufficiently shown. It is singular that Fried. Giesebrecht, a very highly esteemed theologian, whose treatise on *Die Berufsbegabung der alttest. Propheten* (Göttingen, 1897) deals with this important subject in a thorough way (*cf.* also R. Kraetschmar in *Theol. Litztg.*, 1899, col. 198-201), has followed this erroneous exposition.

In respect to the promise in Isa. 22:19-22 thus writes Giesebrecht (p. 100): "There is immediately subjoined the threatening that the nepotism which Eliakim was to exercise would hasten his downfall; he would in turn be removed from his high position. The great difficulty of these additions is obvious, and already led Hitzig and Bredenkamp to regard at least the prophecy of nepotism and downfall as a later addition of the prophet. The difficulty, however, lies deeper; it consists not so much in the idea of Isaiah having prophesied the appointment of an unworthy successor with manifest personal approval (*cf.* the broad and sympathetic depicting of Eliakim's investiture with the insignia of Shebna in vss. 20-23 and the emphasizing of the 'sure place' which Eliakim would occupy) as in the idea that the prophet should have used his authority in order to effect by his prophetic word the appointment to important offices in the state. There is here, properly speaking, no prophecy, but an instruction couched under the form of a prophecy for the filling of an office. To Duhm undoubtedly belongs the merit of having pointed out this difficulty; he rightly pronounces vss. 20-23 to be an addition. We thereby relieve Isaiah equally of the charge of error as to the worth of the person of Eliakim and of encroaching upon the king's prerogative." Because of its clearness I have given this deliverance of Giesebrecht word for word. The divergence from Duhm indicated in the numbering of the verses may here be neglected.

As the error ascribed to Isaiah is itself an error, the prophet needed no such relief as that just mentioned. Cheyne (*Einleitung*, p. 137) holds that the opinion of Delitzsch and others, viz., that Isaiah had written at one draft vss. 15-25, when the fate of the two high officials which had been revealed to him at different times had already been fulfilled, is the result of critical prejudice, and expresses himself thus: "Let it once be admitted that a different hand has touched Isaiah's work, and we cannot reject Hitzig's quite natural [?] supposition that vss. 24 and 25 are a later prose addition." The same idea makes its appearance, only in less courteous form, in Duhm's words against Dillmann, wherein the correct view that "that day" of vs. 25 and "that day" of vs. 20 are the same is also derided: "This rabbinical exegesis," he says, "is the penalty paid for the obstinate refusal to take due account of the work of the rabbis on the writings of the prophets; no reader could have found out such a mathematical equation." Every competent critic knows that the distinguished disciple of Ewald just named does not at all reject the idea of glosses (*cf.*

Dillmann on Isa. 3:1; 7:8) where good reasons appear for them. I hold it to be essentially a result of critical prejudice when Duhm declares that by suppressing vss. 24 f. Hitzig has only removed the worst difficulties, but not all, since difficulties connected with style also occur. In Cheyne's translation as in Kautzsch-Guthe's, Isa. 22:15-25 is not divided into poetical lines, but is treated as prose, while Duhm only prints vss. 24 f. without the poetical form; therefore the "First Addition" does not lack the poetic form. That Duhm would allow to both the figures in vs. 23 "no merit of style at all" may be considered as in itself an opinion without value on a question of taste. He regards the juxtaposition of the figures of the nail and the seat of honor unpleasant, and thinks, moreover, that "for the rest we cannot rightly conceive how 'his father's house,' his whole kindred, should be able to sit upon Eliakim." In this not very witty remark he overlooks the fact that the figure, to which the change required by the *parallelismus membrorum* leads, must not be unduly pressed, any more than the figure of the nail on which perhaps one person, but not a whole set of relatives, can hang. Since the nail or, as we probably more correctly understand the word, which usually means a wooden tent-peg (cf. Zech. 10:4; Ezek. 15:3), the peg is, according to vs. 25 and Deut. 23:14 (cf. also Stade, § 310d), of the feminine gender, naturally it is Eliakim, not the tent-peg itself, that is figuratively called the seat of honor. The transition from the nail to the seat of honor is, moreover, well founded in the context (cf. 12), and should rather be called beautiful than unpleasant. It is not difficult for the imagination to conceive the tent-peg, which is sharp beneath, but flat on the top, being enlarged so that, as Delitzsch expresses it, one might perhaps sit upon it.

Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 643 f., rightly (cf. Ezek. 9:8) says: "*paxillum alicubi pangere potestas Hebraeorum dicitur pro: sedem firmam et probe munitam alicui dare;*" and, following Hitzig's precedent, he gives further parallels from Arabic usage, e. g., ثَبَّتَ اَوْتَادَهُ, *firmitati sunt paxilli eius, i. e., stabile est regnum eius*, vit. Tim. I, 134 Manger. Besides the life of Timur, written by Ibn Arabshah, this example is also found repeatedly in the later work of the same author, which has not escaped Ewald's extensive reading, viz., in the *Fakihat-Alcholafa*, p. 27, l. 17, and p. 120, ll. 24 f., of Freytag's edition, whose *pars posterior* (Bonn, 1852, pp. 22, 78) reminds me vividly of how I in my student days found the parallels to these passages of Isaiah. Whither dogmatic exegesis leads is shown also by J. Dav. Michaelis, of Göttingen, who,

having referred vs. 25 to Shebna's successor, is led in consequence to write: "When Eliakim dies, his whole family is to fall with him and sink to its former mediocrity." We must certainly regard Eliakim as sprung from a noble house, but we need not at the same time suppose with Ewald that, in contrast to the younger or inferior members of his house, he was already stricken in years. It is enough that in the shoots and sprouts which stand in apposition with and explain the foregoing expression "all the glory of his father's house" in vs. 24, we understand, with Cheyne, "those of high and those of low degree," and also comprehend why Isaiah compares (*cf.* 12) the inferior members of the family with various earthen vessels which a downfall shatters. Without regard to the adherents of the former minister Shebna, as Ewald justly says, "the prophet would hardly have mentioned beforehand the adherents of his future successor;" but now in vs. 25 he returns expressly to the adherents of Shebna, who, indeed, still remains as a nail fastened in a sure place, but will soon violently fall down with the whole load which he bears. Following Duhm, Cheyne (*Einleitung*, p. 137) finds "vs. 23 in any case very awkwardly expressed, and scarcely worthy of the great prophet." But since he has spoken in his *Prophecies of Isaiah*, I, 138, of the enthusiasm and the powerful language, almost messianic in tone, with which Isaiah in spirit has hailed the promotion of his disciple Eliakim, the many "unusual words" in vss. 19-25, which, however, are entirely suitable to the subject, could make little impression on an impartial critic (*cf.* also *Theol. Literaturblatt*, 1899, col. 33-41). As I, along with numerous expositors, regard the verse system adopted by Bickell and Duhm as erroneous (*cf.* also Buhl's article "Dichtkunst bei den Israeliten" in the third edition of the *Prot. Real-Encyclop.*), so also Duhm's assertion (*cf.* Bousset, *Theol. Rundschau*, I, p. 199) that the Jewish readers must have provided, not only the book of Job, but all their books, with marginal annotations, seems to me a gross exaggeration.

14. The idea of Duhm, who considers vs. 24 spoken figuratively in mockery, that the shoots and sprouts hung on the nail, as though it held together the branches of a fruit tree trained upon a wall, scarcely requires refutation. Neither Gen. 49:22, where, according to the German revised Bible, the twigs climb *over the wall* (Kautzsch-Guthe wrongly, *on the wall*), nor any other passage of the Old Testament knows anything of fruit trees trained on walls, which were quite unknown to the Hebrews. On the other hand, Knobel well points out the collocation of the masculine and feminine gender, whereby the

shoots and sprouts, according to Hebrew usage (*cf.*, *e. g.*, Isa. 3 : 1), comprehensively represent all the different members of the family. If Knobel, however, is wrong in thinking that *all* Eliakim's relations are indicated as small, inconsiderable people, his interpretation of vs. 25, on the other hand, deserves unqualified praise. He says: "The peg, as most expositors correctly suppose, is Shebna. The main point of the prophetic threatening is fitly repeated at the close, and thereby the immediately preceding promise to Eliakim is confirmed. That the same figure which was used regarding Eliakim, and which still floated before the imagination of the prophet, was likewise employed by him in regard to Shebna, who was also till then a throne of honor for his family, is not surprising. On the other hand, the Targum and Vulgate refer the passage to Eliakim, and Hitzig and Hendewerth, following them, take vs. 25, the former also vs. 24, as a later addition, in which the Eliakim who was inclined to nepotism was threatened with downfall. But vs. 24 is plainly the continuation and completion of the **וְהָיָה כְּעֵץ הַיָּד** in vs. 23 and contains censure as little as does the latter. Since, then, the peg, vs. 25, falls *at the same time* at which Eliakim's family attains to an honor which is allowed, granted, and promised, so vs. 25, regarded as a threat against Eliakim, would be entirely motiveless, and can therefore be understood only of Shebna."

The sentences just given, with which the last edition, published under the care of the author in 1861, a generation ago, simply and correctly excludes the exposition of Isa. 22 : 15-25, may certainly earnestly admonish us to caution and modesty, since not a few expositors have been led into all sorts of erroneous conclusions through the misunderstanding of vs. 25. The warning is the more serious because several of these mistaken exegetes, on account of their work otherwise, have attained an eminent place in the history of exposition, higher than it was allotted to the learned Knobel to attain. Abr. Kuenen, who in his introduction (*De profetische boeken des Ouden Verbonds*, Leiden, 1889, pp. 67-9) treats the section in question in a peculiar way and pronounces the reference of vs. 25 to Eliakim to be "clear as sunlight," finds, in opposition to customary opinion, a great difficulty in the idea that, according to 2 Kings, chaps. 18 f. (Isa., chaps. 36 f.), at the time of Sennacherib's invasion and subsequently to Isaiah's prophecy, a sort of exchange of positions had taken place between the two men therein mentioned, and Eliakim occupied the post of Hezekiah's "huismeester," and Shebna the inferior position of a "schrijver." For the prophecy, thinks Kuenen, would not even have been half

fulfilled, and this dogmatic consideration leads the celebrated exegete⁷ to the marvelous hypothesis, also adopted by von Orelli, Wildeboer, and Kittel, that vs. 24 must be understood hypothetically and as a warning to Eliakim, so that vs. 25, forming the conclusion, threatens him with downfall in case he misuses the power bestowed upon him. The same expositor, who has brought forward a very considerable number of unfulfilled prophecies in his historical-dogmatic studies, *De propheten en de prophetie onder Israel* (Leiden, 1875, pp. xii, 320 and x, 370; also English translation), asks here in perplexity what could have induced Isaiah and his friends to write down and preserve this violent invective against Shebna, if, instead of falling into disfavor and being banished, he had been invested with an office which, though inferior, was still high. Kuenen, moreover, takes up the hypothesis that an error has crept into 2 Kings, chaps. 18 f., in consequence of Isa. 22 : 15-25. He thinks that at the invasion of Sennacherib Shebna was still "huismeester" and Eliakim "schrijver," and claims that by this interpretation the prophecy Isa. 22 : 15-25 may be dated shortly after Sennacherib's retreat, and, what is quite credible, that it is contemporaneous with the paragraph immediately preceding, Isa. 22 : 1-14. I have intentionally excluded from the scope of the present treatise the difficult inquiry as to the relation on which the two paragraphs stand to each other. Even if I had no fault to find with the alleged contemporaneousness of the two portions, yet to Kuenen's hypothesis, which is equally false philologically and historically, I should prefer even the untenable idea of George Adam Smith, who actually makes the prophet himself place our section, together with the supplementary warning and threatening at its conclusion, directly after vss. 1-14. George Adam Smith's view is at least of some homiletic value, though, like that of Delitzsch, it is not founded on scientific exegesis. When Smith calls Shebna (*cf.* 5) "an unfamilied intruder," he certainly would not deny that the powerful foreigner had gained a large party of adherents in Jerusalem. The grand vizier could easily obtain a wife from a distinguished family and full right of citizenship by royal grant, and did not need to fear burial among the graves of the common people (Jer. 26 : 23), as if he could not have provided a sepulcher of his own. It is quite edifying to read in Smith : "Eliakim, the son of Hilkiab, follows Shebna the son of Nobody. So we have not one, but

⁷I hope my article "Kuenen," in the third edition of the *Protestant. Real-Enc.* which Hauck is editing, will show that I highly estimate the merits of the eminent Old Testament scholar.

a couple of tragedies. We perceive the outlines of two social dramas," etc.

15. Dillmann, indeed, said of the view that vs. 24 is a hypothetical premise to vs. 25 that it has grammatical probability against it, and is indeed wrecked on the close connection of vs. 24 with vs. 23^b. With equal right Duhm rejects the view just mentioned, whose admissibility can, in my opinion, be shown from no single passage of the Hebrew Bible, while he adds: "It would also be a strange fancy to spin out a mere possibility as much as vs. 24 does" (*cf.* 12). In regard to the unwarranted exchange of the names Eliakim and Shebna, which an author or reader of the book of Kings is supposed to have perpetrated in order to bring them into some agreement with Isa., chap. 22, this supposition of Kuenen is utterly erroneous. Wildeboer (*Die Litteratur des Alten Testaments*, Göttingen, 1895, p. 168) rightly meets Kuenen by showing that the prediction of the prophet, in spite of its not being literally fulfilled, had satisfactorily answered its purpose through the degrading of Shebna, who thereby lost his influence. If many expositors, such as Dillmann, make Isaiah anticipate the removal of Shebna to an Assyrian country, Kittel, along with Kuenen, on the other hand, would rather think that the man fallen under royal disfavor was banished by Hezekiah, because the removal into exile would have been a blow alike (?) to the king and court. But if Shebna was the head of the Egyptian party in whose hands, as W. Robertson Smith (*The Prophets of Israel*, 1882, p. 347) says, the weak king had been "little more than a passive instrument;" then, if Hezekiah still remained on the throne, the destruction of that influence and the change of policy would mean a gain to the Assyrians, who, according to W. Robertson Smith, might hope for advantage just from Hezekiah continuing to reign. I also hold that the suspicion entertained by Duhm and Kuenen against the passage Isa. 36:3 is unjustified. J. Meinhold, who with Hitzig regards vs. 24 f. as a later addition, yet declares himself, *loc. cit.* (*cf.* 3), with cogent reasons for the historicity of 36:3 and against the suspicion with which 22:19-23 is regarded. He regards the allotment of offices in 36:3 "the more credible since a later writer would scarcely have invented a narrative which so sharply contradicted the decided prediction of Isaiah," and remarks concerning the encroachment upon the royal prerogative, still maintained in spite of what Gesenius had said (*cf.* 7): "But was not Elijah commissioned to appoint and depose kings (1 Kings 19:15 f.)? And did not Elisha act in like manner (2 Kings 9:1 ff.; 8:7 ff.)?" It is not worth while

to go farther with the half-dead thing for which Ed. Reuss made himself responsible when he rejected the interpretations of Hitzig and Delitzsch, and yet called the reference of vs. 25 to Shebna unfitly dragged in, and misleading through its ambiguity, or with the vacillation of von Orelli, who translates vs. 24, "And there may perhaps hang on him," and in the exposition says, "But let Eliakim take heed to himself!" and then asks if the Shebna of Isa. 22 : 15 ff. and of 36 : 3 is the same person. Nor is it necessary to refute the vain attempt of Duhm, who would draw a distinction between Amos 7 : 16 f. ; Jer. 20 : 1-6, on the one hand, and the "supplementer" of Isa. 22 : 19-23, on the other hand, alleging that Isaiah respected the royal dignity far too much to play the dictator and mix himself up directly in the administration of state, acting very differently in that respect from the scribes of the Asmonean period. When Duhm declares it as incredible that Isaiah should nominate (?) the first minister of the royal house without even calling the king's attention to the matter, this assertion does not at all touch our prophet. Ewald, on the other hand, whose idea is that Shebna's favorites had done greater injury to the kingdom than Shebna himself, correctly says that the prophet does not speak by way of command, but by way of presage. We may then, in closing, adopt with full conviction the following words from the paragraph with which Delitzsch concludes the exegesis of this passage: "Did Shebna—as might have happened without any general Assyrian captivity—fall into the hands of the Assyrians, and was he carried away? Or was the judgment threatened against him averted by his repentance and personal humiliation? We find no answer to these and other questions. One thing only is certain: that the prophecy would not be here if it had been discredited by the event."

A TRACT ON THE TRIUNE NATURE OF GOD.

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IN a recently published number of the *Studia Sinaitica*¹ Mrs. Gibson has edited and translated an Arabic discourse, in which a Christian writer attempts the conversion of his Moslem neighbors. The discourse is not quite complete, apparently through some fault of the copyist, and the name given to it is not the best that could have been chosen; but it contains so many early and valuable traditions belonging to the eastern church as to arouse the wish that the editorial care had been a little more complete with regard to the text, and that it had been accompanied by a commentary. This does not mean that we are ungrateful to Mrs. Gibson for laying her transcripts and photographs before us in a written form; she and her sister have brought so much good metal out of the gold mine on Mount Sinai that the whole of the critical world is deeply in their debt; and I am disposed to think that this contribution to Arabic theology is by no means undeserving of a place among their other and more renowned publications.

When we say that the title of the book is wrongly chosen, a reason must be given for the adverse criticism; and it lies in the following considerations. The writer is aiming at the conviction of the believers in Islam in the very same way that generations of Christian writers, from the earliest times of the faith, had been in the habit of dealing with the Jews. He has used the same arguments that are found in the early apologies against the Jews, the dialogues with the Jews, and the collections of testimonies from the Scriptures against the Jews. No one who is acquainted with this class of literature will fail to recognize the *disjecta membra* of Justin and Ariston, of Irenæus, Tertullian, and Cyprian, and a number of other writers between whom there is a nexus, as regards both the matter and the manner of their arguments. And for this reason the tract should be called, not a treatise *On the Triune Nature of God*, but simply *Contra Muhammedanos*. It is

¹ *Studia Sinaitica*, VII. An Arabic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the seven Catholic Epistles from an eighth or ninth century MS. in the Convent of St. Katherine on Mount Sinai, with a treatise on the Triune Nature of God, and translation from the same Codex. Edited by MARGARET D. GIBSON, M.R.A.S. Cambridge: University Press, 1898.

not a dialogue between Christian and Moslem, nor is it exactly a collection of *Testimonia* against the Moslem; but it is, as nearly as possible, a tract *against* them, which occasionally slips into apostrophe, thus bringing us near to dialogue, and which more often strays off into the discussion of a string of texts which evidently belong to collections of *Testimonia*; it cannot, however, be described as either dialogue or testimonies. Behind the writer we see the line of earlier scribes whose themes are inscribed *Contra Judaeos*: he has borrowed from them, used their method, and incorporated their quotations. We could conserve the older title, if it were not for the fact that the testimony of the Koran is appealed to as an authority comprising the older Scripture, and if the writer had not in many cases deliberately imitated the style of the Koran and used its perspicuous language. For example, he begins his discourse with an imitation of the Fatha, or opening chapter of the Koran, as the following sentences will show:

We ask thee, O God, by thy mercy and thy power, to *put us among those who know thy truth and follow thy will* and [fear] thy wrath and adore thy excellent names in thy sublime attributes. *Thou art the compassionate, the merciful.*

And a little lower down we have again the language of Islam:

Verily, there is no God before thee, and no God after thee. To thee shall we return.

And so in a number of cases the language of the Koran is deliberately employed; and I think this literary artifice has not only made the discourse more acceptable to Moslem ears, but that the combination of the language and ideas of our Bible with those of the other has often resulted in passages of considerable beauty. But this is only the outward form of the discourse; Mohammed himself does not appear to be mentioned, nor any Moslem peculiarities; in the view of the writer the Moslem is only a new kind of Jew, to be converted by the methods of argument which have been from the beginning.

The value, then, of the tract consists in the fact that it is a survival of anti-Judaic literature. Such literature began early in the Christian church, in the nature of the case, and it lasted late; it was produced by some of the most intelligent and devoted of the early Christian believers, so that, even in relatively late reproductions, it contains many forms of theological statement and many biblical quotations, which are altogether modified in the later Catholic traditions. It would be a good thing if some scholar would make a complete corpus of the anti-Judaic literature; and if such a collection were to be made,

the latest members of the collection would be found to be often in striking coincidence with the second-century writers who would stand at the head of the volume. The same rare and perplexing readings of the Septuagint which we find in Justin Martyr, such as that "the Lord reigned from the tree," and that his enemies "put the wood [of the cross] on his bread," would be found in a chain of later writers; and even where it has ceased to be possible for later writers or readers to verify the quotations, by an appeal to either the Hebrew or the Septuagint, the arguments based upon the supposed texts die away very slowly. Such a collection as that of which we speak has been enriched in recent times by Mr. Conybeare's publication of the dialogues of Athanasius and Zacchæus, and of Timothy and Aquila, both of which are probably descendants of the lost second-century dialogue between Jason and Papiscus;* by a somewhat similar tract published by Professor McGiffert, called a *Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew*; and it is now further augmented by this tract of Mrs. Gibson's. I am going to show some instances of the dependence of this new tract on the earlier Syriac and Greek literature; but I must explain beforehand that my skill in Arabic is slight, and that I have not succeeded in identifying the writer of the tract so as to assign him his historical place among the defenders of the faith.

We shall show the dependence of the Arabic text upon earlier traditions, both in Greek and Syriac, by considering :

- (a) That the writer uses the same prophetic proofs as the early anti-Judaic apologists.
- (b) That he uses them in the same literary manner, by a method of mixed quotation and question, of which we shall give illustrations.
- (c) That there are traces of remarkable early readings in his biblical text, as well as of rare apocryphal allusions, most of which are explained by the existence of similar matter in the earlier anti-Judaic propaganda of the church.

To begin with, then, the main body of prophetic proofs is the same as we find in early Christian writers, whether they are writers of dialogue, like Justin, or retailers of prophetic gnosis, like Irenæus and Cyprian.

The writer of the tract begins his argument with the first chapter of Genesis, where he proposes to find the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; the Spirit being spoken of in the opening sentences concerning

*See also GOODSPEED, "Pappiscus and Philo," AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, October, 1900, pp. 796-802.

the ordering of chaos, the Son or Word being proved by a targumistic interpretation that "God said *by his Word*, Let there be light," and the whole Trinity being involved in the sentence, "Let *us* make man in our image." Now, the antiquity of this method of reasoning is sufficiently obvious. The Targumist's explanation of the Word by which God spoke is not a product of the time of the rise of Islam; and the proof-text, "Let us make," etc., belongs to a very early stratum of anti-Judaic apology.

Turn, for example, to the dialogue of Athanasius and Zacchæus, and you will find that Athanasius begins to reason with Zacchæus from the first chapter of Genesis, draws his attention to the verse, "Let us make," etc., and then asks: "To whom did God say this?" Or, if you turn to Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*, chap. 62, you will find the same verse used to prove that at least two persons are involved in the expression, and that one of these was the Word or Wisdom of God. Thus the prophetic passages selected by the Arabic writer can be seen to be a part of a gnosis that is almost as old as the gospel itself.

Sometimes he quotes quite a block of prophetic testimonies, as if he were working directly from a collection already in existence. For instance, when he wishes to prove that the Son of God descended for the salvation of the world, he reasons as follows:

One of the prophets said: "Lord, bend the heavens and come down to us" (Isa. 64:1). One said: "O thou that sittest upon the cherubim, show thyself to us, stir up thy might, and come for our salvation" (Ps. 80:1). And one of them said: "There is no intercessor and no king, but the Lord will come and save us." Another prophesied, saying: "The Lord sent his word and healed us from our toil and saved us" (Ps. 107:20). Another prophesied, saying openly: "He shall come and shall not tarry" (Hab. 2:3). The prophet David prophesied, saying: "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord: God is the Lord and he hath appeared unto us" (Ps. 118:26, 27). He said also: "The Lord shall come and shall not keep silence; fire shall devour before him, and it shall be very tempestuous round about him" (Ps. 50:3).

Now, these proofs of the coming and descending of God the Word are marked by curious features which reappear in the early Christian teaching at all points. They evidently form a part of an accepted tradition, and probably of a complete collection. One of the most curious is the proof of Christ's coming by means of the text: "He sent his word and healed us from our toil." When we turn to Cyprian's *Testimonia* (ii, 3) under the heading, "Quod Christus idem sit sermo Dei," we find among the proofs:

Let this, then, suffice to show the antiquity of the peculiar set of quotations in the Arabic tract. Almost all the prophetic gnosis contained in it is archaic. In the next place, observe that the method of using the gnosis is also primitive. If we turn back to the quotation from Gen. 1:14, "Let us make man in our image," we find Athanasius in the dialogue with Zacchæus asking the question: "To whom did God say this?" Turning to Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa, *Adv. Judæos*,⁴ we find the quotation again accompanied by the question, *τίς εἶπε καὶ τίς ἤκουσε*; from which we begin to suspect that the method is a conventional one among those who use the prophetic gnosis; they make a quotation and then ask a question on it. For example, it is a favorite case to quote the account in the book of Genesis concerning the destruction of Sodom, "And the Lord rained fire and brimstone from the Lord," etc., and then to ask: "Which Lord rained fire from which Lord?"⁵ These prophetic quotations and questions are characteristic of this branch of literature; and it is interesting to watch how faithfully the same method is followed in the Arabic tract. For example, in discussing the messianic passage in Ps. 72, "His name shall be blessed forever; His name endures before the sun and moon throughout all ages," the writer puts the question:

About whom among men did God's prophet prophesy, or, among the kings of the earth, whose name is blessed among the nations? or whose name endures before the sun and before the moon, save the Christ the Word and the Light of God?

The proof-text in the early gnosis that the Christ should heal all diseases is Isa. 35:3, "Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall hear," etc., upon which our writer remarks:

When were weak hands and feeble knees strengthened, till our God came to us? When did the eyes of the blind see, and the ears of the deaf hear, and the feet of the lame come on like a hart, and the tongues of the dumb speak plainly, save when the Christ appeared to us?

At the close of the printed tract we find the prophetic proof of the doctrine of baptism in the following words:

⁵ The passage is a favorite one for the anti-Jewish polemist; it will be found discussed in JUSTIN, *Dial.*, 56, and the same passage, with the proper question attached, is in *Athanasius and Zacchæus*, p. 12, ἄρα παρὰ ποίου κυρίου κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἔβρεξε ἐπὶ Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα θεῖον καὶ πῦρ;

God said by the tongue of Isaiah the prophet, Wash you, make you clean; put away your sins from before the Lord; and then the question is asked: "What bath or washing puts away the sins of men from before the Lord save the confession of sins and repentance toward God, and the immersion of baptism in the name of the Christ?"

It would be easy to furnish further parallels to this mode of composition out of the extant anti-Judaic literature. Let us now, having sufficiently demonstrated that the Arabic tract against the Moslems is a survival from a long line of similar tracts against the Jews, inquire whether there are traces of rare early readings in the quotations from the Scriptures, and whether there are apocryphal expansions and additions of the same. Perhaps the most striking passage for study is the following:

Zechariah the prophet prophesied by the Holy Ghost, saying: Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem. Behold! thy King cometh unto thee, riding upon an ass and her foal. The Christ came in, when he entered the Holy City, sitting upon an ass, on the day of the palm trees. The children of Israel met him with olive trees and palm branches, with their wives and children. The babes and sucklings adored him, saying: Hosanna to the Son of David: blessed is he who cometh King of Israel. The priests of the Jews said to the Christ: Hearest thou not what these say, doth not their saying exalt thee when they adore thee as God is adored? The Christ said to them: Have ye not read in the psalms of the prophet David what he said by the Holy Ghost, Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast foreordained thy praise? This is in the eighth psalm.

Examination of this passage shows that it is not a piece of original composition on the part of the writer of the tract, nor does the account come simply from the canonical gospels. We notice, in the first place, the peculiar statement that "the children of Israel met him;" then we are struck by the appearance of olive branches along with the conventional palm branches (certainly olive branches would be much more likely than palm branches in such a situation); then we have the curious expansion that the people who met him were accompanied by their wives and children. Now turn to Mr. Conybeare's edition of the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*, p. 93, in which the same theme is handled; here we are told:

ὅτ' ἂν ἀπάντησαν αὐτῷ οἱ παῖδες τῶν Ἑβραίων κράζοντες τὸ ὡσαννά, ἐν τῷ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ναόν, τότε ἐκύκλωσαν αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ λέγοντες, οὐκ ἀκούεις, τί οὗτοι σοῦ καταμαρτυροῦσιν; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπε· ναί· γέγραπται γὰρ ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων κητηρίσω αἶνον.

Mr. Conybeare, in his "Introduction," p. xv, had drawn attention to the curious uncanonical elements in the biblical text as quoted by the author of *Timothy and Aquila*, and had furnished parallels to the *παῖδες τῶν Ἑβραίων* from the *Acts of Pilate*, where we find:

(A. 1:3) Οἱ παῖδες τῶν Ἑβραίων κλάδους κατέχον ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔκραζον

(A. 1:4) οἱ παῖδες τῶν Ἑβραίων Ἑβραυστὶ ἔκραζον

It seems, then, very probable that in the "children of Israel" of the Arabic tract, and in the "children of the Hebrews" of *Timothy and Aquila* and the *Acts of Pilate*, we have a trait from an uncanonical gospel.

But what of the branches of olive? In the same *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila* we have on p. 71:

ὅτι δὲ τὰ νήπια, λέγω δὴ οἱ παῖδες τῶν Ἑβραίων, ἀπάντησιν αὐτῷ ἐποιήσαντο μετὰ κλάδων ἐλαιῶν λέγοντες τὸ ὡσαννὰ, Δαυὶδ λέγει ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ ψαλμῷ.

Here we have the *branches of olive* as in the Arabic tract, and even the apparently unimportant allusion to the psalm as the eighth psalm is paralleled by the Arabic writer, who says: "*This is in the eighth psalm.*" It appears, then, that our writer belongs to the same line of tradition which can be traced in *Timothy and Aquila*, and that there are features in his gospel which do not appear to be canonical and cannot be explained by the use of the harmonized gospels. Moreover, he is independent of *Timothy and Aquila*, in that he has a special proof that the babes and sucklings *adored the Christ*—a point to which he returns again and again. He also expands the question of the elders of the people (whom he calls *the priests of the Jews*), "Hearest thou not what these say?" by the words, "doth not their saying exalt thee when they adore thee as God is adored?"

It seems, then, that our tract furnishes fresh material for the study of the triumphal entry, and it may turn out that there is a variant tradition of that event, earlier than that found in the canonical gospels and independent of them.

We pass on to another point in which the traces of an earlier tradition may perhaps be found. It will be remembered that the commission of our Lord to his disciples is declared by a group of early writers, with some support from the gospels and Acts, to have been given at the time of the ascension. Thus the "western text" of the Acts opens with the statement concerning things which Jesus began to do and to teach:

On the day when he chose his disciples by the Holy Spirit and commanded them to preach the gospel [*Acta Apost. sec. formam Rom.*, ed. Blass].

Now, in the Arabic tract, p. 13, we find as follows :

When he said to the apostles *as he went up to heaven from the Mount of Olives* and commanded them to disperse themselves in all the world and preach about the kingdom of heaven and repentance in his name, the Christ said to them : " I send you this day as sheep amongst wolves, but tarry ye in the holy house until ye are clothed with power from heaven. I go to where I was, and I will send you the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, the Righteous One, whom men cannot look on, him who will bring me to your remembrance and everything of which I have spoken to you. He will speak in your mouths, and ye shall be led before kings of the earth and rulers. Be not at all troubled about what ye shall speak, for the Spirit whom I shall send unto you, he shall speak in your mouths."

At first sight this seems a mere cento of recollections from Matt. 10:16; Luke 24:49; John 14:17; 14:26; Matt. 10:18, etc. But even so, there are some touches of antiquity about the combined texts. We compare the instruction to tarry *in the holy house* with Luke 24:53 (they were continually *in the temple*, blessing God). The expression seems earlier than the other two Lucan terms, "tarry in the city" and "do not depart from Jerusalem."

Then note the substitution of the term "kingdom of heaven" for "the gospel." We have the same substitution on p. 35, where the Christ said in the gospel to the apostles : "Go out into all the world, and proclaim *the kingdom of heaven* amongst the nations," etc. Here the quotation is not covered by the last verses of Mark; and the substitution of the earlier term should be remarked, for it agrees with Luke 9:2 and other passages. It is quite within the bounds of possibility that the gospels known to our writer had independent readings, and perhaps some pre-canonical elements. The fact that the writer handles his biblical matter freely does not altogether explain the existence of peculiar phrases like those to which we have drawn attention. Some of his expressions may perhaps be traced to the use of peculiar or early types of canonical gospel without the introduction of such gospels as are definitely uncanonical. For example, in introducing one of his prophetic testimonies he says :

God said by the tongue of Isaiah the prophet about the Christ and about John the son of Zacharia : I will send my messenger, etc. [Mal. 3:1].

Here the substitution of Isaiah for Malachi is an error of a type which is very common in collections of *Testimonia*, where the names

attached to the extracts are frequently affected by original blunders as well as by faults of transcription ; but since the same error is found in Mark 1 : 2, we have no need to go beyond the gospels for the explanation. Still the suggestion will present itself as to whether, after all, the original cause of the error may not lie in a false ascription in some collection of testimonies, both as regards the Arabic writer and the gospel of Mark. A similar error will be found on p. 28 in the quotation of the famous passage from Baruch 3 : 35, 36 : "He knew all the paths of knowledge and gave them to Jacob his servant and to Israel his saint. After this he looked upon the earth and mixed with the people." This passage is introduced by the words : "*Jeremiah prophesied by the Holy Ghost.*" It is a very favorite quotation with the earlier anti-Judaics. We may compare Irenæus, p. 254 ; *Altercatio Simonis*, 1 : 6 ; *Athanasius and Zacchæus*, 21, 24 ; *Timothy and Aquila*, p. 69, etc. It is interesting to observe that in the *Dialogue of Athanasius and Zacchæus* the Jew protests against the ascription of the passage to Jeremiah, which is a good proof of the diffusion of the wrong ascription, and may also be taken as evidence of the antiquity of the sources of the Arabic tract, in which Jeremiah still reigns supreme.

Occasionally we find what appear to be apocryphal expansions to the gospel quoted. Thus on p. 27 we have :

The Christ said to them : What is it right to do on the sabbath day, to do good, or evil ? that life should be saved or destroyed ? [Mark 3 : 4 ; Luke 6 : 9.] They said : Nay, let us do good on the sabbath and let life be saved. The Christ said to them : Ye speak truly. Then he said to him that had the withered hand, etc.

It is difficult to believe that this is evolved by mere expansion from the account in the sixth chapter of Luke. Certainly it could not have been derived from the western text of Luke (or the ordinary text of Mark), which makes Christ look round him in anger, instead of speaking in approbation. Nor could it come from Mark, chap. 3, where the Pharisees "hold their peace" at the question. Nor does it consist with the canonical text at all, in any recension, which says that the Pharisees were "filled with madness," whereas our writer will have it that "the children of Israel who saw it were amazed, and they knew that no man can work the work of the Christ, and many people believed on him." It may, therefore, be suggested that the account of this miracle used by the Arabic writer has in it an extra-canonical element, which may turn out to be ancient and valuable.

We will conclude our examination as to the existence of apocryphal or uncanonical elements in the tract by turning to the case in which the writer is definitely convicted of the use of an uncanonical apocryphal gospel. On p. 12 we find as follows:

The Christ said to the children of Israel: If ye believe not in me, believe in my work which I do [John 10:38]. The Christ created, and no one can create but God. You will find in the Koran: "And he spake and created from clay like the form of a bird, and breathed into it, and lo! it became a bird by the permission of God."

The extract is from the third Sura of the Koran, and the complete text is as follows:

The angel saith: So God createth that which he pleaseth; when he decreeth a thing, he only saith unto it, Be, and it is: God shall teach him [Jesus] the Scripture and the wisdom and the law and the gospel; and shall appoint him his apostle to the children of Israel; and he shall say: Verily I come unto you with a sign from your Lord, for I will make before you, of clay, as it were the figure of a bird, and I will breathe thereon, and it shall become a bird, by the permission of God: and I will heal him that hath been blind from his birth, etc.

Here the Koran, as is well known, is drawing upon the apocryphal gospels of the infancy and boyhood of Jesus. What is interesting is that the motive for the story of the creation of the sparrows is betrayed by our Arabic writer, viz., that *Christ was proved thereby to be the Creator*; when, therefore, he told the sparrows to fly away, he was doing what the Creator did in Gen., chap. 1, when he said, "Let fowl fly on the face of heaven;" and when he told the birds to remember him, it is not unreasonable to read into the words, as Dr. Taylor does,⁶ an allusion to Eccles. 12:1, "Remember thy Creator." The motive is obscured in the apocryphal gospels, as they have come down to us, by the suggestion that Jesus did the deed of power *on the sabbath*, but Mohammed seems to be dealing with the question of an actual creation by Jesus, for he explains that it was done by express permission of God, to whom it belongs to say to a thing, "Be," and it is. If this be the right explanation of the genesis of the legend of the sparrows, then we should head the story with the statement of our tract that "the Christ created, and no one creates but God."

But now enough has been said to prove our first statement as to the important elements that are contained in the tract to which we have been referring. It need scarcely be said that the discussion of the

⁶ In his notes on the recently found Sayings of Jesus.

prophetic gnosis involved in its pages might be carried much farther, and that it is susceptible of much more extended illustration. But for the present let it suffice to have demonstrated the affinity of the tract with the earlier anti-Judaic literature, and to have shown that the eastern church stood toward the Moslem in much the same position that they had occupied from the beginning toward the men of the synagogue.

A NEW CRITICISM OF HEGELIANISM: IS IT VALID?

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MR. D'ARCY's book¹ is an attempt to harness Hegel and Berkeley by means of a postulate. The postulate is not, on the face of it, Kantian, but Hegelian. He substitutes for a *Ding-an-sich* a unity—a superpersonal unity, including multiple personalities, which is to be reached by an act of faith. Thus we are free to interpret the physical world by idealism, but each individual may be left independent of others. The trinity, miracles, and incarnation all can be stated seemingly without opposition. Apart from the question of postulates, the main question is whether Hegel and Berkeley can be thus unequally yoked together.

Hegelianism is not simply a metaphysical system that substitutes the category of the subject for that of substance. The consistent application of this principle, already given in Kant's "transcendental ego," distinguishes Hegel's system from those that preceded it. But, what is of more importance, though it flows legitimately from this, is that with Hegel, philosophy becomes a method of thought rather than a search for fundamental entities. From this standpoint the task of abstract thought is to bring to consciousness the *form* in which essential problems present themselves and the *form* which their solution must take. For example, the problem of the freedom of the will appears in consciousness, not as the conflict of one entity, the willing subject, with other entities, such as inherited impulses, or even the divine will in predestination. On the contrary, the conflict is one that lies back of the final act in which alone the will can be recognized. The problem is one that involves the opposition of tendencies to conduct, with some one of which the individual has identified himself in the past. But the very nature of the situation, in an essential problem of conduct, leads to the negation of this tendency; *i. e.*, the identification of the self with the opposite line of action. The solution lies not in the measuring of forces by the contending tendencies or impulses. Such a conception inevitably limits the self to certain impulses, or in indeterminism to an abstract, indifferent will that lies outside of all

¹ *Idealism and Theology: A Study of Presuppositions.* By CHARLES F. D'ARCY, B.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1899. Pp. 294. 6s.

the content of experience. As soon as we recognize, however, that the self is identified with all the contending elements, the necessary form of the solution is seen to be the synthesis. This synthesis is, therefore, something more than the contending elements. From the standpoint of contending forces, one of which represents the self, there must be measuring of forces, and, for the finite force, certain compulsion. In this phase the known world of the individual can offer no solution which will not be in terms of the necessity of causal series. But this necessity cannot hold for the synthesis; for this transcends the opposition. The very fact of synthesis implies a new world, of which the former conflicting elements were the conditions, but which is new because it has overcome the necessity which was expressed in the conflict. In every moral act—one that follows upon deliberation—we pass into a world that is new, in just this respect, at least, that the necessity which brought out an irrepressible conflict no longer exists. Or, to put it in somewhat different terms, the mere statement of a problem never can involve its solution; otherwise there is no real problem, only a misunderstanding or a formal fallacy. If, then, the only necessity that can exist for us is inevitably transcended and negated by the synthesis which must solve the problem, it cannot possibly be predicated of the self whose act of will is found in the synthesis.

In this illustration the difference between a dialectic which gives the method of thought and a metaphysical speculation which postulates entities seems to me to come out very clearly. It is possible to recognize a function of philosophy which it belongs to the genius of Hegel to have made conceivable. Entities are but formulations of thought at different phases of experience. With every advance these formulations change. We can, therefore, never posit them as ultimate, nor can any analysis which does no more than bring these formulations to consciousness give the solution of the problems which face us. For the solution involves their negation and synthesis. The more sharply they are defined in consciousness, the more clearly their opposition to each other comes out, and the more hopeless the deadlock appears. On the other hand, the recognition that the entities must dissolve, and their contents appear in a synthesis higher than they, sets us free from the bondage of law and gives us the freedom of spirit out of which springs the hypothesis bearing with it a new world.

Philosophy, like every other phase of analytical and abstract thought, never has as its function to reveal reality. Reality lies in immediate experience, and must be sought there. Thought can only

make us conscious of how we act, and thus give us the advantage of a conscious technique. When Hegel substituted a method for a *Ding-an-sich* he took the same step which physical science took when it abandoned a metaphysical substance, or Democritean atoms, and devoted itself to the laws of motion.

Hegel was not fully equal to his own discovery. For him *sein* is not only a moment in the dialectic; it is also, in a certain sense, a goal toward which the dialectic moves. It is, therefore, practically an underlying entity, *i. e.*, a formulation which persists throughout the movement of thought. This difficulty is one that has pursued most of those influenced by him, and is involved in the problem of Mr. d'Arcy's book.

The problem is that of the objective validity of our knowledge of other personalities. The position of the author is that an impassable chasm lies between the consciousness of individuals. He admits that the idealist may be justified as regards the physical world. "It *may* be true (though much might be said to the contrary), in the case of material things, that the only obstacle to perfect knowledge is the infinity of detail; but it is not true in the case of minds. Mind is separated from mind by a barrier which is, not figuratively, but literally, impassable. It is impossible for any *ego* to leap this barrier and enter into the experiences of any other *ego*" (p. 75).

It is at least conceivable, then, that the knowledge of physical realities in our experience is objective, without any reference to a reality that lies outside actual or possible experience. The objectivity of this knowledge of ours does not depend upon the bridging of any chasm between the consciousness of the *ego* and a *Ding-an-sich* beyond. For the completion of knowledge through an indefinite number of details would not build any such bridge. If "it *may* be true," it is at least conceivable. The objectivity of the knowledge depends upon the form of knowledge, not upon a reference beyond the possible conscious experience of the *ego*. If this interpretation of the author is correct, he admits that the so-called epistemological problem is soluble for physical objects by modern idealism, but not so for the knowledge of other personalities.

That this interpretation is correct is indicated by his statement that the epistemological problem really has its roots in this impassable chasm between "minds." To be sure, he asserts that anyone may take refuge in a Berkeleian idealism, from which no philosophical idealism can oust him. Literally construed, this should mean that our

knowledge is all subjective, that we cannot affirm the objective validity of even physical objects. But I cannot conceive that he wishes to be so interpreted; for if this is possible, Kant and Hegel have accomplished nothing, and the author's constant plea is that their idealism has a great message for us, if we only recognize that it cannot bridge the chasm between one personality and another. As further evidence of his willingness to accept the idealistic position that our knowledge of the world about us is objective and valid, I may refer to his quotation from Bosanquet, in which he seems to agree with that neo-Hegelian that the panorama of consciousness is objectively valid. Finally the author accepts as the valuable contribution of idealism the constructive organizing function of the self in all knowledge—the recognition that the rationality—*i. e.*, objectivity of the world—lies in the rational processes of the knowing self. The criticism which he offers to this position is that, in so constructing and organizing it, the self becomes either too supreme and is identified with God, which, he says, contradicts our own consciousness, or else is entirely lost in the divine personality, and thus sacrifices its own initiative and freedom. From all these evidences we conclude that Mr. d'Arcy must accept the objective character of our knowledge of the physical world in the sense of Hegel, and recognizes with him that a *Ding-an-sich* is a contradiction in terms, so far as Kant assumed this to answer to our sensations.

However, Mr. d'Arcy demands that we should recognize a further value in the conception of subjectivity beyond its opposition to objectivity. For, while it is contrasting itself with the object, it is at the same time recognizing the subject as that within which both subject and object lie, or, to use his own phraseology, as the "crystal sphere" which envelops and necessarily includes the whole process. In a word, our knowledge of the physical world about us is objective or rational. It is systematic, and in its systematic character we find the very meaning of what we term the validity of knowledge. Our confidence in our knowledge lies in its law-abiding character, and we find by philosophic analysis that this character flows from our own cognitive processes. But this objective world, which is contrasted with our subjective world of feeling and sensation, still lies within another subjective world of our own spiritual nature, that, according to the author, can never be analyzed, because it is that from which all analysis must proceed. This, then, is the form of Berkeleian idealism promulgated—a Hegelian world of reality which lies inside a subjective world that is literally, though he rejects the term, "without windows."

But the author attempts further to bring evidence from this objective world itself of a reference to a reality lying beyond the inclusive subject. There are breaks which he thinks cannot be explained in the periodic geologic processes, in the different stages of evolution, which indicate in some way—not clearly defined—the intervention of forces or elements lying outside the world, but especially in human development, in the intervention of individuals in each other's experience, during the whole of human history. Leaving out of account for the moment the solution the author suggests, this is all a mere superficial playing with Hegelianism. Objectivity is not something that can be recognized in a physical environment, and then be dismissed when applied to another set of objects, such as personalities. It is either a fallacious objectivity, or else it is applicable in the whole world of knowledge, for its validity has nothing to do with the content of the object, but solely with its form.

If we feel that our experiences are valid because they are rationally organized, and recognize that this organization flows from a cognitive principle with which the self is identified, the feeling must be justified and accepted, no matter what is the content of the experience. It makes absolutely no difference whether we can trace out all details of knowledge or not, whether breaks occur in the system or not. We reach this conception of the validity of knowledge, not by an induction from the organization of the world, but from an analysis of the thought-process itself. If the whole world consisted of breaks and chasms, the analysis of the attempted thought-process would still show that whatever reflective knowledge we could have must find its validity in a rational thought-process. And what shall we say of this subject which is all-inclusive? The author sets it over against other subjects which for them are also all-inclusive. Thought, then, does transcend the chasm and is able to think these subjects and think of them as in some way breaking into each other. To be sure, he appeals for his justification to what he is pleased to call common-sense. We cannot help assuming other human individuals and their interferences. We can think them, but we cannot place them in our own worlds, for each must be by itself within its own panorama. What a strange contradiction to our immediate consciousness! Who finds more objectivity in physical objects than in the personalities about him? Who feels that he is living in his own thought-world of physical objects within which no other personality has any place? Or who for a moment assumes that the system of thought by means of which he analyzes his world

and relates its objects applies only to the material things? There is nothing more immediate than the personalities of our fellows. There is nothing so clearly conceived, so distinctly thought out, as those elements of our world. We depend as surely upon the rational organization of the social world as upon that of the material, and there is the same source for this rational organization as subsists for the world of the physical sciences. Is the conception of the social and psychical sciences a lie made out of whole cloth? Or is there a principle which unifies these that is not revealed in the process of cognition? This is the conclusion the author draws. There is such a unity, a superpersonal unity which includes all personalities. It is also superrational. Assume this as that which lies outside the all-inclusive (*sic*) subject which includes subject and object, and all difficulties vanish.

We have, then, two types of knowledge—one a process of relating and organizing experience which belongs to the physical world, and another intuitive and belonging to "common-sense," revealing to us other personalities like our own which can never enter our thought-world as do the physical objects in our environment. Finally we form the conception of a unity which transcends the unity of reflective constructive thought—a unity which, being superpersonal, can never be entertained by a personal intelligence. Now, where are all these ideas presented in this book and springing from the mind of the author? Do they lie outside of his world of thought? Do they resist or transcend the "crystal sphere" of his ultimate subject? Do they not find a place naturally enough inside his personality? Do they require a higher unity than is given in his thought-process? Could there be a more excellent example given of Hegel's axiom that thought cannot set up a limit without by this very act transcending it? If this new Berkeleyian idealism, which incloses like a Chinese nest of boxes the Hegelian idealism, can possibly be thought, it must include within itself the whole system by means of which it attempts to get out of itself.

The author would undoubtedly say that the unity is not thought, but postulated and accepted by an act of faith. But unity is a thought-relation. It comes back to the thinking activity. Faith may assume elements in a system which we cannot fill in or analyze out, but it cannot postulate something that necessarily lies outside any thought-system. And as unity is a relation, what applies to it at all applies to it throughout. It is not unity if it is both personal and superpersonal, if it is both conscious and self-conscious, though a system may contain

elements some of which are conscious and some not, or some self-conscious and some only conscious. But a system is a thought-product, while its unity flows from the thought-process that presents it in consciousness. To say that the personal unity of our consciousness is an inadequate statement of a higher superpersonal unity is either a contradiction in terms or else the author means system and not unity. He is substituting a thing — a *Ding-an-sich* — for a thought-process, and the category of substance takes precedence of that of subject. It has a conceivable meaning to affirm that we all inhere in a divine substance which is not itself personal, but all of whose parts are personal ; it has no meaning to speak of a relation of unity being in some elements of a system personal and in the system as a whole superpersonal. Even if one is proclaiming a mystery, the terms he uses must have meaning.

As I indicated above, the difficulty in the application of Hegelianism lies in not sticking to its nature as a method. If thought is to be set up as a spiritual force or substance, if we are to talk of spirit as opposed to matter, if we are to refer to minds as ultimate things, we are talking about entities, and all falls under the category of substance. If we recognize that it is the function of thought to dissolve and reconstruct all entities and things, that there is no formulation which may not conceivably be reconstructed, then we must recognize that there can be no unity higher than the unity of thought, otherwise it would not appear in our thought-world, or, what is the same thing, it would be inconceivable. So far as knowledge is concerned, and conduct based upon knowledge, the organization that flows from thought is necessarily ultimate. It certainly does not lie within the power of a thinker to introduce a higher unity out of the analysis of thought-processes. Again the answer might be that it was not the analysis of the thought-process that led to the assumption, but the insuperable obstacles that face any idealistic system which demand the postulate of this higher unity.

Passing over the contradictions which I have tried to point out above, what are these insuperable obstacles ? The freedom of the will, contingency and necessity, the problem of evil. Mr. d'Arcy assumes that these problems all spring from the impassable chasm which separates personality from personality. The freedom of the will, as above indicated, can be maintained only if the individual in his rational processes organizes his own world. If he is but a phase of a divine spiritual principle, it must be the higher principle that works in him, or else he must be himself the deity. Furthermore, there is contingency in the world which leads us back to the action of other individuals that

is not under the direction of one's own rational control. One's rationalized world is always being broken in upon by events which are not a part of his rational processes. With these appearances, which are illustrated by the author in history sacred and secular, the contingent seems to find a legitimate place even within the necessity of the known world. Finally evil, as the outcome of a rationally ordered world, the determination of the divine spirit, is irrational, but may be accepted when it is the expression of the finite individual in his freedom, and when it is not the expression of the ultimate central principle of the universe.

Now, in all this the author has evidently simply taken the eighteenth-century individual and clothed him in a Hegelian world. He remains an isolated element, self-centered, the spring of evil. So far as the organization of his own personality is concerned, I fail to see that he is any more admirable in his idealistic "crystal sphere" than he was as he came from the hands of Hobbes. To be sure, the author postulates the superpersonal unity which is supposed to connect him in some other spiritual dimension with God and man. But this does not assist at all in the problem of rationalizing the individual in society, in presenting the social self as the core of the personal self. In all these points we see that personality is postulated as the spring of the contingent, the arbitrary, and the bad. These elements must be made at home in the universe, and it is the privilege of fathering these which in Mr. d'Arcy's mind rescues personality from the abyss of a Hegelian abstraction. So far as the individual is merely rational, law-abiding, and good, he lives within his Hegelian preserves and is abstract. He becomes concrete when he breaks into somebody's else world, and furnishes him with a contingent element, or suffers like violence himself. Underneath we feel the old identity between self-assertion and evil, and the evidence of freedom in arbitrary decision. The eighteenth-century individual became concrete in self-assertion, in demolishing the conventional order of society, and annulling authority—in a word, in the revolution. Have we no better expression for him in concrete activity than that of *der verneinende Geist*? Making him with Hamlet a king of infinite space within an idealistic nutshell does not help matters. The problem, then, comes to this: Is it possible to express the positive element in personality in terms of rationality, law, and goodness? I think the author is right in identifying the problem with the question of chasm between individuals. The freedom of the will is not a problem of the spiritual economy of an isolated individual,

it is the problem of fixing responsibility within a community of individuals who isolate themselves in certain phases of their conduct. It is a social, not an individual, problem. The sense of contingency does not have to do with that which is inexplicable in our physical environment, for we assume at least nowadays that this is a mere lack of further knowledge. But in the possible solutions which may appear in the consciousness of others there is a contingency which even an ideal psychology could not overcome. It is the working together of individuals, the mutual dependence which is involved in the social ends and means, that presents the something which always resists the complete necessary formulation of our world. Finally, the problem of evil is not one of its existence or its reality, but of its social significance, and the possibility and duty of overcoming it. If the self is in its reflective processes isolated, there is no solution of these problems possible. No such individual can fix responsibility upon another or accept it when fixed by another. If the means and ends are not identical, there can be no community in meeting the problems of social existence. If the suffering of another is not a reality in my own world and is not identified with myself, there is no possibility of giving to the instinctive reaction against it the large social meaning and value which we feel it should have. The chasms between individuals in a social consciousness represent, not insoluble epistemological problems, but points at which reorganization needs to take place. Freedom means the ability to accept a responsibility by which a higher individual appears. Contingency means the possibility of a larger cognitive self through relations with other selves, and evil is the recognized inadequacy of conduct with reference to the social order which is to arise. From the standpoint of a social consciousness within which selves arise these chasms have the positive significance of the points of reconstruction.

Now, there is no doubt that the immediate analysis of consciousness reveals an essentially social nature in the self. From childhood up we see that the individual recognizes and formulates the personalities of others before he does his own; that the formulation of his own personality is the result of the organization of that of others. The necessity of the subject-object relation is as binding in the social self as in the physical. What does it mean, then, to say that a great chasm is fixed between the personalities of different individuals? Obviously the question is not one that can have meaning except from the standpoint of entities. Immediate consciousness sees no impassable chasm — can

conceive of none, for it must recognize others in order that it may state itself. If philosophy is not a formulation of entities, if it is not in search of being, but is a statement of the method by which the self in its full cognitive and social content meets and solves its difficulties, there is no more of an epistemological problem in the case of other minds than of other bodies. If the Hegelian idealism dissolves the difficulty in the latter case, it must also in the former. For cognition there can be no object which does not lie in an experience organized in a self, whether the object be social or physical. The objects are means for the purpose of conduct, not fixed presuppositions of conduct.

In a word, the idealistic position cannot be taken and then abandoned. It is an attitude which necessarily conditions all possible cognitive consciousness, as regards its form. No superpersonal unity can be conceivable, nor can minds be set up as entities outside the self, when the possibility of knowledge is conditioned by the unity of self, and the only possibility of objects in a known world is found in the cognitive subject. To say that there must be a subject which includes this subject-object relation is to set up one more object of thought, and to put this outside the cognitive process is to deny the idealistic position. If the subject is a thing, then we can speak of it as that which attempts to analyze itself and must always fail. If the subject is a phase in a process, the entire difficulty is gone. It is not trying to analyze itself as a thing. The analysis is but a moment in the movement of consciousness, and is directed toward the analysis and synthesis of objects lying in consciousness. Modern idealism may be rejected *in toto*; it cannot divide the world between itself and a metaphysics of realism.

THEOLOGICAL UNIVERSITIES AND THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITIES.

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FOR some time now theological seminaries have been between the upper and nether millstones of criticism. "The Bible student" grinds them as too scholastic; the "university man," for lacking the spirit of research. Just now they are suffering for being too scholastic, or because Presidents Hyde, Harper, and Slocum, and a hundred others who have taken up President Hyde's hue and cry, think so. At the same time, however, there is, on the other hand, a good deal of quiet, if not contemptuous, criticism in the universities of the alleged failure of the seminaries to keep pace in scientific research, not merely with biology and the natural sciences, but even with secular history and philosophy.

Now, it seems clear that the same institution cannot at the same time be too learned and not learned enough, providing that institution has a single and definite aim, and it may prove that the real trouble has been the failure of the seminaries to keep to the single aim, and the assumption by them of three different aims, so that they have tried to ride three horses at once. The training of lay workers, the training of the ministry, and the training for teaching and research are three distinct things. Of late years there has been some growing perception of this fact, on the under side at least, and the situation has been cleared in part by the establishment of training schools for the Y. M. C. A., Bible training schools, and schools for lay workers. It used to be hard for the seminary to reject the pious youth anxious to give his life to direct service for his Master, but not up to the mark in Greek and history. The public clamor, voiced by synods, conferences, and councils, called for English courses and what not; and the seminaries tried to respond, with a good deal of consequent degradation of standard and loss in the quality of training which fits for real leadership. Now the seminary can reject these men in good conscience. On the other hand, there has been strong and constant pressure brought to bear upon the seminaries by men who have come in contact with the keen demands of modern scholarship, for the very best research work equal to the severely critical tests to which such

work is now subjected. To this also the seminary has tried to respond, with the result that "Assyriology" is one of the reproaches cast at the seminary by the present-day critics.

It ill becomes the universities to reproach the seminaries with lack of provision for graduate work; for this is not, in fact, the business of the seminaries, but of the universities themselves; and if theological science is behind biological science, it is a reproach, not to the seminary, but to the university. By the same token, too, it is not wholly graceful for our college presidents to reproach the seminaries with the fact, if fact it be, that the attempting of this task hampers more or less their main work. For this work is work which must be done, and through the fault of the universities there is no one else to do it.

It should be said in passing, what is perhaps obvious enough, that the actual unfitness of present theological instruction has certainly been exaggerated, and if not wholly untrue in respect to some institutions, the criticism has been utterly unjust as regards others. Everyone who has known the theological seminaries for twenty years past, and especially one who has known them ten years from the inside and ten years as an outsider, knows that in some of them at least there is the most faithful, energetic, and even enthusiastic effort to meet in every possible way the real demands of the time. All these demands for more instruction in the Bible, more sociology, and the like, and all legitimate criticisms, get a warm and sympathetic response. It is perhaps this very attempt of the seminaries to respond to the demands which has led to the present situation.

The triple aim has naturally resulted in missing more or less widely all three targets, and it may be that the real secret of reform is not a little more of philosophy, the Bible, and sociology, or even the consolidation of seminaries as proposed by President Slocum, but in distinguishing the training of teachers and special scholars clearly from the teaching of the ministry. As a matter of fact, the constructive criticisms of theological education have tended rather toward the further confusion of the seminary aim than toward simplification. Articles like those of President Harper and President Slocum in effect insist upon and amplify the triple task.

It is, of course, not impossible that this triple task should be performed by the same institution, but in this case the institution becomes, not a seminary, but a university with three well-defined departments. This is perhaps what Presidents Hall and Hartranft have been feeling after in their talk of "theological universities;" and yet it does not

appear that even at Union and Hartford there is any very clear differentiation of function. The state of things is almost exactly, up to a certain point, that from which the colleges have been trying to shake themselves free—the commingling of preparatory school and graduate work with the strictly undergraduate work; and the clearing of the lines would undoubtedly help the problem precisely as it is helping it in the universities.

As has been said, the matter is tending to solve itself on the lay side, and at the other extreme there are two solutions: one, the resolution of the seminary itself into clearly defined departments of ministerial and graduate training; the other, the assumption by the university of its own proper task, and the corresponding abdication of this task by the seminary.

Until the universities relegate biology and psychology to the medical schools they have no right to relegate theology to the seminaries. Sectarianism is no excuse for evasion, since biological and psychological sectarianism at the present moment is more virulent than denominationalism. The fact that a university is undenominational is a positive advantage for theology as well as for anything else; for the best man can be chosen irrespective of whether he is a Presbyterian or an Episcopalian, a Baptist or a Roman Catholic. On the university side, the plea of sectarianism is a mere pretext to escape responsibility.

But if the difficulty comes from the denominations, that they will not trust their peculiar possessions in the way of doctrine out of their denominational schools, and must guard against false doctrine even in the collation of a manuscript, then the burden is upon them to untangle the graduate from the seminary work and to establish clean-cut courses for such work. This extensive work of practically establishing new universities might perhaps be made feasible along the line of the suggestion of President Slocum for a union of seminaries. In the case of these New England Congregational seminaries, to which he refers, there are serious legal difficulties, it is understood, in the way of their local removal; but they might surely be federated for graduate work, either by assigning this work to some one institution, or by each separating a certain number of lines of graduate work, supplementing rather than duplicating one another, and encouraging migration of students in postgraduate work.

This might perhaps be done even better, however, through the affiliation of seminaries of all denominations with a university, on the

basis of having each seminary conduct only strictly ministerial courses, while all graduate courses are assumed by the university. Under this plan even the professors of systematic theology and of ecclesiastical polity in the university might be of any denomination; for if the postgraduate student wanted a certain general phase of doctrine which was found at Yale and not at Harvard, he would simply go to Yale, and *vice versa*; and if he wished to get all the denominational phases, he would take his main residence at one university and take the regular ministerial course, in his specialty, for a term or two at a representative of each of the denominational schools.

A great advantage of affiliation with the university would be that it might clear theological training from another of the causes of confusion, that is, the study of Hebrew and Greek. One may not for a moment entertain the idea of giving up Hebrew and Greek as a necessary part of ministerial training. With the multiplication of college graduates in these days, it is idle to expect that the keener minds of a congregation will retain their respect for leadership which is not able to verify its own authorities. It is quite in the line, however, of present university and college development that the university should furnish sufficiently rigid courses both in Hebrew and in Hellenistic Greek, as well as in the English Bible, history, and the elements of church history, so that a year's work of the seminary could be wholly done in the college. In spite of the rather futile results of this kind of teaching in the universities at the present time, it is nevertheless entirely conceivable that with closer discrimination and coöperation the seminary might organize its courses so that the men who have taken these courses in colleges should be admitted to the second year of the seminary, and the junior year be maintained simply as a sort of preparatory school. In the case of seminaries directly affiliated with universities, this year might then be dropped altogether from the seminary organization. There would, therefore, be two years left to do the work of theological preparation, and if any minister wanted special work after that time he would take it after, and only after, having finished the work of two years' ministerial training. These years would be devoted as exclusively to training for the practical ministry, whether a man is going to be a minister or teacher, as the years of a medical or law school are to the study of medicine or law.

It should in justice be said, after what has been remarked about the failure of the universities, that the failure is partial, not complete, as regards many lines, as witness Professor Robinson's paper on

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the teaching of church history in the universities (entitled "Sacred and Profane History") at the Boston meeting of the American Historical Association. It is also true that many branches, such as Christian antiquities, comparative religion, the oriental languages, etc., are already taught in the universities; and it is probably safe to say that it is only necessary for the seminaries to surrender such fields to the universities in order to have proper and effective work in all the branches in the encyclopædia before any very remote time.

CRITICAL NOTE.

TWO SOURCES FOR THE SYNOPTIC ACCOUNT OF THE LAST SUPPER.

ON comparing the three accounts of the Last Supper, as given in Mark 14:17-26; Matt. 26:20-30; and Luke 22:14-23; and on further comparison of these with the account given by Paul in 1 Cor. 11:23-27, it will be seen that each of the three synoptic accounts shows evidence of having a composite nature, as if each had been made up of and contained elements of two distinct stories as to the distribution of the bread and wine, with two quite distinct conceptions of the meaning of that action.

For convenient reference I have arranged the several accounts in parallel columns and in the first column, A, have added a conjectural restoration of what may be an original apostolic, or Petrine, tradition. Further down in the same column, B, is given Paul's account. Columns C, D, and E are, respectively, Luke's, Mark's, and Matthew's versions, showing how each parallels the apostolic tradition in part and the Pauline account in part. As a portion of the connecting matter was presumably the same in the apostolic tradition as in the Corinthian letter, the varying arrangement of the three synoptic accounts makes it necessary to repeat some of this connecting matter in C, D, and E. The repeated words are inclosed in brackets and printed in *italic*.

A	C	D	E
PETRINE (?)	LUKE	MARK	MATTHEW
And when the even was come, he sat down	And when the hour was come, he sat down,	And when it was evening, he cometh	Now when even was come, he was sitting at meat
with the twelve disciples.	and the apostles with him.	with the Twelve.	with the twelve disciples;
And as they were eating, he	[<i>And</i> <i>he</i>	* * * And as they were eating, he	* * * And as they were eating, Jesus
took bread, and when he had blessed, he brake it,	<i>took bread, and</i> <i>when he had</i> <i>given thanks,</i> <i>he brake it,</i>	took bread, and when he had blessed, he brake it,	took bread, and blessed, and brake it;

A	C	D	E
PETRINE (?)	LUKE	MARK	MATTHEW
and gave to them, and he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you.	<i>and gave to them.]</i> And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer :	and gave to them, and said,	and gave to the disciples, and said,
Nevertheless, take ye, and eat ; for I say unto you, I will not eat it until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God.		Take ye : * * *	Take, eat ; * * *
And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave to them,	for I say unto you, I will not eat it until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God.	And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave to them : and they all drank of it.	And he took a cup, and gave thanks, and gave to them,
and said,	he said,	And he said unto them, * * *	saying,
Drink ye all of it, for I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until	Take this, and divide it among yourselves : for I say unto you, I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until	Verily I say unto you, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in	Drink ye all of it ; * * * But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom.
the kingdom of God shall come.	the kingdom of God shall come.	the kingdom of God.	

B PAUL	C LUKE	D MARK	E MATTHEW
For I received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, how that the Lord Jesus, in the night in which he was betrayed, took bread ; and when he had given thanks, he brake it,			
	And he took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave to them, saying,	<i>[And as they were eating, he took bread, and when he had blessed, he brake it, and gave to them, and said, Take ye:]</i>	<i>[And as they were eating, Jesus took bread and blessed, and brake it; and he gave to the disciples, and said, Take, eat;]</i>
and said,		This is my body.	this is my body.
This is my body which is for you ; this do in remembrance of me.	This is my body which is given for you : this do in remembrance of me.		
In like manner also the cup, after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood :	And the cup in like manner after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood, even that which is poured out for you.	<i>[And he took a cup, etc., and he said unto them,]</i>	<i>[And he took a cup, etc., saying, etc.,]</i>
		This is my blood of the covenant,	This is my blood of the covenant,
		which is shed for many.	which is shed for many unto remission of sins.
this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.			

Assuming, in general, the correctness of the texts and of the translations followed above, an inspection of the columns shows that where Paul and Luke agree the parallelism is close, and where Mark and Matthew diverge from these they closely parallel each other. Taking up first the account according to Luke, it is plain that, if we have here

traces of two distinct stories, the parts of each are not fused together to make one, but are laid rather loosely side by side—clear lines of division running between vss. 18 and 19, and between vss. 20 and 21. In Mark and Matthew, on the other hand, there is a much more complete fusion of the two parts into a single story. And these parts, if we overlook some innate incongruities, cannot be readily separated, except by some such analysis as I have indicated above, that is, by showing what parts of Mark and Matthew correspond, in close verbal parallelism, with the A parts of Luke, and what parts correspond with the B parts of Luke, and so with Paul.

It is this analysis that has suggested the reconstruction of what I venture to call the Petrine tradition, which forms the first section of col. 1, and is marked A. And the question immediately arises as to the *origin* of Paul's account, B. If an inspection shows that A is anything more than a figment of my imagination, it also shows that A and B refer to exactly the same actions, namely, the distribution to the Twelve of the broken loaf and the cup of wine, while the interpretation of the meaning of the actions, and the accompanying words attributed to Jesus, show, in A and B, a marked contrariety.

It has been commonly supposed that we have in the words "This is my body," "This cup is the new covenant in my blood," or "This is my blood of the covenant," two of the most perfectly attested sayings of Jesus, and that Paul and the synoptists here give us an unimpeachable fragment of the one authoritative apostolic tradition. But if we should ask Paul where he got his view of the Last Supper, whether he had, in fact, drawn upon an apostolic source (the same source as that upon which we have supposed the evangelists drew), he would answer us, just as he wrote to the Corinthians: "*I received of the Lord . . . how that the Lord Jesus, in the night in which he was betrayed, took bread,*" etc. In other words, Paul's statement is that his conception of the meaning of the supper came to him by direct revelation—a statement the significance of which has been ordinarily overlooked.

Paul has made just such statements elsewhere, with reference to the source of his views, his doctrine, *his gospel*. For instance, in his epistle to the Galatians he says with great emphasis that he got his gospel by revelation, and that he did *not* get it from men. It would seem certainly as if his statement to the Corinthians with respect to the source of his information as to the supper, though made with less warmth, means the same thing, namely, that he got his view of that occurrence—his understanding of its meaning—by revelation and not

from men. But why should he make such a statement as that, if for twenty years the primitive apostles had been holding and teaching the same? Paul has made it sufficiently plain in his letter to the Galatians that he had become well acquainted with the pillars of the Jerusalem church, and familiar with the views they held and the gospel they preached; and almost in the same breath he vociferates the assurance that his gospel did not come from them, but directly by revelation. He makes it plain, too, that the gospel which he had been preaching was different—though not to the extent of being another—from the gospel which they had been preaching. He distinctly says that the pillars imparted nothing to him, but that, on the contrary, when they were advised of what he had been doing, and of the grace with which he had been endowed, they gave him the right hand of fellowship, and agreed to discontinue their interference with his apostolic activities among the gentiles. It is a mistake to think that Paul went up to Jerusalem in order to check up his gospel by that of the pillars, and bring it into accord with theirs if it should be found to differ. That is not what he means when he says “lest I should be running or had run in vain.” His fear lest his activities should prove to be in vain was, as he goes on to say, because of the meddling interference which had extended from Jerusalem into his field; and it was to put a stop to such interference that he went up to Jerusalem, and not because he entertained the least doubt as to the validity of *his* gospel, which had come to him independently of the pillars, and by revelation.

This digression has been entered into simply to show how Paul traced his doctrines—his gospel, as he says—without the least hesitation to a source quite other than any oral tradition, quite other than the authority of any man or set of men who, having kept company with Jesus, might suppose themselves to have correct recollections and views of the incidents of his earthly career. Now it would be the idlest kind of air-beating for Paul to insist that *he* got by revelation that—only that—which numerous other men had got through the ordinary channels of seeing and hearing. The only sense to be drawn from his reiterated and emphatic statement is that *his* gospel was, at least to some extent, different from the gospel which other men had received in a more ordinary way.

To return, then, to what Paul says to the Corinthians, namely, that he had “received from the Lord” his view of the Last Supper. The statement here does not seem to serve a controversial purpose, as do the similar statements in Galatians; the circumstances do not require

that; but it apparently rises naturally from the settled consciousness of the writer that his view had come to him in the extraordinary way. It strongly suggests that when Paul made the statement he had in mind, not only the peculiar source of his view, but also the peculiarity of its content.

And was it not novel? Was it not different from the view held by the Jerusalem apostles? We know from other passages that Paul conceived of the death of Jesus as fulfilling once for all the paschal sacrifice; that Christ had become our Passover, and consequently that the Jewish celebration of that ancestral feast had properly become a thing of the past, and had been superseded by the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. But such a conception cannot be found among the early members of the Jerusalem church. It is true that they broke bread, and probably drank their wine, in company, and with a cheerful heart. We may think it certain that at such times they remembered Jesus most reverently and affectionately, and that the Passover feast, of which he did not partake, came often to their thoughts. But in this eating of a common meal, whether occasionally or, as it would seem, habitually, there is no element discoverable of a sacrificial feast, or of a sacrament. And it is certain that the primitive apostles did not consider it as in any way superseding the Passover, because, as we know, they continued to observe the Jewish law and join in the Jewish religious services, so that they maintained quite amicable relations with the Jewish ecclesiastical authorities.

In fact, we are left with the parallel passages in Matthew, Mark, and Luke as the only evidence that in the primitive church, prior to the time when Paul became an influence in the development of its theology and Christology, the Pauline conception of the Last Supper had ever been thought of. Pretty strong evidence, it may be said. Yes, but it is strong only on one supposition, namely, that the three parallel passages do, in substance, correctly transcribe the original apostolic tradition as to what occurred on that Passover evening, unmodified by any Pauline or other outside influence. But can that supposition be justified? The circumstances which should guide us in answering the question ought to be closely inspected. (1) Chronologically, Paul's statement of his view, which he expressly declares he received by revelation, probably antedates the evangelists' statements by from ten to thirty years. (2) Both Mark and Luke were at one time and another very closely affiliated with Paul, and toward the end at least, not only Luke, but Mark also, was apparently in close sympathy

with him. (3) Whoever may have been the compiler of the gospel according to Matthew, it is plain that he depended largely on the same tradition which Mark transcribes, and in the parallel passages above noted that dependence is very evident. (4) Although all three of the evangelists give us the same conception of the sacramental character of the Last Supper which Paul had taught the Corinthians, and which he no doubt continued habitually to express in his own celebration of the Lord's Supper, nevertheless one can find no trace of that conception in the practices of the primitive apostolic company, in which the original apostolic tradition which the evangelists are supposed more or less correctly to transcribe took its rise. Two obvious conclusions follow, namely: that the Pauline conception is different from the original apostolic recollection, and that the Pauline conception is nevertheless embodied in each of the three synoptic gospels.

These conclusions are now posited as a conjectural explanation of the texts, and I go on to consider some collateral evidence that may be in their favor, and then some objections that may be urged against them.

It should be said of the reconstructed apostolic tradition that, while it contains nothing which is not taken verbatim from one or more of the evangelists, it still, in itself, gives a simple, plain, and, as I think, complete picture of the occurrence. And it should be noticed that it incorporates practically *all* of each of the synoptic narratives, except what is seen to parallel the Pauline account. One expression in Mark, "he that eateth with me," is obviously supplied from the Old Testament, and does not belong to the original tradition, the emphasis of which is on the fact that Jesus did not partake of the feast. Again, in Luke, the words "before I suffer" are no part of the original tradition. There are no textual reasons for this conjecture, but two critical considerations are in its favor: First, the statement of a reason, which follows, "*for* I say unto you I will not eat," etc., demands a preceding statement which the text does not give, but which is readily supplied from the parallel account of Mark and Matthew, as, "Nevertheless, take *ye* and eat, for *I* will not eat it until," etc. The thought then comes out clearly: "I have greatly desired to eat this Passover *with you*, but ye must eat it alone, for I will not partake." Secondly, the words "before I suffer" anticipate an immediately impending passion, whereas what directly follows as certainly looks forward to some future Passover season, and to the resumption of the ordinary use of wine, *when the kingdom should have been established*.

It should not be overlooked to what extent both Mark and Matthew have been drawn upon in the reconstruction of the tradition. They too mention the vow of abstinence from wine, and give us the words, "Take ye," "Drink ye," so strongly contrasted with the "*I will not eat, I will not drink.*" There is a strange incongruity between the abstention of Jesus from the loaf and cup, and the subsequent conception of the Lord's Supper as a communion. Paul's account of the supper overlooks the fact that Jesus himself did not eat or drink. And to the evangelists, it would seem, the incongruity did not appeal, for Mark and Matthew give us the original apostolic recollection and the Pauline "revelation" more or less firmly fused into one story; while Luke gives us both, impartially, side by side. If the former seems to us rather colorless, the latter at least bears the brush-marks of a mighty genius.

If now we have here two really irreconcilable stories, there can be little doubt as to which of them carries the weight of probability in favor of its correctness. I do not hesitate to prefer that one which is the more simple, the more natural, the more colorless, the less involved in recondite theological speculations, and, besides, apparently traceable to an eyewitness, rather than the one which Paul believed himself to have received by revelation.

But, it will be objected, how could it be possible for Paul to take a comparatively simple incident in the life of Jesus, mold it into the institution of a sacrament, overlook or forget the words actually spoken, supply others in their place, and finally give out his dogmatic conception of the incident as a revelation which he had received from the Lord? And, after he had done all this, how could he impose his view on such men as came later to write our gospels? It is not easy to give satisfactory answers to these questions, yet an explanation that is entirely possible, psychologically, is not far to seek. It is found, indeed, in Paul's own writings. For suppose the facts as to the Last Supper to be simply these: that Jesus, as the head of the family of disciples, blessed and distributed to the rest the food of the paschal feast, gave thanks, and passed to them the cup of wine, saying: "*I have greatly desired to eat this Passover with you; nevertheless, eat ye, for I will not eat it until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God;*" and of the cup: "*Take this and divide it among yourselves, for I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine until the kingdom of God shall come.*" And suppose that to be the story which Paul heard. But we know that Paul held and taught that Christ died *for*

our sins, according to the Scriptures. Indeed (mark the words), this also is a doctrine which he distinctly says he had "received." The death was a sacrifice for sin, and, moreover, it was the consummation of the paschal sacrifice; Christ had become our Passover. That last paschal meal, then, with its distribution by him of the sacrificial food, and the covenant cup, was, in effect, the distribution of himself (*se dat suis manibus*), of his own body, of his own blood of the *new* covenant. Such being the case, such (Paul would conclude) must have been the intention, and his discovery of this scheme of salvation through the blood of Jesus, of this abrogation of the old covenant, and replacement of it by the new, was to Paul as a revelation from the Lord. That loaf was Christ's body. That wine was his blood. Such surely must have been the meaning of Jesus—that was what his actions expressed—and to the ear of Paul's inner consciousness the words rang clear enough: "This paschal food is my body, this cup is the new covenant in my blood." Thus did a simple narrative of a simple fact come, through the medium of a highly developed theological imagination, to take on a highly dogmatic form. That Paul believed himself to have received numerous visions and revelations we know from his own statements, and that he claimed a peculiar divine warrant for his doctrines is evident from numerous passages. But I cannot attach to such statements exactly the same importance which he does, and especially so when his conception of an event is found to differ materially from another conception of the same event, traceable to an apparently good source.

Again, having reconstructed a narrative of what really occurred and was said in the distribution of the food and drink, is it possible to make it fit in with any rational view of the character of Jesus and of the circumstances in which he found himself on that Passover night? I think it is, but at the same time conceive that a rational view differs somewhat from the ordinarily accepted orthodox one. And, first, let us see what Jesus could have meant when he said that he would not eat that Passover toward which he had looked forward with such strong desire. The answer is in his statement. He would not eat of the Passover feast until such time as it should be a fulfilled symbol in the ideal kingdom of God and of righteousness which it had been his object, his purpose, his hope, to establish. From which we can hardly fail to infer that the reason for his not partaking of this Passover lay in the fact that the kingdom was not yet established; and accordingly I would explain the strong desire with which he had anticipated the

occasion by saying that he must have expected, or at least have had some hope, that the kingdom would have been established, or in a fair way of establishment, prior to the arrival of this paschal season. I venture to think that no correct or adequate view of the character of Jesus can leave out of account the uncertainty as to the future with which he had come up to Jerusalem. That he had contemplated the possibility, and even the probability, of failure is abundantly indicated. It seems plain that on several occasions he may have dropped remarks which could be *afterward* "understood" by the disciples as a definite prediction of his rejection and execution, even of the mode of it. But that he had really given up hope of a final success is not proved by a careful analysis of the contents of our narratives, but the contrary. For even in the garden, even after he knew for certain of the defection within the band of his most devoted followers, and of the determined opposition of the ruling class, there was still an agonizing uncertainty, as to the outcome. And so, while yet at the Passover table, he still looked forward to the establishment of the kingdom, to some future Passover season when he could partake of the feast as a fulfilled symbol, to a time when the conditions of his vow of abstinence would be accomplished and he could again resume the ordinary use of the fruit of the vine. But for the present not only was this purpose still unaccomplished, but its probable failure had been becoming more and more apparent with each passing day, until now, when the hour of the feast had come and he was confronted, not only with the treachery of one of the Twelve, but also with the unspiritual bickering of the rest, hope had sunk to a low ebb; failure stared him in the face; success, if to come at all, must come, not now, but in the future; and the feast, which he had fondly hoped might be at last a fulfilled symbol, in the kingdom, had perforce lost for him its blessed attractiveness, so that, sickened at heart with hope deferred, he could not touch it, but could only, with the usual invocations of blessing, distribute to the others the food and drink, loaf and cup; for, as he said, still projecting his hope into the future, he would not eat it, nor drink henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God should come.

But if, for the sake of argument, it should now be tentatively admitted that each of the three synoptic accounts of the Last Supper shows evidence of a composite nature, and that one of the elements of each appears to be Pauline in its origin, the question remains how such a Pauline strand could have got into all three of the accounts. To answer this question considerable emphasis must be laid on the

close relation which existed, at one time or another, between Paul on the one side and Mark and Luke on the other. Without going into the reasons, pro and con, which would expand this article to undue length, I rely upon the indications contained in the canonical books, and upon the traditions of the early church, to the effect (1) that the John Mark who started out with Paul on his first missionary journey (Acts 15 : 37), the Mark who was with Paul at Rome during some part of his imprisonment there (epistle to Philemon and Colossians), and the writer of the gospel according to Mark, are one and the same person; (2) that the writer of the gospel according to Luke, and of the Acts, was the beloved physician Luke, and the same individual who joined Paul at Troas, and later traveled with him from Philippi to Jerusalem and thence to Rome; (3) that Peter the apostle was also in Rome during a part or all of the time when Paul was a prisoner there; (4) that Paul exercised a marvelous influence over both minds and hearts of most men with whom he came in contact. I rely also, in part, upon some assumptions which may be capable of neither complete proof nor disproof; as (1) that it was the habitual practice of Paul, during the latter years of his life, to use, in his own periodical celebration of the Lord's Supper, a formula quite similar to that which he had previously taught to the Corinthian church; (2) that Luke, Mark, and others celebrating the rite with Paul, became thoroughly familiar with the conception of the Last Supper which Paul held and taught, and with the words of celebration which he used, already assuming a liturgical fixedness; (3) that, nevertheless, Luke, Mark, and others were familiar with the original Petrine recollection of that supper and held the same more or less firmly in mind, but, perhaps quite insensibly, allowed it to feel the influence of the liturgical formula—just as the liturgical doxology came very early to attach itself firmly to the primitive traditional form of the Lord's Prayer.

As to the gospel according to Matthew, it can only be said that in the part of his narrative above referred to the compiler of that book evidently depends closely upon the same tradition, probably still oral, which Mark also put into writing.

It should be remarked here that, if the analysis and conclusions of this article are even approximately correct, there must have been a growth in the Pauline formula. We have, in effect, three, or perhaps even four, stages of it. As it appears in the Corinthian letter, two ideas are prominent in it—the commemorative and the sacramental.

It is there said, both of the bread and of the wine, "This do in remembrance of me." Now, in the version which Luke gives us these commemorative words follow the distribution of the bread only, not of the wine, while in Mark and Matthew no commemorative words are given at all. Again, Paul says in the letter: "This cup is the new covenant in my blood." In Luke this is expanded: "even that which is poured out for you." Mark still further expands, "which is shed for *many*;" and Matthew adds, "unto remission of sins." Of course, it might be thought that Mark and Matthew omitted genuine words of Jesus, "This do in remembrance of me," and that Luke and Paul, being better informed, inserted them; and, again, that Matthew gives us the genuine words of Jesus, "which is shed for many unto remission of sins," from which Mark clips off the "unto remission of sins," which Luke contracts from "many" to "you," and which Paul drops out altogether. But when we remember that the doctrine of the shed blood, of its atoning effect, and of its wide applicability to gentiles as well as to Jews, is intensely Pauline, we can hardly hesitate, I think, to decide that the three stages of the formula are, chronologically, those of the Corinthian letter, of Luke, and of Mark-Matthew. Whether Luke actually *wrote* before Mark and Matthew, or some years later, the indication is that his notes or his recollection reproduce an earlier stage in the development of the liturgical formula of the eucharist. And the same conclusion may be drawn from the fact that in Luke's account of the Last Supper the two strands of the story lie loosely side by side, whereas in Mark and in Matthew the two strands are closely twisted together.

Up to this point I have left out of account the canonical writings attributed to the apostle John, and also the first epistle of Peter, all of which may be thought to bear adversely on the views above expressed. It is, of course, recalled that the fourth gospel omits in this connection all that incident of the Last Supper which we have been considering. Its writer could, indeed, find no room in his narrative for a sacrificial Last Supper, inasmuch as he conceives the crucifixion itself to have taken place on the Passover day, in this way accentuating the thought that the death of Jesus was the consummation of the paschal sacrifice. The Last Supper is accordingly relegated to the day prior to the Passover and is made interesting by the recital of matter not mentioned by the synoptists. Nevertheless, the fourth evangelist emphasizes even more than do the synoptists, and at the same time greatly spiritualizes, the idea that the very elements of Christ's being, his body

and blood, were in some sense to be partaken of by his disciples. Yet here too, as I think, the Pauline conception is again reflected, though reflected now, one might say, to *a focus*, as by a parabolic mirror. How this Pauline idea came to the author of the fourth gospel, whether he got it directly, or whether he found it already firmly established in the Ephesian church or elsewhere, is a question into which we need not enter. Suffice it to say that the Pauline influence can be traced in the Johannine theology and Christology, and as clearly as anywhere in the conception of the death of Jesus as a consummating paschal sacrifice. This influence can be admitted, while frankly recognizing the large element of profound originality in the fourth gospel, the epistle, and Apocalypse. As to the first epistle of Peter, it is evident that, whether the apostle had anything to do with its composition or not, its author was a good Paulinist in his Christology, even as he had been profoundly influenced by Paul's epistolary style. I think that the key to the problem of First Peter lies in the statement that the amanuensis on this occasion was Silvanus, and in the supposition that this Silvanus was the same Silas or Silvanus who had been a prominent man in the Jerusalem church, and had subsequently attached himself to Paul and shared his labors and his sufferings. That this man also should be in Rome, and should from that city write, for Peter, a letter to the Jews dispersed through those regions, the gentile inhabitants of which Paul had already addressed both by preaching and by letter, is by no means impossible. On this view the Christology of First Peter is not an insurmountable objection to my thesis.

Let me say in conclusion that I do not hold the above argument to have the force of a demonstration, or anything like it. But the thoughts expressed have seemed to me so deeply suggestive as to warrant their submission to the friendly censure of men fitted by scholarly attainment to deal with the questions which I have ventured to raise.

C. P. COFFIN.

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RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

WHAT IS THOUGHT? or, The Problem of Philosophy by Way of a General Conclusion So Far. By JAMES HUTCHISON STIRLING, LL.D. Edin. New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900. Pp. ix + 423. \$3.75.

DR. STIRLING is favorably known in philosophical circles as the author of *The Secret of Hegel*. The present volume contains the writer's own system of metaphysics, which is practically the same as Hegel's, and the keynote of which is sounded in the title. The essence of things, the core of the universe, is thought, spirit, God, and the problem of philosophy is to explain thought. "Since there is a universe, something must have been necessary." This is thought, which is its own cause and carries the principle of its progression within itself. "Thought's own nature is, first, position; second, opposition; and, third, composition;" that is, "the I doubles itself, divides itself, sets itself against itself. It unites itself only in that it dis-unites itself." This principle cannot be impersonal; thought always implies a subject. "Why hesitate to name it God?" "In God, as in the *ego*, subject and object are together. There is but God *and* his universe; the universe is but he, and he is but the universe" (pp. 1-86).

After stating his principle, Dr. Stirling refers to the history of philosophy in confirmation of its truth, and traces its development from Greek times down through Hegel (pp. 87-415). The history of philosophy before Kant embraces one chapter (pp. 87-108), while the rest of the work is given up to Kant and his successors, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel (pp. 109-415). A large part of this section is devoted to a somewhat exhaustive exposition and criticism of Kant's categories, particularly the category of causality, and to Dr. Stirling's own view of causality, which agrees with Hegel's (pp. 109-214). The historical portion closes with a presentation of the fundamental thought of Hegel's philosophy, which Stirling interprets in the light of his own principle, the *ego*. The last chapter of all (xv) is a summary of the author's own system.

The chief value of the book lies in the emphasis which it places upon the spiritual phase of existence. Whatever one may have to say

of Hegel, one cannot but approve of the general bearing of his system. The fundamental idea of this entire philosophy is, after all, that the world is a spiritual world, that there is somehow an intelligent principle behind it or in it, that it is not a blind play of dead atoms. We may object to its one-sided intellectualism, but we cannot fail to welcome it as a healthy antidote to the mechanical view of the extreme scientists. Still it must be confessed that the work is not adapted to that class of readers to whom it would do the most good. I am afraid that only one reasonably versed in the history of philosophy, especially in the post-Kantian systems, will be able to read the book with profit to himself. Not that it is not clearly and forcibly written; not at all! It is as clear as so difficult a subject can be made—wonderfully clear and vigorous—and one feels the author's enthusiastic presence in every page. But to understand the book one must understand at least Kant and Hegel. To one who has penetrated somewhat into the secrets of these thinkers the volume before us will have a real value, if only for the light that it throws upon the history of philosophy; to others the greater portion of it will prove an impenetrable mystery.

Those who study the book will perhaps find that it contains much material which, though excellent in itself, is somewhat out of place here. Thus the second chapter, discussing Schelling's criticism of Descartes's ontological argument, has only a very indirect bearing on the subject at issue, and could easily have been omitted. The criticism of Kant's *schemata*, though thorough and valuable, would more properly belong in a book on Kant, and the lecture on the quarrel of Schelling and Hegel seems to have been inserted simply because it was a fine piece of writing and too good to lose.

One of the most important and interesting issues presented by Dr. Stirling is his interpretation of Hegel's *Begriff*, which he identifies with the *ego*. The chief objection to this view is that which Stirling himself mentions and fails to answer (pp. 375 ff., 390). He believes that Hegel concealed his real thought because he did not wish to show his dependence on other thinkers (say, on Fichte), and because he did not wish to interfere with his own success. The fact evidently is that Hegel never intended absolutely to identify the notion with the *ego*. His idea was that the process—the dialectic process—which is peculiar to the notion, is also characteristic of the *ego*; that it is the spring of the universe, of internal and external nature. The *ego* is the notion become conscious, the realization of the notion;

nature is the notion externalized, objectified; the *ego* is the notion internalized, the notion looking at itself. In the *ego* we have identity in diversity, the *ego* divides itself and is yet one; the self as the knower and the self as known, the subject and the object, the I and the Me, are two in one. The same opposition and reunion, the same unity in variety, we find in nature. This process or function, which he conceives as something spiritual, is the fundamental principle of Hegel's philosophy, and the *ego* is only a higher phase of it.

FRANK THILLY.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI.

CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY. GOD. Being a Contribution to a Philosophy of Theism. By JOHN T. DRISCOLL, S.T.L. New York: Benzinger Bros., 1900. Pp. xvi + 342. \$1.25.

MR. DRISCOLL is a theist and a devout Roman Catholic theologian, but his work cannot truthfully be called a contribution to philosophy. He assumes, whereas philosophy investigates and seeks to establish truth according to canons of universal validity. His object is to comfort the believer, not to subject him to the dry light of criticism. "This treatise," he says in the preface, "is published in the hope that it will bring light and comfort to those who believe, and help dispel the clouds of error and misunderstanding under which so many are struggling." He comforts by showing that the faith is according to reason. As he says in the introduction: "The arms we use are those of reason, the missiles are the most certain facts of consciousness and of physical science;" but how can it be known that the faith is rational, when it is defined as above and beyond the scope of reason? Under the natural he includes "(a) the material universe with its forces, as set forth in the physical sciences; (b) the organic world, the properties and activities of living bodies, as explained in biology, physiology, anatomy, zoölogy, etc.; (c) everything that pertains to the constitution of human nature, *i. e.*, not only bodily organism and life, *but the higher powers of mind and will*, as exposed in psychology, the course of man's history on the earth, *e. g.*, anthropology, the duties and relations to fellow-men in society, *e. g.*, ethics, sociology, politics, etc." (p. 333). If everything with which philosophy deals is taken away, what place is there for philosophy? The supernatural is separated from the natural by the frankest dualism. It is beyond our faculties of knowing and beyond law, and is simply something which is externally and authoritatively declared unto us. It may be the Hinduism according to

which the devotee answers every objection to the rationality of its stories by exclaiming, "Great is Rama!" Or it may be the Christian dogmatism, concerning which church fathers have spoken, "I believe because it is absurd," or, "It is true because it is impossible." But in neither case is true philosophy possible.

Mr. Driscoll has read widely. His knowledge of Greek philosophy is not at first hand. At any rate, it is imperfect. His knowledge of German and of British and American writers is more complete, and he often gives a clear and well-expressed synopsis of their positions, though his external point of view makes his statements generally inadequate. A suspicion of this ought to arise in the mind of anyone who finds that he can say regarding the views of the principal adherents of the theory of evolution—Spencer, Huxley, Tyndall, Tyler, Réville—only this: "It is sufficient to indicate these views. To the thoughtful student no refutation is needed. They are as shallow as they are blatant" (p. 50). This is not criticism, but cursing; and, though a method of argument in vogue in the Middle Ages, it is now discarded by all who desire to appeal to educated men. Mr. Driscoll professes to take as his master Aristotle, supplemented by St. Thomas. A proper appreciation of Aristotle would enable him to understand the province of philosophy. A sentence which he himself quotes would be a useful guide: "Plant the ship-builders' skill within the timber itself," writes Aristotle, "and you have the mode in which nature produces." Along that road we reach natural supernaturalism.

G. M. GRANT.

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY,
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SPENCER AND SPENCERISM. By H. MACPHERSON. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1900. Pp. vii + 241. \$1.25, *net*.

THE philosophic as well as the general reader will welcome Mr. MacPherson's clear, concise and sympathetic volume. In indicating the course of thought the divisions of the book will be followed. In chaps. 1, 2, and 4 Mr. MacPherson draws a clear and interesting sketch of the ancestry, upbringing, training, intellectual companions, struggles, and mental development of the synthetic philosopher. Chap. 3 is very instructive, inasmuch as it shows in a convincing manner how the principles developed in his *Social Statics* appealed more and more to Mr. Spencer's mind, until, in connection with far-reaching

inductive studies, they gave the clue to his complete system. Chap. 5 exhibits Mr. Spencer's principles as applied to the conception of the cosmos. From this basis chaps. 6 and 7 work out the application of natural and mechanical principles to the explanation of life, mind, and society. Chap. 8 sets forth the conception of industrial development as fundamental to the life and progress of society. Chaps. 9, 10, and 11 indicate in detail the bearing of industrial activity upon the development of political, ethical, and religious institutions. Chaps. 12 and 13 deal with the philosophic and religious aspects of Spencerism. These are the weakest in the book. The defects, however, are mainly the defects of the system which Mr. MacPherson expounds.

Mr. Spencer's system will remain as the exponent of the analytic scientific method. That method starts from effects as products. It then analyzes them out into their component factors and the form of combination which unites these factors. By so doing it finds that quality disappears into quantity, the heterogeneous into the homogeneous. Matter and motion operating according to mechanical principles are the last words of science. The complementary point of view, which would interpret causation teleologically as well as mechanically, is ignored. Further, from Mr. Spencer's point of view matter and motion are but symbols of reality. The final question as to the nature of the real is metaphysical. But for metaphysic neither Mr. Spencer nor Mr. MacPherson has any particular regard. According to them, knowledge is entirely relative. What exactly is meant is not clear from any Spencerian treatment. One could wish for a more thorough treatment of the function of knowledge. As it is, one is left with the feeling that science is left hanging in the air, for symbols which fail in controlling their objective are not symbols at all. The treatment of the idealistic constructions of the absolute is interesting and suggestive, although it fails utterly to grapple with the problem at first hand, as is done in such a work as Mr. F. H. Bradley's *Appearance and Reality*.

S. F. MACLENNAN.

OBERLIN COLLEGE.

INTRODUCTION TO ETHICS. By FRANK THILLY, Professor of Philosophy, University of Missouri. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900. Pp. xi + 346. \$1.25.

PROFESSOR THILLY has previously translated Paulsen's *System of Ethics*, and now presents a similar manual, which, so far as its standpoint is concerned, is essentially that of Paulsen. This standpoint is,

in general, the teleological as opposed to the intuitionist, and it is further essentially that of Aristotelian eudæmonism, as contrasted with hedonism. So far as the positive presentation of theory is concerned, there is little that calls for notice, inasmuch as there seems to be no very important modification of the standpoint above described.

As compared with other text-books now before the public, the chief point of interest is the large amount of historical material which is given. In connection with the important topics, such as conscience and the theories of the highest good, a brief statement is given of the attitude of all the leading writers upon these topics. The value of this historical material will depend upon the standpoint from which one judges the book. If the book is to be used chiefly as a reference-book, this material is convenient and useful, although it is so brief as to be unsatisfactory for anything more than a bare characterization. On the other hand, from the pedagogical standpoint, if the book is to be used for an elementary text-book, it is more than doubtful whether the brief summaries of so many different theories will not tend to confuse rather than to enlighten the beginner.

From the standpoint of a text-book, it is unfortunate, I think, that the author has omitted what was really the most valuable part of Paulsen's treatment, viz., the sketch of the range and development of the modern moral consciousness. This, on the whole, forms the easiest and most instructive approach to the present status of the subject, and is, I think, much more useful to the beginner than the history of the different theories which have been held with regard to the moral consciousness. One can but wonder also that little or no attempt is made to utilize, for the analysis of the moral consciousness, the results of social and genetic psychology. Recent work in these directions is of great value by way of introduction to the analytical discussion, and although there are brief allusions to the results of such work under particular topics, the work as a whole does not seem to have been very largely influenced thereby.

J. H. TUFTS.

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DER AHNENKULTUS UND DIE URRELIGION ISRAELS. VON CARL GRÜNEISEN, LIC. THEOL. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1900. Pp. xv+287. M. 6.

THE original purpose of his investigation, the author tells us, was to test the theories of Stade and Schwally regarding the animistic

character of the primitive religion of Israel. This was a task already undertaken and performed by J. Frey in his essay entitled *Tod, Seelenglaube und Seelenkult im alten Israel*.¹ Though the author agrees with the results of Frey in general, he is not satisfied with that writer's method of procedure. If Stade and Schwally are open to the criticism of having brought to the task the preconceived philosophy of religion advocated by Herbert Spencer and generally known as animism, Frey is equally open to criticism for approaching the subject with the preconceived philosophy of Max Müller, according to which the roots of all religious beliefs and practices are to be found in the deification and worship of nature.

Grüneisen proposes to pursue a more purely inductive method. He attempts to gather from the documentary sources of the history of Israel the facts, first, as to the belief regarding the soul and its condition after death; secondly, the meaning of funereal ceremonies and practices, such as modes of mourning for the dead, of burial, and of invocation of the dead for purposes of divination (necromancy); and thirdly, alleged traces of ancestor-worship. We may remark, before proceeding farther, that in the matter of method the author scarcely perseveres in the use of the purely inductive process held as ideal in his plan. He evinces a constant tendency to return to the views of his opponents and combat them. We are not inclined to complain of the introduction of this controversial element into the investigation, for it adds spice and interest to the essay, but we note it simply as a departure from the strictly ideal method.

As to results, the sum and substance of them is the following: The question, Was animism, or ancestor-worship, the pre-Jahvistic form of religion in Israel? is answered with a round No! It is true that ancient Israel shared the belief of other peoples in the continued existence of departed souls, a belief that must be at the basis of every form of ancestor-worship; it is true, also, that this *post mortem* existence of souls was looked upon as a continuance of their earthly career, and efforts were made to minister to their needs; it is true, further, that in the performance of these services food and drink were brought to their graves to feed and quench their supposed hunger and thirst; it is true, finally, that the presence of disembodied souls was considered a source of discomfort and even of dread for the living, and certain rites were practiced intended to chase them away from the dwelling-places of the living; but in general the life of such souls was thought to be a

¹ Noticed in this JOURNAL, April, 1900, Vol. IV, p. 422.

shadowy, sad, and pitiable one. The dead were below, and not above, the living in the degree of the vividness of their life, and could never be made objects of worship.

This generally negative conclusion, as already intimated, is the same as that reached by Frey, though in a different way. Such negative results raise the query whether it is reasonable to expect that all the facts can be unified in a simple theory. Funereal customs and ceremonies, it seems to us, must have risen at different times as a natural result of the sentiments engendered by the view of death. Such ceremonies and practices would naturally tend to become more and more complex and elaborate, and, in some cases at least, new meanings would be foisted into them. In this way a variety of discordant and sometimes barren forms would arise which it is scarcely reasonable to expect to harmonize and thus to clear up the darkness hanging over the pre-Yahwistic period of Israel's religion. Grüneisen's effort, it seems to us, points toward this negative and disappointing conclusion.

A. C. ZENOS.

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RESEARCHES INTO THE ORIGIN OF THE PRIMITIVE CONSTELLATIONS OF THE GREEKS, PHŒNICIANS, AND BABYLONIANS. By ROBERT BROWN, JUN. F.S.A., etc. Vol. II. London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. Pp. xx + 261, with two Star-Charts. 10s. 6d.

THE first volume of this work was noticed in the issue of this JOURNAL for January, 1900. The present volume completes the work. The first volume was devoted to the Greek material and the Babylonian material after Alexander; the present one treats the earlier Babylonian material. Chap. ix, the first of this volume, is devoted to the constellations in the Babylonian creation-scheme. With the aid of three fragments of planispheres from the library of Assurbanipal it is shown that this scheme contemplated thirty-six constellations arranged in three concentric circles of different diameters. After a discussion of constellation subjects in Euphratean art, chap. xi discusses the tablet of thirty stars, V. R. 46, No. 1. Here Brown takes issue with Hommel (*Astron. der alt. Chal.*), and makes out a good case for the view that these thirty stars were a lunar cycle representing the stations of the moon for each day in the month. The next chapter discusses

three stellar groups of sevens, the *Tiksi-Tipki*, the *Lu-mâsi*, and the *Mâsi* stars. A chapter is then given to the celestial equator of Arâtos, on whose astronomical poem Mr. Brown published a book some years ago. He shows here that the Cilician poet was turning into Greek verse Babylonian material 1,800 years older than his time. A chapter is devoted to the Euphratean celestial sphere, in which, among other topics, the heavenly spheres of Anu, Bel, and Ea are described, and another sums up the technical results of the discussion by giving a list of all the Babylonian names of stars which the author has identified, together with their modern equivalents. Two chapters in conclusion are devoted to the psychological conceptions which found expression in the constellations and the manner of their formation. The work is illustrated with a number of cuts reproducing Babylonian figures.

The author's task was a difficult one, and he does not pretend to have reached in all cases absolutely sure results. His arguments are often convincing, and many of his identifications seem most probable. The volume nevertheless produces on one a feeling of disappointment. Mr. Brown is a disciple of Professor Sayce, and an admirer both of him and Professor Hommel. His method of work is their method, and, as some of us believe, it is not a method which it is safe to follow. Nevertheless, students of ancient astronomical systems cannot ignore Brown's work.

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SOME HERESIES DEALT WITH. By ALEXANDER H. JAPP., LL.D., F.R.S.E. London: Thomas Burleigh, 1899. Pp. vi + 293. 6s.

OFFERING AND SACRIFICE. An Essay in Comparative Customs and Religious Development. By A. F. SCOT, M.A. London: Thomas Burleigh, 1899. Pp. vii + 232. 2s. 6d.

THE "heresies" here "dealt with" are not those of theology, but of science, and largely of anthropological science. It is, however, a question which the reader is continually asking himself: Who is the heretic? Is it Dr. Japp, using his orthodox victim as a clotheshorse for the exhibition of some of his own favorite ideas? Or is just the reverse the case? To use his much-employed method of giving the final stroke to a heretic [?], we ask: "Will Dr. Alexander Japp tell us

what we so much want to know?" Well, whosoever are the heresies, the dealing with them makes very interesting reading. The author is a Scotsman, and therefore a born controversialist. His method is simple: Divide and conquer. Let us enumerate his achievements. Mr. Andrew Lang is castigated for holding that the Hebrew "passages through the fire" were probably (or possibly) harmless rites. Really, they were human sacrifices. Westermarck's view that tattoo marks, cuts, etc., were mere decorations made for the purpose of attracting the opposite sex is met by an array of facts to prove them something else, tribal signs, etc. Sir Henry Maine's books are examined and a variety of anthropological errors disclosed. Goldwin Smith, Grant Allen, and Andrew Lang are pilloried together as having written on Hebrew religion without knowing a word of Hebrew. Perhaps this is enough, and it is not necessary to pursue Miss Kingsley, Messrs. Rhys Davids, Margoliouth, Addis, and Professor Rhys into the holes where Dr. Japp leaves them. Whether somebody could not find our author driving his hobbies rather recklessly, *e. g.*, that one about the general vileness of Hebrew religion, with its sacred prostitution and human sacrifice—that we leave to those who have felt his lash. But to see Dr. Japp quoting as authority for some of his views "a living American [biblical] critic" who turns out to be the author of a cheap book, the mere echo of Renan, makes us rub our eyes. And has Dr. Japp ever read Kamphausen on *Human Sacrifices in Relation to Israel's Religion*? There is a man who knows Hebrew.

No one reading the second of these books in close connection with the first could doubt that A. F. Scot, M.A., is a pseudonym of the redoubtable Dr. Alexander Japp. Or is the pseudonymity the other way? At any rate, here are the same controversial tactics, the same extreme views of Hebrew religion, the same language, even to the reproduction of the brief essay on Mr. Petrie's "Eaten with Honor" (*cf.* pp. 121–7 with *Some Heresies Dealt With*, pp. 246–50). The argument of this volume is in brief that sacrifice is in its origin the eating of the god, who is a man, *i. e.*, a deified ancestor; in other words, that human sacrifice is the earliest, and that all other forms of sacrifice have grown out of it by substitution. Of course, then, cannibalism was its concomitant. Among other peoples the Hebrews were human sacrificers and cannibals in their Yahweh worship down to the exile. On the basis of this view of sacrifice the author rails at the sacerdotalism of the Church of England, which is nothing less than revived paganism. With this latter portion we heartily sympathize,

although we are sure that Dr. Japp (or Mr. Scot) would have produced a stronger impression by remitting his abusive language and by being less cocksure of his ideas about early sacrifice and the Hebrew religion. His array of evidence in illustration of sacrificial custom is valuable and makes his book worth having by all who are interested in early religion and religious institutions.

G. S. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

REALENCYKLOPÄDIE FÜR PROTESTANTISCHE THEOLOGIE UND KIRCHE. Begründet von J. J. HERZOG. In dritter verbesserter und vermehrter Auflage, unter Mitwirkung vieler Theologen und anderer Gelehrten, herausgegeben von D. ALBERT HAUCK, Professor in Leipzig. Siebenter und achter Band: Gottesdienst-Hess; Hesse-Jesuitinnen. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899, 1900. Pp. iv + 804; 788. M. 12 each volume.

EIGHT years after the completion, in eighteen large volumes, of the second edition of this great work (1888), which at that time represented the highest achievements in all departments of theological science, the first volume of the third edition, under the editorship of Dr. A. Hauck, to whom, after the death of the former editors, Herzog and Plitt, had been intrusted the editing of the later volumes of the second edition, issued from the press of the J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. A firm less zealous for the advancement of theological science, and with a constituency less exacting in its demand for the latest and the best, would probably have been content with such improvements in the third edition as could have been made by a careful revision of the plates, the addition of new materials in appendices or supplementary volumes, and such like comparatively inexpensive devices. The work before us is completely reset, and contains so large a proportion of new matter that it is in no sense a mere revision. The better articles of the second edition have been thoroughly revised and enlarged when needful, and the literature brought up to date. A very large proportion of the most important articles have been written afresh by the most eminent specialists on the particular matters in hand. Eight volumes have appeared in the four years since the appearance of Vol. I. The slowness of the progress of the work through the press constitutes the chief objection that can be urged against it. The present edition will be more than ten years in appearing, and the early volumes will

become somewhat antiquated before the last volumes appear. But the present slow method is the only one practicable where the one editor must carefully plan and supervise the whole, and it no doubt suits better the financial exigencies of many poor scholars who can pay for two volumes a year, but who would not feel able to purchase the entire work, or several volumes, at once. Each volume will be better and more consistent when it appears singly, and with a considerable interval between its predecessor and its successor, than if several volumes were being hurried along concurrently. To mention the contributors would be to give a list of the most eminent specialists. Hauck himself writes many articles, especially in his own field of early German church history. Harnack writes many patristic articles and sketches of the early Roman emperors. Loofs, who is unsurpassed in general history of doctrine, writes many elaborate articles in this department. The weakest feature of the work, in the reviewer's opinion, is the *Anabaptistica*, few of the articles being by the most competent writers, and the point of view of the writers being far below the high standard of impartiality that many of the most eminent investigators have reached. The articles on biblical introduction and biblical criticism are particularly full and scholarly, and represent neither extreme radicalism nor extreme conservatism. Every minister and theological student who can read German should have this great work as a daily companion. It is worth a whole library of inferior works of reference.

ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN.

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THE ENGLISH BIBLE IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY 1525 TO 1640. With 26 Facsimiles and 39 Engravings. [By REV. RICHARD LOVETT, M.A.] Printed for Private Circulation, 1899. Pp. xvi + 275, folio.

THIS well-printed and finely illustrated volume, by the author of a useful little manual on *The Printed English Bible, 1525-1885*, and editor of Demaus' life of Tyndale, is apparently carefully prepared. The avowed ideal of its author has been "to make it the best catalogue of English Bibles in existence," and, judging from its extensive and elaborate descriptions, it is certainly entitled to take rank with the well-known critical works of Francis Fry. It is to be regretted, however, that the edition is limited to something in the neighborhood of eighty copies, which makes it quite unavailable, even to specialists.

The bibliography presents a detailed account of forty-five Bibles, twenty New Testaments, and Tyndale's very rare Pentateuch (1534-30) —all printed prior to 1641; as well as a description of Francis Fry's facsimile of Tyndale's New Testament (1525), and an original copy of Caxton's *Golden Legende* (1483).

The John Rylands Library, of Manchester, England, was already exceptionally strong in this department when, in 1892, it absorbed the famous Althorp Library. Lord Spencer's collection, however, was singularly weak in English Bibles and Testaments, and only its very choicest exemplars were needed to fill certain serious gaps. These books, not to speak of their very great rarity, are usually very choice copies—a fact which adds immeasurably to their importance. But judged by its size and the number of editions, the collection cannot vie with that of the New York Public Library (Lenox Library Building), nor with that of the British Museum.

The New York Public Library has fully four times as many English Bibles, etc., for the period before 1641, and the British Museum is a close second. This estimate does not include their duplicates and copies with variations, of which no account is taken, and of which they have many. The New York Public Library has copies of all the Rylands books save three: (1) Tyndale's Pentateuch, 1534-30; the 1534 edition of Genesis, but it possesses the other four parts dated 1530, as well as the 1530 edition of the first part; (2) Coverdale's New Testament, Antwerp, 1539, which is excessively rare; and (3) the New Testament of 1579, printed by Christopher Barker, which does not count very materially.

Caxton's *Golden Legende* (1483) is, of course, included because it is the earliest printed volume in which verses of the Bible appear in the English vernacular. The following check-list of Bibles in the Rylands collection printed prior to 1550 will serve to show its character:

Tyndale's Pentateuch. Marburg, 1534-30.

Tyndale's New Testament. Antwerp, 1534.

Coverdale's Bible. [Zürich?], 1535.

Tyndale's New Testament. Antwerp, 1536; 8vo.

Tyndale's New Testament. ("Mole" edition.) Antwerp, 1536; 4to.

Tyndale's New Testament. ("Blank Stone" edition.) Antwerp, 1536; 4to.

Matthew's Bible. Antwerp, 1537.

Coverdale's Bible. London, 1537; folio.

Coverdale's Bible. London, 1537; 4to.

Matthew's New Testament. London, 1538.

Coverdale's New Testament. London, 1538.

- Coverdale's New Testament. Paris: Fraunces Regnault, 1538; 8vo.
 Coverdale's New Testament. (Johan Hollybushe Testament.) London, 1538.
 Coverdale's New Testament. Antwerp, 1539.
 Taverner's Bible. London, 1539.
 Great Bible. Paris and London, April, 1539.
 Great Bible. London, April, 1540.
 Great Bible. London, July, 1540.
 Great Bible. London, November, 1540.
 Great Bible. London, May, 1541.
 Great Bible. London: Whitchurche, 1549.
 Bible (mainly Matthew's 1537 text). London: Daye & Seres, 1549.
 Bible (verbatim reprint of Matthew's text of 1537). London: Raynalde & Hyll, 1549.
 New Testament. London: Powell, 1549.
 New Testament. [London?], 1549.

VICTOR H. PALTSITS.

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY.

DIE MASSORAH DER ÖSTLICHEN UND WESTLICHEN SYRER IN IHREN ANGABEN ZUM PROPHETEN JESAIA; nach fünf Handschriften des British Museum in Verbindung mit zwei Tractaten über Accente herausgegeben und bearbeitet. Von GUSTAV DIETRICH, Pfarrer der deutschen evangelischen Gemeinde zu Sydenham. London, Edinburgh, and Oxford: Williams & Norgate, 1899. Pp. vii + 134. 8s. 6d.

THE author of this work is engaged in the preparation of a critical edition of the Edessene version of Isaiah, and he has already collated the larger part and the most valuable of the manuscripts found in European libraries. The present publication offers the material contained in five manuscripts in the British Museum, without any discussion of their text-critical value. Of these MSS. one is Nestorian, the others are Jacobite. Because of its provenance and its importance for the history of accentuation, the Nestorian codex is published in full, with but slight deviations, for typographical reasons, from the original. The tradition of the Jacobite codices is given in footnotes to the text wherever they seemed of importance to the editor. Except for a few corrections and additions by a certain Sisin, the Nestorian codex is the work of Mar Babi, and was completed in the monastery of Mar Gabriel, near Harran, in the year 899. What renders this manuscript so valuable for the history of accentuation is the fact that Mar Babi not only presents us with the system in vogue at the end of the ninth century

in his own school, but also in many instances indicates, and passes his judgment upon, the accents used by Ram-Isho, who taught in the academies at Seleucia and Nisibis in the sixth century, and by the Massoretic school of the Magreyane, or instructors in reading of the Bible, at Nisibis, founded by Narses Leprosus in the fifth century. Even the system followed by Mar Babi in his codex is probably earlier than his own time, as it does not altogether agree with the views he sets forth in his treatise on the accents. It is, consequently, to some extent possible to trace the development of the system of accents used in the east-Mesopotamian churches.

The author gives for the first time satisfactory evidence to sustain the assumption of earlier scholars that the four Jacobite codices all come from the same Massoretic school, namely, that of Qarqaphta, a monastery situated on one of the banks of the Chabora, near Magdal, southeast of Resh-aina; and that they represent the system of vocalization used in the west-Mesopotamian churches. Interesting is his suggestion in reference to the absence of any division into chapters in these Qarqaphic codices. Codex Ambrosianus seems to show that already in the sixth century these western churches divided the book into forty-eight sections. There are thirty divisions in the east-Mesopotamian manuscript published by Diettrich, and this is also the case with the Nestorian codex (Brit. Mus. Add. 7152), which is thought to be of the same age as Codex Ambrosianus. Diettrich is inclined to see in the curious absence of a division into chapters in these Qarqaphic manuscripts a silent protest against the prevailing custom in the Jacobite churches, and an attempt to go back to the common basis of earlier times. This would account for the adoption of the Nestorian divisions by the genuine Jacobite Barhebræus in the fourteenth century.

The great mass of variants exhibited by these manuscripts is chiefly of orthographical or morphological significance. Some of them are of considerable interest to grammarians, and furnish welcome material for increasing our knowledge of Mesopotamian Aramaic. Some throw light upon the exegesis of the Edessene Vulgate. A small number are of real value for establishing the original text of this version. The full importance of these deviations can be seen only when the promised critical edition of the text, based, so far as possible, on all extant manuscripts, shall have appeared, and the relations of such variants to those of the Greek version, on the one hand, and the Targum, on the other, shall have been determined.

The author found it impossible to trace the most important variants back to some eminent Mesopotamian exegete, as he had hoped, although he searched through two large catenæ manuscripts in the British Museum with this in view. Most of the patristic writers quoted were Greek Fathers, and the allegorical method of Jacob of Serug and Daniel of Zalach, of which interesting examples are given, rendered it improbable that these authors could have influenced the grammarians of Nisibis and Qarqaphta. As an instance of comparative freedom from this allegorical method Severus of Antioch is cited. Two of the three passages, however, merely show how strongly intrenched this method was, even in Antioch, where one naturally looks for a more grammatico-historical treatment of the text. The third passage is of considerable interest, not only because it reflects credit on the method used by Severus, but because of its intrinsic value. Commenting on Isa. 19:18, he says that the city lies where one enters Egypt from Palestine, on the river that flows between Egypt and Palestine, was called Rhinokorura by the Greeks, but 'Arish (أريش) by the natives, and was dependent upon Heliopolis, the capital of the kingdom of Beth Shemesh.

A tract on the Nestorian accents by Mar Babi, somewhat abbreviated, and one by Elias I., of Tirhan, are published as appendices.

This book gives evidence of such mastery of the material and such excellent judgment that the reader will look eagerly for the larger work from so competent a hand.

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BERICHT ÜBER DAS GESAMMELTE HANDSCHRIFTLICHE MATERIAL ZU EINER KRITISCHEN AUSGABE DER LATEINISCHEN UEBERSETZUNGEN BIBLISCHER BÜCHER DES ALTEN TESTAMENTS. VON PH. THIELMANN. (Aus den *Sitzungsberichten d. philos.-philol. u. d. hist. Classe d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1899. Bd. II, Heft ii, pp. 205-43.) München: P. Straub, 1900.

ONE needs to look only at the bibliography given by Eb. Nestle in the article on Latin translations of the Bible, published in the third edition of the *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, or at the list of articles and monographs reviewed by P. Corssen in the *Jahresb. über d. Fortsch. d. kl. Alterth.* for 1899, to appreciate the very lively interest which has sprung up in the last five years in the Latin translations of the Old and New Testaments. Perhaps no one has done

more to stimulate this interest than the writer of the monograph before us, by his articles in the *Philologus* and in the *Arch. für lat. Lex. u. Gr.* For several years Professor Thielmann has been engaged in collecting material for a critical edition of the Latin translations of the books of Wisdom, Sirach, Esther, Tobias, and Judith. In this work he has been generously assisted by the Bavarian Academy, and he now publishes a summary of the material on which his texts are to be based. This material is derived in the main from MSS., printed texts, citations made by the Christian Fathers, summaries, glosses, and liturgical books. Some notion of the thoroughness with which the work has been done may be had from the fact that for the book of Wisdom alone thirty MSS. have been collated, and excerpts have been made from thirty-three others. When the texts themselves appear, Thielmann will have done for the books of the Old Testament mentioned above what Wordsworth and White are doing for the New Testament. To many scholars a special interest attaches to the particular books upon whose texts Thielmann is engaged because of the light which his work will throw on the old Latin versions of the Bible. Up to the present time we have had to rely mainly on Sabatier's work, which is 150 years old, and almost inaccessible. Nestle, in the article mentioned above, gives (pp. 91-4) an idea of the new material which has been brought together since Sabatier's edition appeared, but no systematic effort has hitherto been made to use it. Besides furnishing a reconstruction of the text, Thielmann's edition will bring together a deal of interesting material bearing on popular Latin. So, for instance, the pentameter, *De mare dico femur, de muliere femem*, quoted by the commentator on Cant. 7:1, indicates the popular accentuation *mulière*. Similarly the comment on 2 Macc. 3:7 reveals the popular accentuation *Thebdorus*, *Helibdorus*, etc. The first instalment of Thielmann's work, the book of Esther, may be expected within twelve months.

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THE HEXATEUCH, according to the Revised Version, arranged in its Constituent Documents by Members of the Society of Historical Theology, Oxford; with Introduction, Notes, Marginal References, and Synoptical Tables. By J. ESTLIN CARPENTER, M.A., and G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY, M.A. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans,

Green & Co., 1900. Vol. I, pp xii + 279; Vol. II, pp. 359. \$12.

THE first volume of this work contains introduction and tabular appendices; the second volume, the text of the Hexateuch arranged according to the analyses with copious footnotes, the Revised Version being used as the basis of the text. These volumes furnish for the first time a complete apparatus in one book for the study of the problems connected with the Hexateuch. It is not too much to say that for many years they will serve as the text-book of such study. It would be impossible to conceive a more practical plan for the presentation of the material than that which has been here adopted, and surely no pains have been spared to make the execution of the plan the most thorough and satisfactory possible. The introduction has been written for the most part by Mr. Carpenter; the compilation of the tables of laws and institutions and the synopsis of the narratives being furnished by Mr. Harford-Battersby. Special acknowledgment is made to Holzinger's *Einleitung in den Hexateuch* (1893), and, while due credit is given the works of Kuenen, Wellhausen, Dillmann, and others, the editors claim to have reared a structure of their own. It will be the purpose of this review to show the plan adopted in the work.

The application of criticism to the Old Testament is first discussed, and it is shown that the criticism of the Hexateuch is only a part of a wider inquiry into the literature of Israel, since the same principles are being applied to the Psalms, Proverbs, and Isaiah, and these principles are in no wise different from those used in other literary investigation. An interesting parallel is drawn from the historical methods employed in Asser's *Life of Alfred*, the *Saxon Chronicle*, the collections of early English laws, the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, and the books of Chronicles. From this it appears that in all early historical records the same general methods are employed. The Pentateuch is shown by comparison to be a composite work, and an interesting analogy is suggested between the growth of the Pentateuch and the growth of a cathedral.

After considering in detail the "Claim to Contemporary Authorship," asserted to exist in the books themselves, there are treated in three successive chapters (iii, iv, v) "Signs of Post-Mosaic Date," as they were discovered by early readers, and among others by the Spanish rabbis, and the Catholics and Reformers of the sixteenth century; also "Signs of Diversity of Documents," as these were discovered by the criticism of the seventeenth century (Hobbes, de la Peyrère, Spinoza,

Simon, Le Clerc), which pointed out certain incongruities of dates, duplicate narratives, repetitions of laws, and inconsistencies within the same narrative; also "The Clue to the Documents," as it is found in Astruc's *Conjectures*, and especially as presented in Exod. 6: 2-8. After the discussion of "The Composition of Genesis-Numbers" and that of the various documentary theories in which the growth of the analysis is carefully followed, there is given in chap. viii "The Justification of the Partition." This is based upon (1) the argument from religious institutions, of which sacrifice, and the Mosaic sanctuary, the Ten Words, the ministry of the sanctuary, and the manumission of slaves are taken as examples; (2) the argument from religious ideas; (3) the argument from language and style; (4) the development hypothesis. In chaps. ix-xiii each document is taken up as a whole, together with a summary of its contents, its method and spirit, its mode of historical and religious representation, its place of composition, and its special characteristics. In chap. xiv are treated the unclassified documents found in Gen., chap. 14; Gen., chap. 49; Exod., chap. 15; Deut., chaps. 32, 33. Chap. xv, on "Criticism and Archæology," is contributed by Professor T. K. Cheyne. In this the general claim is made that there is need of more carefully tested Assyriological evidence, and the position is taken that the early narratives of creation, the story of the deluge, Gen., chap. 14, and the account of the exodus have yet little archæological testimony in favor of their historical character. Chap. xvi shows how the various documents were united.

Among the most important parts of the work are the tabular appendices, which are classified under (a) select lists of words and phrases of the separate documents; (b) the laws and institutions, the material on each subject from the various codes being carefully classified so as to furnish material for comparative study; and (c) the analysis and synopsis of the Hexateuch.

In Vol. II twenty pages are given to an introduction to Joshua, of which space permits only this mention. The remainder of Vol. II contains the text arranged in such a manner as to show the relationship of the documents, with footnotes explaining in considerable detail the more important points of the analysis.

This work is intended for English readers, and may be used to advantage by any intelligent student. Whatever may be our opinion as to the truth or falsity of the analysis itself, it is surely a source of congratulation that the ordinary reader will now be able to take up a systematic study of the question, and reach a decision for himself. It

is a great pity that the price of the book puts it out of the reach of so many students. It is to be hoped that a new edition will be published at a greatly reduced price.

WILLIAM R. HARPER.

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DEUTERONOMIUM ERKLÄRT. Von LIC. ALFRED BERTHOLET, ausserordentlichem Professor der Theologie in Basel. (= "Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament," herausgegeben von D. KARL MARTI, Abteilung V.) Tübingen, Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1899. Pp. viii + 119. M. 1.80; Einzelpreis M. 2.50.

WHILE a new commentary on Deuteronomy is not likely to present anything strikingly original, it may excel by a painstaking treatment of the text, a generous use of illustrative material, a comprehensive exhibit of exegetical opinion, or an exact method of dealing with isagogical questions of secondary importance. The general plan of the series edited by Professor Marti well-nigh precludes any but the last of these merits, as it enjoins upon the exegete utmost brevity and renders it necessary to refer constantly to larger works. But excellence of method in dealing with questions of introduction must freely be accorded to Professor Bertholet.

The introduction is almost one-third the length of the commentary itself, and the isagogical discussions placed at the beginning of each section form at least one-third of the commentary. The interest, therefore, centers in the author's view concerning the origin and composition of the book. Professor Bertholet points out that Deuteronomy claims to be a work of Moses, and that it is distinctly quoted as such in the New Testament. For the sake of the students for whom this commentary is intended it would perhaps have been wise to present once more the arguments against a tradition based on such claims. The sketch of Israel's religious history since Moses is well drawn, and in harmony with the prevailing views at the present time. Yet on some points doubt is still permissible. Every reader of a book that claims to be the work of Moses is naturally eager to know what degree of historic probability can be attached to the events recorded. Professor Bertholet assures us that Moses brought certain tribes out of Egypt, and that he taught them to regard the marvelous events occurring under his leadership as the deeds of Yahweh, a god living in his mountain shrine on the Sinaitic peninsula. But the difficulties of this

assumption are constantly increasing. There is no external evidence of Israel's sojourn in Egypt, or of the exodus. The famous inscription of Merenptah mentioning Israel among other tribes and localities in Palestine, and the recent discovery of his mummy, have discredited at least the traditional construction of the story. When one reflects upon the absence, so far as our knowledge goes, of any reference to Moses or the exodus from Egypt in Hebrew literature until after the period of political union under David and Solomon, it becomes increasingly difficult to extricate even a reliable kernel of historic fact. Recent investigations have tended to show that Sinai was a mountain on the eastern side of the Ælanitic Gulf, and that Egypt may have come into the story by a confusion of Mizrim with Muzri, the north-Arabian country mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions. The latter hypothesis, first propounded by Winckler, appears to me all the more probable as I think that Mzr, however it may have been vocalized, was nothing but the name of Egypt attaching to the territory south of the Wadi el Arish, and on both sides of the gulf of Agaba, because of its having for ages been a part of Egypt. But if the original Hebrew tradition thought of this district rather than of Egypt in a narrower sense, the story of oppression and deliverance which is laid in the valley of the Nile is manifestly a later adornment. That a successful escape from pursuing enemies should have been ascribed by the fugitives to an unknown god is altogether improbable. The tendency to bring down the beginnings of the Yahweh cult, and consequently of the acquaintance with Yahweh, to Moses is observable in various strata of the Pentateuch.

Professor Bertholet shares the common notion that Saul and David, in giving their sons names compounded with Baal, in reality meant Yahweh, and asserts that Baal was a nature-god, "in der Natur aufgehend," while Yahweh was a god of history constantly creating something new in the changes of time, and possessing from the outset a strong tendency to assume an ethical character wholly absent in Baal. But when Saul and David had Yahweh in mind, they seem to have used his name; *cf.* Jonathan beside Eshbaal and Adonijah beside Baaliada. David certainly was no more a monotheist than Mesha of Moab. The distinction between Baal as a nature god and Yahweh as a god of history appears to me to rest upon a confusion of thought. An agricultural community depends upon its gods chiefly for rain and sunshine, since the products of the soil may also be used to make terms with marauders, while a nomadic people particularly needs divine aid in

raids upon hostile tribes and for defense against their attacks. But is a god who causes the sun to shine less moral than one who gives victory on the battlefield? Besides, the Lord of Shechem and the Lord of Tyre were undoubtedly expected to defend their worshipers and regulate their conduct by oracles, as well as furnish rain and sunlight; and the Athtar of Qabad and the Yahweh of Sinai not only assisted their worshipers in war, but also supplied them with food and otherwise attended to their bodily welfare. Both classes of gods have their local habitation and their element in nature; both have enough of personal character to sustain moral relations to their devotees.

The deteriorating influence upon Israel's religion of the Amorites in the earlier times and the Assyrians in a later period is greatly overestimated. The more we learn of early Arabian life, the more evident it becomes that the invaders were in no need of learning for the first time at the shrines of Canaan certain "abominations" complained of by the prophets. Shamash, Sin, Nabu, Ishtar, and other planetary gods were certainly no strangers in Palestine before the Assyrian armies marched into the land. If there was an adoption of Assyrian gods, because they had proved their superior power in aiding their worshipers, as Professor Bertholet thinks, why is there no sign of a worship of Ashur, the strongest of these gods?

Concerning the origin of Deuteronomy the author holds that it must be understood as a gradual crystallization of prophetic thoughts and impulses, and that it emanated solely from prophetic, and not from priestly, circles. He finely observes that the eschatology of the prophets lies in the background. The judgment did not come; consequently Yahweh had granted a respite which should be used for reformation. No reader can doubt this prophetic influence. But the strenuous attempt to exclude all priestly coöperation is not convincing.

His view that priests had absolutely nothing to do with the composition of this work has possibly influenced Professor Bertholet unconsciously in looking for the sources used almost solely to writings readily accessible in prophetic circles, such as the earlier prophets, the Yahwistic decalogue, the Covenant Code, and the narratives of J and E. In addition to these I think it necessary to assume, with Steuernagel, various collections of judicial decisions, and also of priestly oracles. The author is probably right in following Kuenen's ingenious suggestion that D intended his work as a substitute for the old Covenant Code. Is it not possible that this earlier lawbook emanated from some priesthood such as that of Dan which, rightly or wrongly,

regarded itself as descending from Moses, and that this forced the author of the original Deuteronomy to assume the Mosaic guise?

As to the length of this original roll, Professor Bertholet thinks that it contained 6: 1—9: 7*a*; 10: 10—11: 30; 12: 13—26: 15 (except a number of interpolations); 27: 9 *f.*; 28: 1—25, 38—46; 30: 15—20. He rejects the attempt, made by Staerk and Steuernagel, to distinguish written sources on the basis of the use of singular and plural pronouns. Instead of this documentary hypothesis he believes in a supplementary hypothesis assuming later expansion of an original work. His fundamental principle is that all that on definite grounds cannot be shown to be post-Josianic belonged to the roll found in the temple.

The author argues with much force in favor of the view, which still remains most probable, that this roll was written in Josiah's reign. The first edition was, according to our commentator, followed by two others, one before the exile, containing 1: 1—5; 9: 7*b*—10: 9; 1: 6—4: 8, 44; 12: 8—12; the law in 12: 13—26; 27: 1—8; 31: 1—13; 34; and another exilic including 4: 45—5: 30; 11: 31—12: 7; the law, and 28: 69—29: 28. The exilic editor already had before him the combined Yahwist and Elohist. It does not seem to me necessary to assume more than two editions, one in the reign of Josiah and another in the exile, though each must have had numerous interpolations.

The author agrees with Cornill and Steuernagel in assigning the Song of Moses to the end of the exile. In chap. 33 he follows Steuernagel in assuming a framework comprising vss. 2—5, 26—29. In accord with the generally prevailing view, he regards the blessing of Moses as the work of an Ephraimite in the time of Jeroboam II. I am convinced that Professor Bacon is right in his contention that these sayings are of Judean origin, once formed a part of the Yahwistic narratives, and originally included Simeon in vs. 7. No author writing in the name of Moses would have omitted one of the tribes, especially after his solemn declaration, vs. 5*c*. If at his time Simeon had been destroyed, a prophecy of this by Moses would have enhanced the weight of his other utterances. The statement that Yahweh dwells between the shoulders of Benjamin can scarcely refer to anything else than Zion. Bertholet thinks of Bethel. But the northern kingdom had too many ancient and famous Yahweh sanctuaries for an Ephraimite writer to mention the presence of such a shrine in Benjamin as its chief distinction. Of a tendency to centralize the Yahweh cult in Israel at Bethel there is no evidence. In the mouth of an older contemporary of

Isaiah the words are quite intelligible. Professor Bertholet's emendation ים דרך for דרום in vs. 23 commends itself.

The commentary is written in an admirable spirit, contains many fine observations and valuable suggestions, and can be most heartily recommended as an introduction to the book.

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DIE BÜCHER DER KÖNIGE. Übersetzt und erklärt. Von RUDOLF KITTEL, ord. Professor der Theologie in Leipzig. (= Abtheilung I, Band V, of "Handkommentar zum Alten Testament," in Verbindung mit anderen Fachgelehrten herausgegeben von Professor W. Nowack.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900. Pp. xvi + 312. M. 6.

THE author of this commentary is well known from his history of the Hebrews, which is a sufficient guarantee for the excellence of the work before us. He is a representative of a thorough, sober, scientific scholarship which has no pet theories to exhibit, but aims at the most natural and obvious interpretation of biblical facts. Solidity thus, rather than brilliancy, characterizes his work. In the present commentary three distinct purposes are held in view: in connection with the translation, the restoration of the original text, the exhibition of the literary composition of First and Second Kings, and brief linguistic, historical, and biblico-theological explanations. Under the second of these we have the following results given: The books of First and Second Kings are portions of a great historical work compiled in the spirit of Deuteronomy, containing matter extending from Gen. 2:4 to 2 Kings 24:6. Hence their author or his work is called Rd. The composition or compilation was made just before the fall of the Jewish kingdom, probably under Jehoiachin, soon after 600; cf. 2 Kings 14:25 f. This work, at least so much of it as is found in First and Second Kings, was revised by another deuteronomistic writer of the period of the exile, who lived after 561 (cf. 2 Kings 25:27), but probably not after the restoration, since that event is not mentioned. To this writer belongs the chronological system of First and Second Kings. A further slight revision took place after the time of Ezra. The material from these three writers is indicated by the use of three varieties of type. The compiled matter has likewise a distinct type. Its probable sources are also distinguished by letters on the margin. Thus are shown extracts from a history of David (Da), which appears in First and Second

Samuel and furnishes 1 Kings, chaps. 1, 2; from a history of Solomon (So); from court annals (A); from a history of the temple (T); from the books "of the chronicles" of the kings of Israel and Judah (K); from a history of Elijah (El), of Elisha (Els), of Isaiah (Jes); from an Ephraimitic history of Ahab and Jehu (E); and from an analogous Judean history of southern Kings (J). Whether the compiler (Rd) had all of these works, or found the material of some of them only in connection with others (A for example in K), is uncertain. The times of the composition of these sources are given as follows: K of Israel was possibly written shortly after 722 B. C., but perhaps in the reign of Jehoiakim, the time of K of Judah. Both may have come from the same writer. So is considerably earlier, belonging to the period of the preparation of Deuteronomy. El belongs to about 800-780, Els between 780-760, and E about 800. Jes is from a disciple of Isaiah, but considerably later. For J no date is given, but material of the history of Josiah is assigned with interrogation to this source. It belongs, then, near to the period of K of Judah and the compilation of First and Second Kings. A, standing for official records, may be regarded as synchronous in each instance with the events narrated. T is supposed to be a part of the material incorporated in So, and hence antedates that source. This analysis, an accepted result in the main of biblical criticism, is of great value. Thereby a reader is prepared to receive a true idea of the historical character of this portion of the Old Testament. Literary criticism, unfolding sources, is a necessary precursor of historical criticism. The whole tendency of our author, as seen above, is to date the literature as early as possible. For this, however, substantial reasons are given, and thus he defends the truthfulness of many of the records. The character of Elijah, for example, as portrayed in First Kings, is claimed in its leading features to be historical. The parting injunction given by David, commanding the death of Joab and Shimei (1 Kings 2: 1-9), is held to belong to the earliest narrative, and, in spite of the shadow which it casts upon the king's character, is allowed to be authentic.

The textual, philological, grammatical, and geographical notes are compact and very complete. A needed rearrangement of the text is given in certain instances. In 1 Kings, chap. 2, vs. 1 and 2 are properly transposed, and chap. 21 follows chap. 19. Indeed, this commentary throughout is a most thorough and satisfactory work.

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OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY; OR, THE HISTORY OF THE HEBREW RELIGION. Vol. II: The Deuteronomic Reformation in the Seventh Century B. C. By ARCHIBALD DUFF, LL.D., B.D., Professor of Old Testament Theology in the United College, Bradford Yards. London: A. & C. Black; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1900. Pp. xxvii + 512. \$4.50.

IN a former volume, published in 1891, the author dealt with the prophets of the eighth century B. C., endeavoring to place them in the true historical light, and to expound their religious teaching as parts of a growing revelation. In that volume the Pentateuch question was referred to, but postponed, on the principle, evidently, that in these studies as elsewhere it is better to follow the line of least resistance, and to begin with the problems which are simplest and arouse the least controversy. Now, however, Dr. Duff puts before the English reader his view of the analysis of the ancient documents and the reconstruction of the Hebrew history. He desires to reach a wider audience than students of scientific criticism, and to reveal to intelligent men and women who know nothing about the technicalities of criticism the fact that the new reading of the Old Testament is both interesting and helpful from the spiritual, and not merely from the scholastic, point of view. This is an intelligible position, and the work that it indicates is absolutely necessary if the Old Testament is again to be a living book to the great body of the people. And, moreover, such work can be well done only by men who possess the not too common combination of wide technical knowledge, living enthusiasm, and popular speech. From this point of view we give a hearty welcome to Dr. Duff's new volume, while at the same time we gladly acknowledge that there are many things in it which demand the careful consideration of those who are students in the more special sense.

The author's plan of study for the period embraces six sections, two of which are taken up here. These two he names: I, "The Occasion of the Reformation as Seen in Nahum and Zephaniah;" III, "The People of the Reformation as Seen in the Yahwistic and Elohist Documents Running from Genesis to Kings." The subtitle of the book, "The Deuteronomic Reformation," is therefore misleading, as our author has at present got no farther than to give his view of the preparation for that great movement. The actual reformation in the reign of Josiah, with its complex literary, historical, and theological problems (Parts II, IV-VI in the author's plan), is left over as a sufficiently

large subject for another volume. Thus, also, space is afforded for the transference to the pages of this volume of the nearly complete words of the Yahwists and Elohist. Dr. Duff gives his own translation of these documents, in whole or part, beginning with Nahum and Zephaniah, following with the ancient histories from the creation to the time of Saul; and in connection with each section an attempt is made to sum up the theological contents and to indicate the religious spirit of the writers. The question will be raised as to whether the author has not sacrificed English too much in his effort to reproduce "the very idiom and style of speech of the Hebrew documents." Dr. Duff has steeped himself in oriental literature, and possesses something of the eastern temperament. In many cases his translations are very suggestive, showing the word-play of the original and reproducing with considerable effect the simple antique style. Of course, what he gives us is very often Hebrew idiom in English words, and in some cases beauty is sacrificed to simplicity. Still it will be a useful exercise for the intelligent reader to compare these with more conventional renderings.

The treatment of proper names is a difficult matter, and we are afraid that Plishtim, Dowidh, Sha'ul, Shemu-El, Iechaq, Chilqiy, Iahu, and a host of similar forms that stalk through Dr. Duff's pages will have a disturbing effect upon the mind of the average reader. Perhaps after the old friends have become familiar in their new dress that dress may help to keep up the antique appearance of the documents. But there will always remain the two objections: first, that this painful transliteration of Hebrew forms is not necessary in the case of names which long ago passed into our common speech; and, secondly, seeing that the aim is to show that these were men who lived a life similar to ours even in different circumstances, there is no need to make these names look as foreign as possible.

While it is true that this volume, though based upon the broad results of the accepted critical analysis, makes prominent many points of detail which are still unsettled, we recognize and admire everywhere Dr. Duff's freedom and candor, his kindly toleration, his fine spirit of reverence, and his keen sympathy for varied forms of religious life. These are qualities needed by the critic as well as by the preacher, and they give an admirable tone and spirit to this latest study in Old Testament theology.

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A HISTORY OF NEW TESTAMENT TIMES IN PALESTINE, 175 B. C.—70 A. D. By SHAILER MATHEWS, Professor of New Testament History in the University of Chicago. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899. Pp. xi + 218. \$0.75.

PROFESSOR MATHEWS has retold in this volume—his own contribution to the series of New Testament handbooks of which he is editor—the events of Jewish history in Palestine from the reign of Antiochus IV. and the rise of the Maccabean house to the destruction of Jerusalem. These events, so important as forming the preparation and background of New Testament history, have been so fully and critically described by Schürer that every successor must acknowledge dependence on him, and in a sense be judged by his work. The brief textbook before us is, however, by no means a mere summary of Schürer's book. The outer and inner history of the period, in Schürer separately treated, are here worked together into a continuous narrative, and that in a way which well meets the two requirements which one must make of such a work—that of careful scholarship and that of an interesting style. References to sources and literature abound, so that one can at any point readily turn to more detailed accounts, while the text itself furnishes what the ordinary student of the New Testament most needs to know. The book treats the outer history much more fully than the inner, the history of events more elaborately than the history of literature and thought. The blending of the two in a continuous story has obvious advantages in any field of history, but it must be acknowledged that it presents peculiar difficulties in this particular field. The apocryphal and pseudepigraphic books are hard to date, and their significance in the religious life of the Jewish people is hard to determine; and it is probably inevitable that the use of them in so brief a handbook as this shall give the impression of greater certainty as to their place and meaning than our knowledge warrants. The confident dating of different parts of the book of Enoch and other apocalypses in the otherwise indispensable editions of Charles may well increase this danger. So one finds himself putting question marks at the places assigned to En. 83–90 (p. 20) and to En. 37–71 (pp. 85 f.). The origin and relations of parties and the development of the messianic hope are judiciously handled, yet a “perhaps” and an alternative might here or there be added, and it should not be overlooked that along other lines besides the messianic the movement of Jewish thought, moral, religious, and in a measure speculative, is of significance for an understanding of the New Testament. For this,

which is the special value of the study of Judaism in this period, the Hellenism of the Jewish dispersion is, of course, of extreme importance. Professor Mathews has confined his book expressly, by title, to Palestine. It is hard to see how a larger region could have been included in so brief a sketch, yet a study of the life and thought of Jews in the Greek world is of indispensable importance to the student of Paul and John, and we cannot but wish that it had a place either in this volume or elsewhere in the series. Yet little books should not be expected to do the work of big ones, and the work which this little book sets out to do it does well. Indeed, it is surprising how comprehensive it is within its limits, and how many details the writer finds room for. The temper of the book, also, is to be much commended. The author shows a fair, unpartisan spirit, the spirit of a historian who sees the good as well as the evil in a religion that we Christians are too ready to condemn, and in men whom we are too ready to treat without sympathy and so without insight.

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DIE MODERNSTE EVANGELIENKRITIK DER KRITIK UNTERZOGEN in Auseinandersetzungen mit Professor Dr. H. J. Holtzmann in Strassburg. By A. BULLINGER. München: Theodor Ackermann, 1899. Pp. 135. M. 2.

THE *Auseinandersetzung* which makes up this volume covers almost the entire field occupied by Professor Holtzmann's *Neutestamentliche Theologie*. The leading topics are, "Who was Jesus?" "The Son of Man and the Son of God in the Synoptics;" "The Christ in Paul and John;" "Miracle and Resurrection;" "The Parousia and the End of the World;" "Jewish and Gentile Christianity;" "The John Question;" "Paul's Juridic Doctrine of Justification;" "The Baptismal Formula and the Trinity;" "The New Covenant;" "The Kingdom of God and the Church."

With regard to the parousia the professor asserts (he gives no reasons) that Jesus spoke in the synoptics of two comings—one in his kingdom, and one still in the future at the end of the world. In the horrors of the overthrow of Jerusalem, 70 A. D., he finds the coming of Christ in his kingdom. The disciples, who heard Jesus—"and Dr. Holtzmann with them"—confounded the two comings. In order to make it appear that Paul was not inconsistent with himself in circumcising Timothy, and that Acts is accordingly trustworthy in reporting

this circumcision, he declares that when Paul said in Gal., chap. 5, "If ye be circumcised Christ shall profit you nothing," he referred only to such as might be circumcised "in the presupposition that circumcision is essential"! This is an example of what the Germans call not "*Auslegung*," but "*Einlegung*"—approximately in English, not "*exposition*," but "*imposition*." In discussing the Pauline justification by faith he agrees with Holtzmann that Christ's death was conceived by the apostle as a substitutional, atoning sacrifice, "to set free the grace of God from conflict with his righteousness." But he holds that the Pauline justification was a *communicating* of God's righteousness to those who had faith, instead of a declaration or imputing of it to them. But here there is no argument, no exegesis, no critical discussion of the Pauline terminology. Instead of argument one finds too often a contemptuous rejection of Holtzmann's conclusions as "*Phantasiebilder*." A merit of the book that should not be overlooked lies in the extended quotations it contains from Holtzmann's *Neutestamentliche Theologie*—a service for which Dr. Holtzmann may be grateful, and which will doubtless be recognized by such of the professor's readers as may not have the latter work at hand.

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DAS JOHANNESVANGELIUM. Eine Untersuchung seiner Entstehung und seines geschichtlichen Wertes. Von HANS HEINRICH WENDT, THEOL. D. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900. Pp. vi + 239. M. 6.

PROFESSOR WENDT has rendered a distinct service by reprinting in more systematic and fuller, yet succinct, form the argument for the composite origin of the fourth gospel presented in his *Lehre Jesu* (I, pp. 215-342; not included in the English translation). For in spite of the very general rejection of the theory therein advanced, and more thoroughly defended in the present work, the conviction has grown, and we are convinced is destined to grow among competent and open minds, that the phenomena appealed to demand an explanation, whether Professor Wendt's or some other.

As we have the right to expect from a scholar of such eminence in a work addressed to scholars, the method employed is systematic and comprehensive. After statement of the critical problem as primarily that of historical credibility, secondarily of authenticity, the discussion

of external evidence is set aside as already brought to provisional results, and the author turns to internal evidence. In chaps. 1-3 the question asked is: What are the indications of source? Comparison with the synoptic tradition yields the result (p. 43): (1) that the fourth evangelist knew and employed our synoptic gospels; (2) the mode of employment indicates, however, mere reminiscence; (3) but the fact that the preferred form of the narrative as taken up is generally the *secondary*, this gospel, in one instance at least (12: 1-8), utilizing not only all three synoptics, but traits from Luke which Luke itself obtains by conflation (*cf.* Luke 7: 36-50 with Mark 14: 3-9), is conclusive evidence that the author of the narrative parts, and of the gospel as a whole, was not an eyewitness.

Next the question arises: On what basis does the author, since he has no personal cognizance of the facts, relate the career of Jesus in a form so widely different from that of the synoptic gospels? Chap. 2 proceeds to show that (a) the differences between the evangelist's own conceptions and those of the *discourses of Jesus* which he reports, and (b) the repeated dislocations and interrupted connections in material of this character, imply the use of a special written source whose relation to the gospel as a whole corresponds to that of the original *Logia* of Matthew to our first canonical gospel. Chap. 3 endeavors to identify the sections derived from this source, and to characterize it as a whole.

The remaining chapters deal with the question of authorship by literary and historical criticism of the sources as thus discriminated. The relation of the Johannine *Logia* to the epistles of John, and to Ignatius and Justin, is first shown; then valuation made of the historical worth of the narrative and discourse elements respectively, with the conclusion, for which we unavoidably feel a little too well prepared, that the relatively untrustworthy narrative is a mere framework for the truly and authentically Johannine discourses.

We cannot but feel, with all our admiration for the clear, logical, and comprehensive method of Professor Wendt, that his analysis is here much stronger than his synthesis. However Baur's comparison of the seamless coat has been exalted into a supposed critical axiom in the investigation of the fourth gospel, as against crude attempts to discriminate a redactor who shall be the scapegoat for all the difficulties and improbabilities, and an author who shall fulfil all the exacting conditions of tradition, it is true, nevertheless, that no other book of the New Testament more manifestly suggests composite origin than the so-called Gospel according to John. The very appendix (chap. 21),

so clearly attached at a later time (*cf.* 20:30, 31), and by hands other than those of the beloved disciple (21:24), to all appearance other than that which wound up the gospel story with chap. 20, should have suggested long ago the idea that he (or they; 21:24) who gives us the work in its present form had not confined himself to the mere appending of a postscript, but recast and enlarged with other material the data of which he found himself literary executor. The unmistakable evidence of this is found in the intercalation—often most disturbing and awkward, as Professor Wendt has found it—of the story of Peter's denial (13:36-38; 18:10 f., 15-18, 25-27), a story unquestionably connected with 21:15-22 (*cf.* 13:36-38 with 21:19, 22). We reiterate, therefore: Professor Wendt's insistence on the indications of composite origin in John is abundantly justified. His attempt to reconstruct a definite *Logia* source, and above all to attach this to the apostle John through its relationship to the epistles, whose only claim to the title "of John" is based on this very relationship, is quite a different matter.

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INTERNATIONAL HANDBOOKS TO THE NEW TESTAMENT. Edited by ORELLO CONE, D.D. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS, together with a Chapter on the Text-Criticism of the New Testament. By GEORGE LOVELL CARV, A.M., L.H.D., President of the Meadville Theological School. 1900. Pp. xxxiv + 375. \$2.60.

THE EPISTLES OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS, CORINTHIANS, GALATIANS, ROMANS, AND PHILIPPIANS. By JAMES DRUMMOND, M.A., LL.D., LITT.D. 1899. Pp. viii + 391. \$2.

THE titles given above describe two of the four volumes which Dr. Cone proposes to issue, and which are, apparently, to cover the whole New Testament. These volumes are intended to present the results rather than the processes of laborious scholarship, and so to present the results that those who are not learned in the Greek language or in theology may follow the exposition. It is affirmed in the general preface that the aim is to do this "in freedom from dogmatic prepossessions." Perhaps this aim is realized as fully as is possible or desirable. There is, certainly, an entire absence of a polemical spirit, and constant evidence of sincere reverence for the Scriptures and of the desire to make them more helpful to other men. The authors, however,

are men of definite convictions, and no one can read these books without observing that their convictions influence their interpretations. If this is what is meant by dogmatism, these authors are decidedly dogmatic. This very fact, however, adds to the value of their work, for who cares to read the interpretations of Scripture by an author who has no definite convictions upon dogmatic questions? Still, these convictions should be recognized by the readers, and their influence upon his interpretations should be carefully weighed.

This appears especially in Professor Cary's excellent exposition of the synoptic gospels. In his preface he says: "As literature the New Testament is to be studied precisely like any other product of the human mind." "Dogmatism has here no place," etc. This everyone will admit; the only question is concerning its application. Our author seems to hold that it requires him to treat certain parts of the gospels as he would treat any other ancient wonderbook. The leper is *pronounced clean*, not cured of a disease (p. 77). "The conception of the evangelists [concerning the multiplication of loaves] is the, to us, unthinkable and therefore incredible one of a creation of something out of nothing" (p. 199). Jesus walks on the shore and not on the sea (p. 204). "The method of Jesus [in restoring the sick] was the method of a rational 'mind-cure'" (p. 369). There is much to be said in favor of this explanation of the wonders of the New Testament, and this book proves that one may accept it and maintain a sincere reverence for Scripture and warm devotion to the Master. But such criticism rests on a dogma which the author incidentally states on p. 221, when he speaks of "elements . . . which . . . lie without the known realm of natural law, [of which] human history can take no cognizance."

Professor Cary's interpretations of Jesus' words are thoughtful and suggestive, and his brief restatements of the contents of the paragraphs of the gospels are clear and instructive.

Principal Drummond's commentaries upon the seven Pauline epistles of which he treats will form a welcome addition to the literature of New Testament interpretation, and to the contributions which he has already made to the knowledge of the Bible. They are models of simple, plain, learned exegesis. Here again underlying convictions control, as in the notes on 1 Cor. 15:47; 2 Cor. 8:9; Gal. 4:4; Phil. 2:5-11. Few men, however, have better right to their convictions, and none can express them with less of controversial dogmatism.

As a historical critic Dr. Drummond is of the more conservative

school. He raises no serious doubt concerning the authenticity and genuineness of any of these seven epistles. He regards the last two chapters of Romans as a part of the original epistle, with the possible exception of the doxology, and in all references to the Acts he treats that book as a trustworthy historical document.

Certain views recently defended by Harnack, Ramsay, and others he treats with respect; but he does not, in general, accept them. He expresses no positive opinion with regard to the new chronology of Harnack and McGiffert, or the South-Galatian theory of Ramsay. He does not admit that Second Corinthians consists of fragments of two or more letters welded together, though he supposes that Paul wrote at least four letters to this church, of which First Corinthians is the second and Second Corinthians the fourth.

Among the most valuable features of the book are its discussions of such terms as *χάρις* (p. 196) and *οἱ ἄγιοι* (p. 257), and the careful exegesis of a few difficult passages, such as Rom. 3:21-26 and Phil. 2:5-11.

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A HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON ST PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS. By W. M. RAMSAY, D.C.L., Professor in Aberdeen University; Hon. Fellow of Exeter and Lincoln Colleges, Oxford. London: Hodder & Stoughton; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1900. Pp. x + 478. \$3.

THIS book falls into two almost equal parts, the first entitled "Historical Introduction" (to the epistle to the Galatians), and the second "Historical Commentary." Neither of these titles, however, is quite self-explanatory or quite correct. The introduction is rather a series of chapters on the geography, history, and civilization of the lands which were at length included in the Roman province of Galatia than what is ordinarily meant by an introduction. The commentary is a series of discussions of passages in the epistle which have specially interested Professor Ramsay.

The introduction is a most valuable and learned piece of work, and puts all students of the epistle deeply in Professor Ramsay's debt. The essence of its argument lies in three propositions: (1) That North Galatia, which before it was Galatian had been Phrygian, and before it was Phrygian had been primitive Anatolian, passed under Roman dominion without being to any considerable extent Hellenized; so that

in the middle of the first century the civilization of North Galatia was essentially Gallic or Romano-Gallic.¹ (2) That the civilization of South Galatia, on the contrary, was Græco-Asiatic. (3) That Paul's letter to the Galatians reflects the Greek civilization of South Galatia rather than the Romano-Gallic of North Galatia. Does Ramsay prove his case?

The second of the three propositions may be granted, we assume, without hesitation.

Respecting the first, there are very few scholars living who are competent to criticise Ramsay from the point of view of fulness and accuracy of knowledge in this particular field. He has made the interior of Asia Minor so peculiarly his own that most other men must simply accept what he gives. Yet it may perhaps be permissible, even for one who has no expert knowledge of the geography or history of Asia Minor, to record an impression of the validity of the argument as such, fully accepting the historical evidence which Ramsay presents. Judging it thus, we are disposed to say that the mass of evidence which Ramsay presents shows beyond all reasonable doubt that North Galatia was much more slowly Hellenized than South Galatia, and that in the first century A. D. North-Galatian civilization was not distinctly Hellenic. But that North Galatia was totally non-Hellenic the evidence does not suffice to prove. Not only is it confessedly meager, so that the conclusion is to a certain extent simply the most probable inference from the evidence that exists today rather than one which is overwhelmingly established by clear proof, but a portion of the facts are admittedly on the other side. In religion North Galatia was neither Gallic nor Roman, but Anatolian; and inscriptions and coins show that in the middle of the first century not only was the Greek language in use (alongside of the Celtic tongue), but Greek ideas prevailed to a limited extent.

The question respecting the third proposition becomes, therefore, not whether there is in the epistle any reflection of Greek civilization, but whether it is of such extent and character as to exclude the possibility of the latter having been written to a people so little affected by Hellenism as those of North Galatia. Ramsay's proofs on this

¹"The evidence is overwhelming. About A. D. 50 Galatia was essentially un-Hellenic. Roman ideas were there superimposed directly on a Galatian system which had passed through no intermediate stage of transformation to the Hellenic type. It was only through the gradual, slow spread under Roman rule of a uniform Græco-Roman civilization over the East that Galatia began during the second century after Christ to assume a veneer of Hellenism in its later form" (p. 160).

point (as advanced in the "Commentary") are practically four: the idea of sonship and adoption as related to inheritance, the conception of the *διαθήκη*, the notion of the *παιδαγωγός*, and the distinction between the *οικονόμος* and the *ἐπίτροπος*. The first of these seems to have no force. The notion that Paul conceives of faith as "property" of Abraham which, being found in possession of the gentiles, proves them by the law of inheritance to be his sons, seems forced into the passage rather than found in it, and it is impossible (especially in view of Rom. 8:16) to resist the impression that Ramsay makes too vigorous a use of the dissociation of sonship and heirship in Roman law. The argument from the *διαθήκη* is far more forcible, and Ramsay has apparently made at this point a most valuable contribution to the interpretation of the epistle. Yet, accepting the correctness of his interpretation, and recognizing the *διαθήκη* of Paul's thought as Greek rather than Roman, we do not feel sure that the evidence of the non-Hellenization of North Galatia quite amounts to excluding the possibility of the Greek *διαθήκη* being known there. The case is much the same in respect to the other two points, of which there is not space to speak in detail.

In short, Ramsay has succeeded in showing that in several respects, pertaining almost entirely to the relations of parents and children, Paul's letter to the Galatians reflects a civilization which we have more reason to suppose to have existed in South Galatia than in North Galatia. But he has stated the conclusion which he deduces from this fact with a vigor and confidence which the evidence scarcely warrants. He has advanced no definite evidence that in matters of education and inheritance North Galatia had remained unaffected by Hellenism, or that Hellenic ideas were so unknown in North Galatia that Paul could not write intelligibly from his own Greek point of view. It seems, indeed, by no means impossible that if archæological discoveries should some day carry our knowledge of affairs Galatian as much beyond the present status as that status itself owes to Ramsay's valuable investigations, it would appear that there was quite enough of Hellenism in North Galatia to explain all Paul's language in Galatians. That there is good and valid evidence for the South-Galatian view, aside from that which Ramsay advances in this volume, we firmly believe; that the preponderance of evidence is on the whole on that side, we believe; that this volume makes a valuable contribution to the subject, we recognize; and yet that the South-Galatian view may some day be overthrown seems somewhat more probable than before we read this book.

The second part of the book is, as a whole, distinctly inferior in value to the first. Parts of it are very valuable—notably the treatment of the *διαθήκη* already referred to. Some of it is the sheerest special pleading.*

As a whole, the book is the most valuable direct contribution to biblical science that Ramsay has made; yet has the excellences and defects of all his work in this field. With a wealth of historical knowledge which might be the envy of any New Testament scholar, did not Ramsay's generous use of it turn envy into gratitude, he has given us a book bristling with brilliant suggestions, devoid of any exact exegetical method, marked by overconfidence of statement, inconclusiveness in argument, fragmentariness and incompleteness of treatment. For the student who wants one or two trustworthy and reasonably complete commentaries on the epistle, some of the older books are, despite their defects, preferable to this. But thorough students of the epistle, especially future writers on the life and epistles of Paul or the apostolic age, will find in the introduction a thesaurus of information, and will have to reckon with it for some time to come.

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* The argument concerning *ἔτερος* and *ἄλλος* leaps from classical usage to the New Testament, ignoring all Hellenistic usage, the inclusion of which would, if we mistake not, have modified the conclusion reached. The argument concerning the fourteen years of 2:1 simply begs the question. The whole discussion of Gal. 2:1-10 seems to us an example of unscientific procedure in exegesis. Complaining that other commentators are governed by their view of the relation of this section to Acts, Ramsay proceeds to control his own interpretation of it by the express assumption that the general meaning of the whole is that Paul is in perfect harmony with the three—a proposition not only unwarranted as a controlling presupposition, but excluded by any interpretation which does not assume it to start with. The interpretation of the Greek tenses on p. 297, "I consulted them . . . to prevent my work as it continues now, or my work then, from being ineffectual" (*μή πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ὑδραμὸν*), must be an inadvertent slip. Surely Professor Ramsay does not mean that the tenses of a clause introduced by *μή* and dependent on a verb of past time express time from the point of view of the speaker. The syntax of 2:1-10 is confessedly difficult, but we scarcely believe that the proposal to join *διὰ τοῦ παρεσάκτους ψευδαδελφούς* (vs. 4) with *καὶ ἰσχυρὰ* (vs. 2) will commend itself to many. The dictum concerning the significance of the aorist *ἐπερώτασα* (2:10), that it "denotes something that was actually part of the incidents in Jerusalem," has no warrant in Greek usage, and the interjection of "then" ("which I then made it my duty to perform") is wholly unjustified. An aorist in such a clause may refer to an action coincident with, or antecedent or subsequent to, the time to which the principal clause refers. In fact, had Paul wished to express clearly the thought which Ramsay attributes to him, he must have used the imperfect.

DIE VISIONEN DES HERMAS, DIE SIBYLLE UND CLEMENS VON ROM: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur. Von DR. DANIEL VÖLTER, Professor der Theologie in Amsterdam. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1900. Pp. 54. M. 2.

IN this essay Professor Völter has undertaken the investigation of the first of the three^a parts of the *Shepherd* of Hermas, viz., the "Visions," and arrives at the conclusion that they consist of a Jewish-proselyte apocalypse with Christian interpolations. The proselytic groundwork is assigned to the time of Domitian, or soon after, on the basis of resemblance to Fourth Esdras, and references to persecution of proselytes; while, as the *Shepherd* reflects neither the monarchian episcopate nor a highly developed Gnosticism, the Christian interpolations must have been added before the middle of the second century. The Christian interpolator may even be identical with the proselyte author. More particularly, the first two visions were originally Sibylline revelations of Jewish origin, and the Clement mentioned in them was really no apostolic Father of the Christian church, but a Jewish proselyte. The only express quotation in the first two visions is from a Jewish apocalypse. The ascetic injunction to Hermas henceforth to live with his wife as with a sister reflects Essene asceticism. The writer's view of life after death reflects the teachings of Enoch, and the representation of the church as founded at creation is Jewish rather than Christian.

The persons addressed in Visions I and II are Jewish proselytes, among whom the Sibyl still enjoyed the respect due to a prophetess, and who probably composed an organized body at Rome only loosely connected with the Jewish church, resembling the societies of the *σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὑψίστον* found in the northeast of the Delta early in the Christian era, and later in Cappadocia and Palestine. To such proselyte societies, now become independent, a certain Clement is to send the little book put in his hands by Hermas. Clement thus seems to have been an elder of the society. In support of this, recourse is had to the Pseudo-Clementine literature, where, according to Völter, chap. 26 of homily 6 should follow chap. 6 of homily 4, what intervenes being an interpolation. Thus restored, the writing proves to be a Jewish Clementine. Such a document thus lay at the basis of the Pseudo-Clementine literature, and the Jewish Clement of Rome who appears in this document is conclusive proof that the first two visions of the *Shepherd* are not of Christian origin, but sprang from the circles of Jewish proselytes at Rome.

In his main contention Völter does not differ much from Spitta; but Spitta's dismissal of the Clement of Vision II as an unknown person Völter considers too simple. According to Völter, this Clement, who was really an elder in a synagogue of proselytes, came, in the later Christianizing of the document in which he was embalmed, to be regarded as a Christian worthy who had performed some quasi-literary function in the early Roman church, and to him a subsequent age accordingly ascribed the letter known to have been sent by the church at Rome to the Corinthians. Professor Völter intimates that similar processes applied to the "Mandates" and "Similitudes" of *Hermas* would yield similar results, and in this he is probably right.

Against all this, one may note, first, the entire absence of external evidence for the theory, for the alleged evidence from the Pseudo-Clementines rests on an assumption which renders it inadmissible; secondly, that with the admission that the Christian interpolator may be identical with the proselyte author of the "Visions" all possibility of objective internal evidence vanishes; and, thirdly, what we must call the precarious and subjective character of Völter's literary criticism, which undertakes to buttress the theory of the presence of interpolations in one document with the assumption of interpolations in another. Professor Völter's theory must have more substantial corroboration than he has yet found for it, if it is to mark a step forward in the investigation of *Hermas*. Against *Hermas*, at least, the universal solvent of an interpolated Jewish apocalypse proves ineffective. And without *Hermas* or the title of Clement's First Corinthians, we have Irenæus and Julius Africanus and a list of Roman bishops dating from the reign of Soter still to reckon with before we can bid goodbye, however indifferently, to Clement of Rome.

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THE GOSPEL OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES. Together with the Apocalypses of each one of them. Edited from the Syriac MS., with a Translation and Introduction. By J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., Fellow of Clare College. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1900. Pp. 39+1. 5s.

THE title of Professor Harris' latest discovery in the field of Syriac literature is calculated to arouse in the breasts of patristic scholars hopes which the new gospel itself cannot altogether satisfy. It is, of course, not Dr. Harris, but the Syriac author, who has beguiled us by

this long-expected title. For "the gospel entitled that of the twelve apostles," mentioned by Origen in his first homily on Luke, and actually preserved to the extent of a few fragments, though under another name, in Epiphanius, is, as a whole, one of those missing monuments of second-century Christianity which we much desire to recover. As far as can be judged, the Syriac work here presented by Professor Harris, although purporting to have been translated from Hebrew into Greek, and from Greek into Syriac, really originated in Syriac, and has little in common with that ancient gospel except its name. Professor Harris publishes it from an eighth-century manuscript in that private collection of his which is the envy of all workers in Syriac. The gospel consists of a very rapid sketch of the life of Jesus, in two pages, and an account of his resurrection and appearances, and the descent of the spirit at Pentecost, in four; and is followed, not by twelve apocalypses, as the title promised, but by three, received by Peter, James, and John on that occasion. The bulk of the work is thus apocalyptic. From what seem to be clear allusions in the last apocalypse to the rise of Islam a clue is obtained for the date of the apocalypses, and probably of the whole work. What we have, then, is an early mediæval view of the rise and approach of Islam, from the standpoint of a Jacobite of Edessa. The book is about equally divided between introduction, Syriac text, and translation. Its publication puts Syriac students under new, if not increased, obligations to the discoverer of Aristides.

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DIDASCALIAE APOSTOLORUM FRAGMENTA UERONENSIA LATINA.
Accedunt Canonum qui dicuntur Apostolorum et Egyptiorum Reliquiae. Primum edidit EDMUNDUS HAULER. Fasciculus Prior: Praefatio, Fragmenta, Imagines. Lipsiae: in Aedibus B. G. Teubneri, MCM. Pp. xii + 121. M. 4.

It is an established fact of patristic study that of the eight books of the Apostolic Constitutions the first six are based on the Didascalia, while the seventh and eighth probably rest on the Apostolic Canons and the Didaché. Bryennius' discovery of the Constantinople manuscript has given us the Didaché, and the Canons are extant in a variety of forms, but the Didascalia has hitherto been known only through a Syriac version published in 1854 by de Lagarde, which was suspected of being a reworking, rather than a faithful translation, of

the monument. By the publication of the Verona fragments Hauler now adds to our critical apparatus for the Didascalia a Latin version of that work which supersedes the Syriac as the authority for the text, and brings us a step nearer the original Greek. The manuscript from which the fragments are published consists of forty palimpsest leaves, used for the second time in the eighth century in making a copy of Isidore's *Sententiae*. The under writing preserves the fragments here published by Hauler, and probably dates from the early sixth century, while the version was made, the editor thinks, about the beginning of the fifth. The Didascalia occupies thirty-two of the forty leaves, while on the remaining eight are preserved considerable fragments of the Apostolic Canons. These constitute a less important acquisition, for we have in the Vienna manuscript of the Canons a Greek text which may fairly be reckoned original; but any fresh manuscript material likely to throw light upon the intricate literary and textual history of the Canons must be cordially welcomed. The editor's effort has been to present the evidence of the manuscript with absolute fidelity. He seems to have done his work with extreme care, but reserves all extended comment for a second *fasciculus*, which is to contain his epilegomena and index.

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DIE PFAFF'SCHEN IRENÄUS-FRAGMENTE ALS FÄLSCHUNGEN PFAFF'S NACHGEWIESEN. Miscellen zu den apostolischen Vätern, den Acta Pauli, Apelles, dem muratorischen Fragment, den pseudocyprianischen Schriften und Claudianus Mamertus. Von ADOLF HARNACK. (= "Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur," Neue Folge, V, 3.) Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1900. Pp. 148. M. 5.

TWO YEARS ago von Gebhardt, in an elaborate series of articles in the *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, convicted Christian Friedrich Matthaei of having, 110 years before, robbed Moscow libraries of a great collection of manuscripts, and now Professor Harnack appears in a similar rôle as the detector of a literary crime not less heinous and much more important. It was in 1713 that Christoph Matthäus Pfaff, then a young, brilliant, and ambitious scholar, put forth the text of four Greek fragments of Irenæus, previously unknown, claiming to have discovered them in a Turin manuscript. Suspicion of the authenticity of these fragments has not been wanting, but few have

impugned the good faith of their reputed discoverer. In Pfaff's later years, indeed, the authors of the Turin catalogue pointedly called attention to the suspicious circumstances of the alleged discovery, chief among these being the complete disappearance of the manuscript said to have contained the fragments; but Pfaff's established position as a scholar enabled him to silence, if not to satisfy, these critics with a few general remarks.

Professor Harnack, for whom, as the prospective editor of Irenæus, all literary remains of that Father have a peculiar interest, has devoted the first half of this new *Heft* to the investigation of these fragments, and comes to the startling conclusion that they are not the work of Irenæus, nor of any Greek Father, but simply a forgery of Pfaff himself. His elaborate argument cannot be reproduced here, but the fact that no one except Pfaff seems to have seen the manuscript, that he himself never gave any clear or probable account of it, that the New Testament quotations are from the *Textus Receptus*, that the language of the fragments possesses, not the more representative qualities of Irenæus' style reflected in the Latin version of his writings, but the peculiarities of the few Greek fragments then recently published, and that the doctrines of the fragments, while hopelessly inconsistent with all that we know of Irenæus, are most natural and intelligible as the thought of Pfaff—these and other points are urged by Professor Harnack with characteristic keenness and vigor in this extraordinary and convincing argument. The remainder of the *Heft* is occupied with a series of notes on various patristic passages and documents.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

AUS DEN QUELLEN DER KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. VON DR. PAUL MEHLHORN. Zweites Heft: Bis zum 9ten Jahrhundert. Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1899. Pp. xix + 256. M. 5.

Few things are more difficult than to change a long-established custom, even when everybody is convinced that the custom has outlived its usefulness. This fact is well illustrated in the teaching and study of history. Most people have become so accustomed to learning their history from the text-books, and thus getting it at second or third hand, that they find it very hard to change to the better method of getting it as nearly as possible from the original sources. Our great text-books have their essential value, but they ought to be used as guides and introductions to history rather than as history itself.

Of course, one reason why progress in this better method has been so slow is the lack of suitable and available collections of material. This lack has been felt even in Germany, the land in which more than in any other the emphasis has been put upon the *Quellen*, or original sources.

The qualifications that are necessary for the preparation of such books of sources are evident enough—but they are very stern. They are wide and accurate learning, broad sympathies, superior judgment, and large libraries.

In the book before us we have one of the best evidences that things are moving in the right direction. Dr. Mehlhorn shows that he has the learning, the sympathy, and the judgment, and he is fortunately located at Leipzig, where he has access to a great university library. This work is the second instalment, or rather the continuation of a plan partly realized before. The first part was a collection of sources from the first century to Constantine. The second part continues the collection to the ninth century, or to the death of Charles the Great.

Dr. Mehlhorn begins with the imperial church. He supplements the material with critical notes. From this material the reader may learn at first hand about the origin of the imperial church as seen in the deeds of Constantine the Great, in the conflict over the person of Christ, the Council of Nicæa—its calling and opening, and the resulting Nicene creed. In the same way he takes up the church fathers, beginning with Chrysostom, following with the condition of the church and its institutions.

The second general division treats of the origin of the papal church, discussing the history of the development of the power of the Roman bishops and of the leading popes. The third division treats of German church history in its beginnings and its extension.

We welcome this book as a contribution both to the substance of church history and to the method of study that is destined very soon to prevail among all earnest students of history.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE CHURCH OF THE WEST IN THE MIDDLE AGES. Vol. II.
By HERBERT B. WORKMAN, M.A. London: Charles H.
Kelly, 1900. Pp. xv + 322. 2s. 6d.

THIS second volume on the Middle Ages is in some marked particulars better than the first. The author has supplied many valuable

footnotes and incorporated in his narrative apt excerpts from mediæval writers. The book notices are more adequate, although the authorities adduced are almost without an exception English. Milman's is pronounced the best general church history, and this in spite of the statement that "he needs correction on almost every page." In giving the authorities for Innocent III. it is stated that there is "no good life of him, Hurter's being a panegyric by a pervert." This is certainly a mistake. Hurter is a hero-worshiper, but his life is not excelled as a mine of information on every movement with which Innocent was involved, and is far superior to Reuter on Alexander III. and Gfrörer on Gregory VII.

The work opens with Adrian IV. and carries the history on to the beginning of the Avignon exile.

The conflict of the empire and the papacy, and the rise of the Mendicant orders, are the author's favorite themes. Both chapters are well made up. But we miss any reference to Roncaglia and the decision of the jurists of Bologna, certainly one of the most decisive triumphs of the imperial estate. We miss also a clear setting forth of the use the papacy made of the Lombard cities to crush the empire.

In the chapter on the Friars a high eulogy is passed upon Francis. The *poverello* is having his day. But the glow of Sabatier's brilliant portraiture is the glow of romance. Francis marks an epoch in religious apprehension. But his glorification of poverty is altogether unlike Christ. Mendicancy is not Christianity at its best, or nearly so. To commend the early Mendicants as "making merry like children at a feast of broken scraps tossed to them from the rich man's table" is untrue to noble child instinct and false to Christian ethics. It is more manly and Christian to work at the hardest work than to eat anything tossed from another man's hand. The noble traits of the man of Assisi, the pathetic blasting of his ideals by the cunning of Elias and the ecclesiastical severity of Gregory IX., must not blind us to his faults. His dread of learning is the only one Dr. Workman mentions.

The best part of this book is its portraitures, and that is after all the best part of history. Frederick Barbarossa is a disappointment. But the portraits of Frederick II., Innocent III., John, Francis, and Peter of Murrone are full of life and, with some modification for Francis, excellent. The author's temper is fair, and his judgments are such as to commend them almost invariably to the general student of

history. The reader closes the work with a renewed sense of the splendid movements of one of the most attractive periods of church history.

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DIE STELLUNG DES APOSTOLISCHEN SYMBOLS IM KIRCHLICHEN LEBEN DES MITTELALTERS. Theil I: SYMBOL UND KATECHUMENAT. Von LIC. DR. FRIEDRICH WIEGAND, Privatdocent in Erlangen. Leipzig: Dietrich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1899. Pp. vi + 361. M. 7.50.

THE energetic discussion over the origin of the Apostles' Creed of seven years ago may be regarded as one of the stirring episodes of the last quarter of a century in the department of church history and symbolism. Harnack's tract, written with all the dash and self-confidence of which he is such a master, passed through at least thirty editions. A group of well-trained veterans stepped at once into the lists and unsheathed their keen weapons. Cremer, Kattenbusch, Franck, Zahn, Grau, and Swete made vigorous repartees. Harnack, making a sharp distinction between the old baptismal creed in use in the Roman church and the new creed, asserted for the latter an independent development in Gaul, from which it was transported to Rome in the fifth century. Upon the basis of the earlier form, in which Christ is said to have been "born of the Holy Ghost and Mary the virgin," he attacked the virginity of Mary as not being one of the beliefs of the early Christians. Kattenbusch contended that in its new form the creed was developed upon the basis of the earlier Roman form and not independently of it. Zahn, with his usual thorough patristic scholarship, started with Faustus of Reji in 400, who gives the creed in almost its present form, and carried the substance of its articles back as far as the period from 70 to 120. He concluded that there is more truth and wisdom in asserting that the creed came from the apostles than in declaring it to be a product of the fifth century. Both authors agree in representing the virginity of Mary as a firm belief of the early Christians. Of course, the predecessor in these investigations was Caspari, whose studies on the subject were carried on through thirty years.

For the time being, at least, peace reigns, and the Apostles' Creed is probably held in higher esteem than it was before. Dr. Wiegand makes no reference to the controversy. If his work contains a single

reference to Harnack, it has escaped my notice. His work, however, may be regarded as one of the valuable products of the study and interest which the controversy aroused. The author's purpose is not to go into the origin of the creed. He is concerned with an orderly description of its use in the church from the time of Augustine and Rufinus through the age of Charlemagne. His ability to treat the subject he has shown by his tract on *Odilbert von Mailand über die Taufe*.

The author emphasizes in three chapters three different phases of the use of the creed during the period of five hundred years covered by the volume. In the first it is a part of the old catechumen instruction and ritual. In the second, beginning with the sixth century, it is the leading constituent in the so-called *scrutinium*. And in the eighth and ninth centuries Dr. Wiegand presents it as an element in popular education—an idea of Charlemagne never fully realized in practice. In all these periods alike the old apostolic formula was regarded as containing the quintessence of the Christian faith, and all knowledge necessary unto salvation. It was the church's catechism. Its articles cannot be improved upon, and none can be taken away. It offers to the postulant for baptism that form of sound words which the mouth is bound to confess (Rom. 10:10). It is a bond between Christians. It is a sign of Christian profession over against heathen and heretic. It was the germ which, with the Spirit's help, would bring forth the fruits of faith. It became a part of the *arcana* which was not to be imparted to the unbeliever. It was too sacred to be used by unregenerate lips. Jeremiah's words apply to it: "I will write my law upon their heart." Rufinus and Augustine agree that it must not be committed to writing. It must be impressed upon the memory, for what is learned in the symbol is contained in Holy Scripture. It is a talisman, says Augustine, which is to be guarded by the believer by day and by night. It is a contract like that which binds the merchant seeking goodly pearls. Maximus of Turin declared it to be a shibboleth to preserve Christians separate from heretics. According to Peter Chrysologus, baptism was not to be thought of without an exposition of its articles. The thief on the cross, the eunuch, and Paul were exceptions to a rule. He expresses the deep feeling of the church.

This holy thing was given to the *competentes*—those of the catechumens who were in full earnest about baptism. During the four weeks preceding Easter they committed it to memory, listened to expositions of its twelve articles, such as Cyril of Jerusalem and Augustine have left on record. And then on the day of baptism they "gave it back"

by repeating it before the congregation. At the service it was customary for the bishops to deliver an exhortation based upon the creed. This double treatment of it, the *traditio* and the *redditio*, its delivery to the postulant and its solemn rehearsal by the postulant at baptism, is set forth clearly by the author. He gives full outlines of the expositions of Rufinus, Augustine, Peter Chrysologus of Ravenna, and others, and Augustine's addresses at the use of the creed at the administration of baptism.

The Apostles' Creed, thus the center of preparation for the baptismal rite and admission to the church in the day of Augustine, continued to be held in equally high regard in the next period, the age of Isidore of Seville, and the succeeding century. But the expositions of its articles prior to the rite of baptism, and to a large extent the address based upon it at baptism, fell into desuetude. This was due in large part to the custom of infant baptism which had got to be universal custom. The age of the *scrutinium* had come. In the *scrutinia*—those services preparatory to baptism, such as the signing of the postulant's forehead with the cross, the giving of salt, and exorcism—the creed was still the most important element. It is a constituent of one of the symbolic services, the *apertio aurium*, the "opening of the ears," when ear and nose were touched with the oil, and the gospel was opened to the eye of the postulant, and the creed repeated for the first time in his hearing. Now sponsors receive the creed for the children together with the Paternoster, and repeat it at the baptismal font. Or rather, as becomes more and more customary, they answer the threefold question, such as is given in the Gelasian Sacramentary: *Credis in deum patrem omnipotentem? Credis et in Jesum Christum, filium ejus unicum, dominum nostrum, natum et passum? Credis et in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem?* At the delivery of the creed, on Palm Sunday, the priest concluded a short address with the words: *Haec summa est fidei nostrae*, "this is the summary of our faith."

In the age of Charles the Great the idea of emphasizing the venerable formula as an element of popular education arose in the mind of the enlightened monarch. A knowledge of it and of the Lord's Prayer was made a condition of ordination. On receiving from Hadrian I., in 788, a copy of the Gregorian Sacramentary, the emperor sent his famous eleven questions concerning the creed to his archbishops. Alcuin recommends Augustine's *De rudibus*. Rhabanus Maurus and others take up again the address at the baptismal service over the creed. It

stands as of old for the Catholic faith. It is the symbol, yea the *fides catholica* itself. It was to be used in prayer by the Christian, and he was to grow by feeding upon it, as Theodulph of Orleans says.

Charlemagne's idea was given forth at an unfavorable time. In the ninth century the creed, still holding an unapproached preëminence as a doctrinal compendium, comes to be associated with the public church service and the priestly confessional.

Such is the treatment of this book, instructive and magnetizing. Its positions are clearly stated, and abundantly fortified with valuable quotations, showing a mastery of the subject. At this time, when some of the churches are scrutinizing their confessional statements, it is well to be reminded again of the preëminent honor in which the Apostles' Creed was held in the church of the West from time immemorial down through the Middle Ages. The unmixed esteem of Augustine would of itself stamp it as a remarkable summary of the Christian faith.

Dr. Wiegand started upon his studies with the purpose of furnishing a volume on the use of the creed in the Middle Ages. In order to lay a good foundation for that work he has prepared this volume. Because less is known of the mediæval phase of its history, his second volume will be looked for with a curiosity which this valuable volume did not excite when we took it up.

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JEAN CALVIN. *Les hommes et les choses de son temps.* Par E. DOUMERGUE, Professeur à la faculté de théologie de Montauban. Tome premier: La Jeunesse de Calvin. Lausanne: Georges Bridel & C^{ie}, Éditeurs, 1899. Pp. ix + 634. Fr. 30.

THE first thing that impresses the reader on taking up this sumptuous volume is the author's method of treatment. One does not find a biography in the ordinary sense of the word, but rather a vividly realistic description of France in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries — and especially of several of the leading centers of culture as Noyon, Paris, Orleans, and Bourges. By means of the illustrations and the author's simple and vigorous style it becomes as if one had gone back into those earlier centuries, and were actually walking around on those streets, meeting those people, going into and out of those buildings; in short, it is as if one were living over again the life of that great age.

We thus have an environment in which we expect many things to spring up and grow to maturity. If we go up into Picardy, we shall

find a sturdy and pushing race of people moving about under those skies. The ills of society all over France are very numerous and very dire. Can Picardy contribute anything to the relief of society? This question is answered by the bare mention of the names of some of these Picards. In the Middle Ages there was Roscellinus—the prince of Nominalism. At the beginning of the modern period there were Le Fèvre d'Étaples, Roussel, Vatable, Olivetan, John Calvin, Peter Ramus—a contemporary of Calvin—who was afterward greatly to influence Arminius, the Dutch professor, who in his turn was to lead the revolt against hyper-Calvinism. There were also Baudoin, the juriconsult, and La Forge, the merchant, and many others.

Later on in modern times are to be mentioned St. Simon, Condorcet, Desmoulins, Babeuf, and Michelet.

These men were all in their peculiar ways profoundly moved by ideas of truth and justice, and by a desire to see the triumph of the causes which they believed to be just, and by a thirst for reform.

It was into an environment like this that John Calvin was born at Noyon in 1509. But the birth of a great man does not excite any special interest at the time of its occurrence. It is only after he has grown up and done his work that the date of his birth becomes a matter of interest. Then, indeed, the world wants to know about his ancestors, his parents, his early surroundings, and all the influences that bore upon every step of his development.

This is precisely what Doumergue proposes in the work before us—in a word, he intends to give us the complete picture of John Calvin as related to all the influences, internal and external, that made him. We are to see in its entire historical setting the Calvin family and the early childhood, the education and the epoch-making deeds of the most tremendous personal force of that age—a force that has in one way and another controlled the largest division of Protestantism from that day to this.

Such is M. Doumergue's conception of his task. At first blush it would seem as if a great deal of irrelevant matter had been introduced. But the reader who cares for completeness and thoroughness will soon find that everything has its important bearing on the main subject. If the plan is consistently followed through, we shall see the great reformer as he really was. And whatever may be one's present opinion of John Calvin, he cannot in justice say that it is final until he shall see the end of this book.

There are to be five volumes of the work. Only the first one has

appeared. In this volume the author has fully realized his ideal. It treats only of Calvin's youth—we may say, his period of preparation. The volume contains 644 pages. It is illustrated by reproductions of 157 old engravings, autographs, etc., and 113 original designs. This work is done by H. Armand-Delille.

In this thoroughgoing way are presented chapters on "The Origins," on "The Youth of Calvin," and on "His Moral and Intellectual Development." In this last chapter is an account of the University of Paris from 1252 to 1500. Its period of prosperity, and its decadence in the time of Calvin, are described. From Paris Calvin went to Orleans, and then to Bourges. Each of these cities is described in much detail, as also the men whom Calvin met, and who exercised a great influence upon him. The spirit of humanism was everywhere, especially in the south of France. Calvin breathed it and caught it. He published a treatise on Seneca's *De Clementia*. He met Wolmar, who was in every sense of the word a Lutheran, and he was led by the combined force of many influences into Protestantism. After this he became a wanderer, and could no longer feel entirely safe until he was settled in Geneva.

One of the most interesting chapters in the book is on "Protestant Paris in the Sixteenth Century," taking up seventy-four pages.

There are fifteen appendices, treating of as many important subjects that needed further development than could be given them in the text. The first of these contains critical observations, and mentions seven of the historians of Calvin.

The number of additions and corrections is much too large, and it is to be hoped that it may be greatly reduced in the succeeding volumes.

These volumes will be awaited with the deepest interest by all who, having seen the first, will know what to expect.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THEODORE BEZA: THE COUNSELLOR OF THE FRENCH REFORMATION, 1519-1605. By HENRY MARTYN BAIRD. London and New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899. Pp. v + 375. \$1.50. (Vol. IV of "Heroes of the Reformation," edited by Samuel Macauley Jackson.)

THIS is the first life of Beza that has appeared in English. Indeed, it seems that Beza has not had the prominence that he deserves in the

galaxy of reformers. He has seemed to be so completely eclipsed by Calvin as to obscure very striking and original merits of his own. But history will at last be just, even though the justice be tardy.

It is fortunate for the reputation of this great man that at this late hour he can have for his biographer a student who knows all the ways and byways of Huguenot history. Professor Baird has already said much about Beza in his *Rise of the Huguenots* and in his *Huguenots and Henry of Navarre*. But it was left for this volume to give to the subject the thorough treatment that it demanded. This book is not to be thought of as made up from the author's previous studies. Every page indicates that it is the result of special research in the original sources, and of new reflection on these sources. We have then at last in English an account of Beza's life, and of his true historical position, upon which we can rely with the utmost confidence.

In his early youth one would not have supposed that Beza was to become a great reformer. For he was gay to an extent that would lead one to conclusions quite the opposite. His education was very thorough, and early in his career he tried his hand at literature. It was through Wolmar that the religious element entered his nature, and ultimately led to his conversion. He seemed peculiarly receptive to the teachings of Calvin, but he did not follow them in any servile way. They were his very own from the moment he accepted them. Indeed they were, in embryo at least, already in him. He was a Calvinist because his nature made him a Calvinist. It was fortunate for the French Reformation that just such a man was ready and waiting to take up the work when Calvin laid it down, and to carry it on successfully for forty-one years.

To quote Professor Baird, he was "as unsparing of himself, as indefatigable in labor, as devoted to the interests of the faith which he had embraced, as was his master. Beza was of all men living best qualified to carry out what Calvin had initiated. Geneva and the world hardly realized the change when the direction of affairs passed after a comparatively brief interval from the hands of the one to the other. For Beza, while no blind partisan and no servile imitator, had heartily accepted the system of Calvin, and had become so thoroughly imbued with his spirit that there was no perceptible break in the influence which emanated from the little city on the Rhone."

J. W. MONCRIEF.

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HISTORISCHE ARBEITEN, VORNEHMLICH ZUR REFORMATIONSZEIT.
 Von C. A. CORNELIUS. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot,
 1899. Pp. x + 628. M. 14.

THE aged and infirm Cornelius, stricken down in the midst of important literary labors, especially the editing of Kampschulte's great work on Calvin, sends forth this collection of his minor works as a farewell greeting to his friends. Cornelius is best known as a friend and associate of Döllinger in the liberal Catholic movement, and as the author of an epoch-making work on the Anabaptists (*Geschichte d. Münsterischen Aufruhrs*, 1855-60), in which, putting aside party prejudice, he sought by exhaustive research to bring to light the real nature of the movement that went forward throughout Switzerland, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, etc., with irresistible sweep, from 1525 onward, and that so largely modified the course of ecclesiastical development. Since the publication of this work Anabaptist history has been an object of serious study by many able investigators, and the *odium theologicum* that formerly attached to the name "Anabaptist" has become almost a thing of the past. In 1872 Wilhelm Kampschulte, who had devoted many years of his life to the study of Calvin and the Genevan Reformation, dying, left his unfinished work unconditionally in the hands of his like-minded friend, our author. Cornelius has laboriously gone through the new Strassburg edition (Baum & Cunitz) of Calvin's works and other printed collections of documents, and has also sought to exhaust the manuscript materials in the archives of Bern and Geneva. Following Kampschulte, Cornelius' aim has been to set forth impartially the history of the conflicts and developments through which Geneva became Calvinistic. Foreseeing his early departure, he has committed the task of completing Kampschulte's work on Calvin to Dr. Walter Goetz, a man of like spirit and learning. A Catholic work on Calvin, written on the basis of the most exhaustive mastery of the sources and free from partisan bitterness, will be looked for with the greatest interest by students of the history of doctrine, church polity, and practical reform.

In the present volume the author has gathered a number of monographs, several of which have appeared in the proceedings of learned societies, encyclopædias, and elsewhere. The first paper is on "The Münster Humanists and Their Relation to the Reformation." The most noted of these leaders during the later years of the fifteenth and the early years of the sixteenth century were Rudolph von Langen, Graf Moritz von Spiegelberg, Hegius, Hermann von dem Busche,

Murmellius, Cæsarius, Camener, Rothmann, Fabricius, Cotius, and Kerssenbroick. The earlier of these, especially the three first named, had been educated in the school of the Brethren of the Common Life, and retained the impress of the spiritual culture there received even after their studies in Italy and their absorption in classical studies. The author characterizes the Münster Humanists by generations. The first (Langen), satisfied with freedom to study the ancient classical writers, does not go much beyond traditional ideas, adhering with heart-felt devotion to the old religious faith and life. The Humanists of the second generation divide; some (Camener) perpetuate the famous school in the spirit of its founder, while others (von dem Busche) concern themselves with practical reformatory issues in a moderate way. The third generation (Fabricius, Rothmann) enters fully into the theological conflicts of the time and shares the fate of parties. The fourth generation (Kerssenbroick) seeks to restore Humanism to its old quiet form. The author gives a number of interesting specimens of the Humanistic literature of the time.

The second paper, on "The Netherland Anabaptists during the Siege of Münster, 1534-35," gives a very vivid impression of the widespread fanaticism that had been aroused in the Netherlands by the preaching of Jan Mathyszoon and his confrères, and of the terrible sufferings involved in the suppression of the millenarian craze.

The third article, on "The History of the Münster Anabaptists," consists of excellent sketches of Johann Bokelson (John of Leyden), Johann Klopriss (one of the Wassenberg preachers, who figured prominently in the Münster kingdom), Bernt Knipperdollinck, and Jan Mathyszoon, the great prophet of the movement.

The fourth, longest (452 pages), and most important of the papers is "On Calvin's History." The sketch begins with Calvin's visit to the duchess Renata of Ferrara between March, 1536, when he finished the "Institutes," and July, 1536, when he entered upon his activity in Geneva. After a very interesting account of Calvin's visit to Renata and of the relations of the duchess to the Reformation, the author proceeds to discuss with rare luminosity Calvin's banishment from Geneva in 1538. The condition of Geneva on Calvin's arrival, his early and later relations to the work, the various opposing forces, their nature and their personnel, the issues that were raised between Calvin and his opponents, his own scheme of church discipline as it had been developed up to the date of his banishment — everything, in a word, that the rich published and manuscript literature of the time enables an accomplished

and unbiased investigator to ascertain regarding the outward events and the inner motives of the various parties concerned, is brought out with admirable clearness and detail. It is impracticable to give in this notice the author's views on the multitudinous issues that arose at that juncture or in the later periods of Calvin's activity. Calvin's return to Geneva, and the forces that were at work during his absence to make his return possible and to induce him to take up anew the work laid down, are sketched with like learning and insight. His labors, conflicts, and triumphs from his return to Geneva until the end of his controversy with Perrin, 1548, close this great monographic torso. The reviewer has not noticed in this splendid essay any expression of opinion on the part of the author regarding the character of Calvin or the merits of his reformatory work. He seems content to give the facts and to allow the reader to form his own judgment.

The other papers are "On the German Strivings for Unity in the Sixteenth Century," a series of five brief papers on church polity, a memorial address on Döllinger, and biographical sketches of Karl Cornelius, August von Drussel, Ferdinand Gregorovius, Fr. Wilhelm R. Kampschulte, and Carl Spruner von Merz. At the end of the volume the author gives a complete bibliography of his publications.

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THE ENGLISH CHURCH FROM ITS FOUNDATION TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST (597-1066). By WILLIAM HUNT, M.A. London and New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899. Pp. xix + 444. \$1.50.

A POPULAR HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. By WILLIAM BOYD CARPENTER, Bishop of Ripon. London: John Murray, 1900. Pp. xvi + 517, with 33 Illustrations. 6s.

A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH. By H. D. M. SPENCE, Dean of Gloucester. London: J. M. Dent; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1900. Pp. 246. \$0.50.

VERY REV. W. R. W. STEPHENS, Dean of Winchester, and Rev. William Hunt have undertaken to edit a new *History of the English Church*. The work will consist of seven volumes, distributed among seven competent scholars, each being responsible for a period to which he has devoted special attention. The work, as a whole, will be a continuous

and adequate history, based upon a careful study of original authorities.

Rev. W. Hunt, one of the editors of the series, is the author of the first volume. It covers the period from Augustine to the Norman conquest. It shows familiarity with the sources, and a candid and unbiased spirit; and is characterized by fulness and cogency of statement, and a clear and interesting style. Many Anglicans who write concerning their church are advocates rather than historians. They are set for the defense of the principles of their party, and reveal their partisan prepossession on nearly every page. It is refreshing to read an author whose principal concern is to tell the truth. Though writing "from the standpoint of a member of the Church of England," Mr. Hunt plainly declares: "It has been my earnest wish to present a thoroughly truthful picture of the church during this period, and not to misrepresent anything. No cause seems the better for the art of the special pleader, still less for disingenuousness. Nor would the interests of the church, even if they could be served by such methods, be so sacred to me as historic truth."

If the other volumes of the series equal this in learning and candor, the work as a whole will be the best history of the English church yet written.

In a single volume the bishop of Ripon tells the story of the English church "from the earliest times to the present day." He has the young mainly in mind, and writes in an easy and popular style. He succeeds in keeping himself free from partisanship when dealing with events and persons that have broken the sects in the Church of England into hostile camps. Students who wish an elaborate treatment of the subject drawn directly from the "best ancient and modern writers" will consult the work in seven volumes edited by Stephens and Hunt, while students who are seeking a much briefer and more summary treatise will be satisfied with the single volume of Bishop Carpenter.

This *Temple Primer* is an interesting sketch of the English church from the days of Augustine to the present time. The author, a moderate high-church man, is a firm believer in the "unbroken continuity" and the Catholic faith, but has no leaning toward Rome, and can write of the evangelical party in terms of respect.

ERI B. HULBERT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

OLIVER CROMWELL AND THE RULE OF THE PURITANS IN ENGLAND. By CHARLES FIRTH, M.A., Balliol College, Oxford. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1900. Pp. xiii + 496. \$1.50.

OLIVER CROMWELL. By THEODORE ROOSEVELT. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900. Pp. 260. \$2.

THE PROTESTANT INTEREST IN CROMWELL'S FOREIGN RELATIONS. By JACOB N. BOWMAN. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1900. Pp. viii + 92. M. 2.

PROFESSOR FIRTH'S volume is one of the "Heroes of the Nations" series. It contains forty illustrations in the form of portraits, facsimiles, and maps. It is an enlargement of the author's article on "Cromwell" in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Since that article was written, in 1888, later researches and newly discovered documents have furnished valuable material, which is incorporated in this volume.

Professor Firth has given us a biography in the best sense of that term. He necessarily deals with the history of Cromwell's times, but he does this to the end that Cromwell himself may be seen and understood. The reader is often disappointed that judgments are so faintly expressed or not expressed at all, but the purpose seems to be to state the facts clearly and impartially, and then let the facts speak for themselves. Throughout the volume it is apparent that the author entertains toward his hero the sentiment that is finally expressed in explicit terms in the epilogue: "Either as a soldier or as a statesman Cromwell was far greater than any Englishman of his time."

Governor Roosevelt's volume had its origin in a series of magazine articles. It contains thirty-seven illustrations in the form of portraits, facsimiles, and maps. It is printed in large type, on heavy paper, with broad margins. It is not so much the purpose of the author to give a discriminating historical review of the career of Cromwell as to depict the scenes in which he was the most conspicuous figure, and freely to express his own opinion of men and measures. Since "the great Oliver" commands the enthusiastic admiration of Governor Roosevelt, he is often constrained to seek in Cromwell's time a palliation of those faults which other biographers have recognized and condemned. Since Carlyle published *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* it is no longer possible for the unprejudiced mind to charge Cromwell with hypocrisy and vulgar fanaticism. It accords better with the truth of history to rank him as the greatest of England's rulers. He had his faults, and he committed some grave offenses,

notwithstanding which England can boast no worthier advocate of civil and religious liberty. The Roosevelt biography, written in popular style, is admirably suited to the needs of the general reader.

Mr. Bowman, in ninety pages, discusses Cromwell's foreign policy so far as it concerned the upholding of Protestantism on the continent. He has drawn his material from the archives of England, Sweden, Norway, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and other countries. The treaties between England and the foreign powers, and the negotiations with France and Spain, are discussed so far as they bear on the interests of Protestants. The accounts of Cromwell's protection of the Huguenots and the Piedmontese are of special value. The treatise is designed for the historical student rather than for the general reader.

ERI B. HULBERT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

WESLEY AND METHODISM. By F. G. SNELL, M.A. (Oxon.). New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900. Pp. x + 243. \$1.25.

THIS is a clever book, although neither a biography of John Wesley nor a history of Methodism. It consists of seven sketches, entitled respectively "Kith and Kin," "First-Fruits," "Apostleship," "Love and Death," "Scandal of the Cross," "Miracles and Mysteries," and "The New Dissent," in which various aspects of the great revival are skilfully presented, and the salient features of Wesley's career are illuminated with interesting contributions from a rather wide reading. The significance of the man and the movement is freely acknowledged and emphasized; yet the chief defect of the book is a lack of sympathy with both. Compared, for instance, with Morison's *St. Bernard*, or with St. Beuve's *Port Royal*, it lacks intellectual depth and seriousness; yet these were the work of freethinkers. Or compared with John Richard Green's few pages, or Lecky's striking treatment, or the fine sketch of Wesley and the revival in Abbey and Overton's *History of the English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, it does rather scant justice to both epoch and epoch-maker. It asserts Wesley's greatness, but does not exhibit it; indeed, the author's praise is frequently qualified by irrelevant comment. As, for example: "The physic may have been *nasty*—*those fits especially*—but Methodism arrested national decay and infused new life into Christianity;" or this: "At Dresden he inspected at somebody's desire the great bridge, the large brass crucifix, and the equestrian statue of the late King Augustus; but *he deems it necessary to apologise by ejaculating*, 'Alas! where will all these things appear when

the earth and the works thereof shall be burned up?" A moment's thought about the character of King Augustus would have revealed the subtlety of Wesley's comment. He was certainly not apologizing; rather wondering what good the statue would do the king in that awful day when sculptured greatness melts before the wrath of God.

Nevertheless the book is packed with valuable information, instructive reflections, interesting anecdote. The style is fluent and easy—a trifle too easy, perhaps—and some of the character-sketching is admirable. It reveals the mental attitude of a modern Oxford graduate toward the now famous fellow of Lincoln College; an attitude of compulsory wonder, of perplexed and hesitating admiration. It recognizes Wesley's "prodigies of mental and physical effort" as a "vast and necessary work." It regrets the separation of his followers from the church. But it continues the old tone of superiority; only condemnation is softened to deprecation and *persiflage*, although greatly restricted in its scope. "The English conscience as remodeled by Wesley" is a phrase which, if justified, certainly makes of him an epoch-maker. And the use of it by the author approves all that was essential in the great revival.

CHARLES J. LITTLE.

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CHRISTIANITY AND THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. Being the Thirtieth Fernley Lecture, delivered in Burslem, July, 1900. By CHARLES JOSEPH LITTLE, D.D., LL.D., President of Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. London: Charles H. Kelley, 1900. Pp. 56. 2s.

DR. LITTLE calls Christianity "the kingdom of Christ in a world which denies his sovereignty." A truthful presentation of "its progressive conquests of a hostile environment" during the century just closed cannot but be full of interest. Dr. Little aims to make such a presentment in the brief space of three chapters, ninety-six pages. He has succeeded remarkably well. In the first chapter he presents the exterior aspects of Christendom as seen in the Greek (or Russian) church, the papacy, the state churches and the nonconformist denominations in Protestant countries, and the denominations in America. The Russian hierarchy is as "unprogressive, immobile, and almost petrified" as at the beginning of the century. The vicissitudes of the papacy have been dramatic during the century, but while it has lost power among

the Latin races, it has gained by an inflow of Germanic, English, and American virtue. Both these hierarchies retain their hereditary adherents, among whom are doubtless many whose piety, though stunted, is genuine. If the state churches have become more spiritual, they owe it largely to the influence of the nonconformist bodies by which they are surrounded. The entire divorce of church and state in America has not been followed by the disastrous consequences predicted, but the denominations have flourished, and harmony of views and mutual sympathy and coöperation have increased.

In the second chapter the author emphasizes the Christianity of experience. By this he means the conscious change wrought in the soul by the Holy Spirit, whereby one is able to say not only, "Whereas I was blind, now I see," but also, "The life that I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God;" and, "I can do all things through Christ who strengtheneth me." The author claims that the theology of the Reformation started from this experience, and that it is this which has enabled Christianity to grapple successfully with the old English deism, rationalism, romanticism, positivism, materialism, and agnosticism.

In the final chapter the author points out the influence which this Christianity of experience has exerted in the realms of science, politics, literature, and in the commercial, industrial, and social systems. By its fruits in these realms it has vindicated itself from the charge of enthusiasm and fanaticism. Dr. Little might well have made fuller mention than he has of the missionary enterprise of the century—its fruits in missionary fields, and the influence of the missionary spirit on the home field.

These lectures give evidence of much and careful reading as well as thinking. The style is chaste and pleasing. Epigrammatic sentences abound. An obscure one occurs occasionally. The book demands and commands the attention of the reader. It is well worthy of re-perusal.

N. S. BURTON.

ANN ARBOR, MICH.

GESCHICHTE DER LOGOSIDEE IN DER CHRISTLICHEN LITTERATUR.
VON ANATHON AALL. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1899. Pp.
xvii + 492. M. 10.

THE author of this volume published in 1896 the *Geschichte der Logosidee in der griechischen Philosophie* as the first part of a general

history of the conception of the *Logos*. The present volume forms the second part of the history. The seven chapters of the book bear the following titles: i, "The First Christian Logosophy" (dealing with passages from the epistles to the Colossians and to the Hebrews, and from the Apocalypse, as well as from epistles which the author accepts as Pauline); ii, "The Gospel according to John" (John the presbyter); iii, "The Logos Doctrine of the Extracanonial Christian Literature before the Apologists;" iv, "The Apologists;" v, "The Logos Doctrine of the Antiheretical Theological Writers of the Old-Catholic Church;" vi, "The Christian Logos Doctrine in Alexandria;" vii, "The Christian Logos Doctrine after Origen."

The titles of the chapters reveal the author's approval of the outline of Harnack's *History of Dogma*. Indeed, this monograph presupposes the work of Harnack, and with few exceptions confirms the conclusions of the great historian. Yet it is a piece of original research, and is well worth the attention of those interested in the development of theology in the early centuries of our era. The writer's point of view is narrower than that of a history of dogma. He is interested primarily in the vicissitudes of the Logos doctrine rather than in Christian theology. He starts with the philosophical idea of the Logos which had been developed by the Stoics and had been introduced into the realm of religious philosophy by Philo. For the Greek thinkers the Logos represented an abstract idea—a metaphysical principle of cosmological theorizing. In Christian literature it meets the historical personality of Jesus—a concrete fact. The development of Christology in the church meant the amalgamation of these two totally disparate elements. In studying this development we usually are concerned chiefly with the evolution of the ideal of Christ. The book under consideration asks us to notice what became of the Greek philosophical Logos when it was appropriated by Christian theologians. The treatment of the subject from this point of view cannot fail to be suggestive.

The various chapters are of unequal value. The first two can scarcely be said to have added anything to the achievements of New Testament scholars. The discussion of the Christology in the fourth gospel is interesting because of the author's attempt to show the close connection between the Johannine method and ideal and the Alexandrian type of religious philosophy represented by Philo. This is almost the only important point on which the author takes issue with Harnack. However, after citing the parallelism between the gospel

and the Alexandrian philosophy, attention is called to the wide-reaching differences. The personalizing of the Logos meant the opening of a new era in the history of the doctrine. John is compared with Heraclitus and with Darwin as the founder of a new type of philosophical thought. The third chapter is valuable rather for its general discussions than for its examination of specific works. Scant attention is paid to Ignatius, for example. The *excursus* on the ideas of πνεῦμα, δυνάμεις, ἄγγελοι, and δαίμονες as members of a supernatural hierarchy in relation to the λόγος will give the reader a vivid picture of philosophical conditions which made Gnosticism possible.

By far the most valuable chapter in the book is the fourth. The achievement of the apologists in making the Logos-Christ a rational principle of theology is set forth with admirable thoroughness. The author is evidently in hearty sympathy with these "first philosophical thinkers in the church." The fashion in which the Stoic λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and λόγος προφύρικός were transformed into the double character of the Christian Logos as the ordering principle of the cosmos and as the revealer of truth is carefully worked out. The fifth chapter introduces us to the men who labored under the restricting influence of ecclesiastical tradition. The process of emphasizing the historical Christ as against the abstract, philosophical Logos now began. The religious ideal of Christ as a redeemer could not be reconciled with the rationalism of a consistent Logosophy. The result was a deterioration of the philosophical character of the Logos doctrine. In the Alexandrian theologians we find again an admirable philosophic spirit, which enables them to give a significance to the Logos which is universally valid. The Logos is transformed into a divine hypostasis. The eternally generated Son of God unites the universalism of the metaphysical Logos with the personality of the Redeemer of mankind. The last chapter contains only thirty pages in which to deal with Christian literature from Origen to Martin Luther! It is too brief to be of special value. The only point worth consideration is the significance assigned to Athanasius. Through his influence the metaphysical-mythological hierarchy of the Logos philosophy was expelled from Christian theology. The word "Logos" does not appear in the Nicene creed. The condemnation of Origen later sealed the death sentence of the Alexandrian doctrine, which had been the only adequate solution of the Logos-Jesus problem. Modern Protestant theologians recognize the Logos theory in its true light as "a religious dream, which once promised the solution of the problems of God and the world."

The book is, on the whole, well written and clearly arranged. The brief summary at the close of each chapter makes it possible to learn the author's conclusions without following the discussion in detail. The book is a contribution to the history of philosophy rather than to the history of Christian theology; but its suggestiveness for the theological scholar is perhaps greater than would have been the case if the author had written from an ecclesiastical standpoint. Especially to be commended is the prominence given to the influence of Hellenistic religious philosophy of the Philonic type. It is a pleasure to find a comprehensive table of contents and an exhaustive index in a European volume. It adds greatly to the usefulness of such a work.

GERALD BIRNEY SMITH.

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DER LEHRSTREIT ÜBER DIE KINDERTAUFEN INNERHALB DER LUTHERISCHEN KIRCHE. Ein Beitrag zur Beurteilung der jetzigen Gemeinschaftsbewegung. Von ERNST BUNKE. Kassel: Ernst Röttger, 1900. Pp. xiv + 145. M. 2.25.

ERNST BUNKE is secretary of the Pastoral Conference of Silesia and author of two large volumes of a *Homiletical Handbook* and a small volume on *Church Evangelization*. He is a Lutheran, but he shows how Lutheran theologians have departed from the "confession of faith" and how the "confession of faith" has departed from the Bible. He believes in infant baptism, but he rejects baptismal regeneration. He condemns the theologians for teaching, as Roman Catholics do, that an infant is regenerated without faith, and he condemns Luther for teaching that an infant may have faith. The volume contains a fair discussion of the views of the apostles, reformers, and modern Lutheran theologians upon faith, regeneration, and baptism. The author points out clearly that the reformers, in their desire to preserve the Roman Catholic liturgy, were led to contradict, not only the Bible, but their own dogmatic principle, "justification by faith alone." They rejected the notion of the magical influence of the sacrament of baptism, only to substitute for it the magical influence of the prayers of sponsors. Modern theologians, with the exception of Philippi, have discarded the idea that infants exercise saving faith, but they all teach that infants are regenerated in baptism without faith. This regeneration without faith Martensen explains as not personal, but essential; Kahnis, as not regeneration, but the power of regeneration; Frank, as the implantation of the germ of the new man; and Wacker, as a new

birth without a new life. Carrying out Wacker's idea, Beck says that all baptized infants are new-born, but that some are born dead, or, as Lepsius satirically observes: "With one new life a person may come to heaven, or, if he has the other, he may go to hell." From these statements as to baptismal regeneration our author concludes that Lutheran theological teachers are all in the path of error, but he derives comfort from the action of the pastors at their conference in Berlin in 1898, when not one accepted the challenge to confess that he believed in baptismal regeneration. He finds a like confusion on the part of theologians concerning faith. Höfling speaks of faith that is not active but passive. Kahnis, Cremer, and Wacker recognized a faith that is unconscious. Philippi says that knowledge is not essential to faith, and that faith and the consciousness of it are two different things. Althaus founds his faith on his baptism, and not his baptism on his faith. From these Lutherans Bunke appeals to Luther, who insisted that where faith is not present the sign is vain. It seems that in the past ten years Prussia has been passing through an excitement similar to that caused by the preaching of Whitfield and his protests against an unconverted ministry. More and more the people are demanding that preachers shall be converted men, as missionaries are, and shall labor for the conversion of their congregations.

W. W. EVERTS.

A SHORT HISTORY OF MONKS AND MONASTERIES. By ALFRED WESLEY WISHART, sometime Fellow in Church History in the University of Chicago. Trenton, N. J.: Albert Brandt, 1900. Pp. 454. \$3.50.

THE volume is printed in luxurious style and is richly illustrated. There is no evidence either in the bibliography or in the text that the author has gone much beyond the English literature of monasticism. But the English literature is abundant and much of it excellent, and the author has used it with praiseworthy discrimination. It may be said at once that he has produced by far the best book on the subject in the English language, and that it would be hard to find in any language a better general discussion of the various questions involved in the history of monasticism.

The survey of the monastic institution does not go much beyond the Reformation period, when the author thinks "its power was practically broken;" but the Jesuits, who arose during the Reformation time,

and in consequence of the Protestant revolution, receive some attention. To speak of the power of monasticism as being practically broken by the Protestant revolution seems scarcely allowable in view of the fact that it has since been the dominant force in the Roman Catholic and the Greek Catholic churches, which still greatly exceed in numbers all evangelical communions. The Jesuits seem today to be the power behind the papal throne, and the influence of monasticism in general in the Roman Catholic church is incalculable.

One of the most distinguishing characteristics of the work is its fair-mindedness and moderation. The author is scrupulously careful to avoid anything savoring of wholesale denunciation of the system as such, and he writes with the warmest appreciation of all that is self-sacrificing and heroic in the history of monasticism.

In his first chapter, on "Monasticism in the East," the author seeks for the origin of Christian monasticism in the ascetic life of paganism and Essenic Judaism. He finds in Egypt, with its vast solitudes, lonely mountains, arid valleys, barren hills, grotesque rocks, etc., "a fit home for the hermit, a paradise to the lover of solitude and peace." Wishart's account of early oriental monasticism is an admirable résumé of what is historically assured as well as of the fictions put in circulation by Jerome and others, and his distribution of praise and blame is all that could be desired.

The second chapter is devoted to western monasticism before the founding of the Benedictine order, and contains an excellent account of Jerome and his lady friends (Marcella, Paula, etc.) who adopted the ascetic life. The beneficent effect of monasticism, as seen in the missionary and civilizing work of the Benedictines among the German peoples, is fittingly recognized; but the corruptions into which the order fell cannot, of course, be ignored.

It is to be regretted that the author has so little to say about the semi-monastic missionary work of the early British Christians, and that he ignores entirely the widespread activity of Columban and his associates and successors on the continent. The greatly important work of the Anglo-Saxon monastic missionaries in Germany and the Netherlands is disposed of in a few lines. The reformed and military orders receive more attention, and some of the leading characters are well sketched, but no adequate account is given of the circumstances that led to the destruction of the Templars or of the fearful persecution of the Spiritual Franciscans by the papacy at the instigation of the secularized majority of the professed followers of Francis of Assisi.

The great intellectual activity of the Dominicans, as seen in men like Thomas Aquinas and the German mystics, is recognized only in a short sentence. The Augustinian order that produced such men as Staupitz and Luther is, so far as I have observed, mentioned only in an enumeration of mendicant orders; and]the Carmelites fare no better. The chapter on "The Society of Jesus" is one of the best, and tells perhaps all that the ordinary reader needs to know of the demoralizing and iniquitous principles and practices of this highly influential organization; but it is very far from sounding the depths of diabolism that have been reached, and has little to say about the Counter-Reformation, the Thirty Years' War, and the destruction of the Huguenots, that are among the achievements of the order.

The author devotes an entire chapter to the proceedings of Henry VIII. against the monasteries of England, and makes an earnest effort to arrive at the facts; but there seems no good reason why the suppression of monasticism in England should be brought into such prominence at the expense of equally important work of a similar character in other lands. The concluding chapters, on "Causes and Ideals of Monasticism" and "The Effects of Monasticism," are well reasoned and well written. The expensive style in which the work has been published would seem to indicate that it was not meant for scholars or for the masses of intelligent readers, but for book collectors and the book-loving rich. In a cheaper form it would command a wide reading; for the thought is just, the style is attractive, and the subject-matter is deeply interesting.

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EXPLORATIO EVANGELICA. A Brief Examination of the Basis and Origin of Christian Belief. By PERCY GARDNER, LITT.D. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899. Pp. x + 521. \$4.50.

THIS bulky volume, dated by the author from Oxford, presents some most interesting features to the student of current theological literature. It is the work of a layman who has been ripened in the best methods of historical investigation, who is a devoutly religious man, and whose aim it is to discover a sure basis for the continuance of Christian faith. His "Exploration" takes a sufficiently wide range. The first book (chaps. 1-10) describes the author's philosophical

standpoint, and especially his philosophy of religion. Dr. Gardner insists on the "relativity of human knowledge," and has some very curious things to say on that subject, his original extension of Mansel's method, on pp. 50, 51, coming as a surprise and a shock upon the reader. Human knowledge is confined to that which is given in experience; of the absolute we can have no direct knowledge. This does not, however, preclude a real faith in the living and present God, for *he is given to us in experience*. This is, in our view, Dr. Gardner's most valuable contribution, that he insists upon the validity of man's religious experience, and that he bases his faith upon a survey of the whole course, and the real significance of that experience. When arguing as an apologist, he affirms that man's experience in prayer warrants his belief in a personal God. He is convinced by "the enormous consensus of testimony from wise and simple, learned and ignorant, skeptical and credulous, which affirms as a matter of personal knowledge that prayer does bring answers which change not only the will of him who prays, but his character, his circumstances, and the ways of others" (p. 37). If man is then in communion with God, he cannot but think of God as personal (*cf.* p. 40). When expounding as a dogmatician, Dr. Gardner insists that man's religious ideas have ever been the result of inspiration. While the *modus* of inspiration is inscrutable, the effects are sown like stars broadcast over history. On various relevant subjects, such as the growth of ideas and their influence, the difficult and elusive subject of education by illusion, the relation of "idea and myth," etc., our author has many most interesting views to unfold. Of course, his most important subject here must be as to the "test of ideas." For if religious experience as a whole is to be a source of doctrine, and any such formal standard as the Bible or the church is discarded by Dr. Gardner, it becomes our most obvious task to define our tests of authoritative truth; and manifestly the authority in such a system can be only moral and spiritual, never institutional and temporal. According to Dr. Gardner, the tests of a true doctrine are that it should have practical objectivity and universal subjectivity. That is to say, what we are called upon to believe, what has most moral authority over us, must be a doctrine which, *first*, bears directly and wholesomely upon actual life and character, and, *secondly*, is, or is capable of being, accepted and assimilated by all members of the human race.

Dr. Gardner's second book deals with "Early Christian History" (chaps. 11-22), in which we find less that is original. There is just

the faint suggestion at times of a curious self-consciousness, as if Dr. Gardner, accustomed in other fields to weigh evidence and determine what is objectively historical, feels himself to be here addressing a theological audience to whom such methods are unfamiliar and his conclusions painful. After all, the ideal of "objective history" is nowhere defined by our author, who writes as if it could be defined quite easily. Moreover, Dr. Gardner adopts conclusions with which most English theologians have been at least acquainted for a good while—regarding the synoptics and the fourth gospel, the record of the birth at Bethlehem, the messianic claims of Jesus, and the growth of miracle narrative and mythopoetic literature. To these conclusions Dr. Gardner's discussions, interesting and vigorous as they are, add no fresh certainty. One of the good features is the systematic way in which here, and in the third book, our author attempts to connect, or at any rate illustrate, the rise of Christian beliefs with analogous elements in other religions.

When we come to the third book, entitled "Early Christian Doctrine" (chaps. 23-40), some features of Dr. Gardner's religious position grow still more distinct. The doctrines, as he shapes them, are not unfamiliar. The resurrection as a physical event is of course discarded: "objective history" disowns it. The incarnation is the perfect union of the divine will with the will of Jesus. The atonement is the change which Christ our Lord has made in those who receive his Spirit. "The idea of the risen and exalted Christ is the life-blood of evangelical Christianity;" but the relativity of human knowledge must leave us ignorant of his actual being. On these and the other leading Christian doctrines our author takes up an attitude which is peculiar and most suggestive; to save time we may sum it up as follows: *First*, the personality of Jesus exercised an unparalleled influence over his disciples, an influence which reached its climax or passed into an intenser form after his death. "There is no demonstrable connection between the Jesus of history and the Christ of Christian experience; yet on their correlation is based the life of the church" (p. 416). This new inspiration, connected somehow with his name, created the new range of experience called Christian. *Secondly*, as the subjects and heralds of his life went out into the world, it was no less as children of their age, to address their own age intelligibly. Hence from the first the new life showed a powerful tendency and an immense capacity for seizing, assimilating, "baptizing into Christ," the noblest religious and ethical ideas regnant in the world at that time. Some of

Dr. Gardner's most interesting chapters (*e. g.*, on "Christianity and the Thiasi," "The Future Life," "The Communion") deal with this assimilation. And yet our author is uncertain on the extent and manner of this very process, and occasionally makes suggestions only to withdraw them again or to modify their first clear significance. *Thirdly*, Dr. Gardner is perfectly and most refreshingly sure that Christian experience is real. The concurrent testimony of the saints of all kinds and many races and nineteen centuries must not be despised as delusive. This inspiration of Christ, this communion with God, this change of heart, this pulsing sense of immortality, this is all objectively practical and subjectively universal. And our system of doctrine must be one which explains and furthers this experience. ("The facts themselves are above dispute;" *cf.* the whole fine passage, pp. 360-62.)

Why, then, does Dr. Gardner take all this trouble to transform the great doctrines? What does he read out of them, ere he begins his *Umgestaltung*? Bluntly, it is miracle. In his restatement of the rise of the church (chap. 23, "The Crisis of Christianity," and elsewhere) Dr. Gardner shows that the main difficulty in the way of the "objective" historian is the presence of miraculous narratives in the New Testament. No writer is known to the present reviewer who occupies Dr. Gardner's standpoint and yet states the *crisis* so faithfully and objectively as he. The complete change in the apostles, the unexpectedness of the change, the exaltation, moral value, and spiritual insight of the men who underwent it, are described with plain and cumulative force (pp. 289-96). "The movement which began with the nativity did not cease at the crucifixion, but was only then raised to a higher level of life" (p. 297). Our author cannot account for the change; it must, so far as he can see, remain an unsolved mystery. He is very frank and faithful about it. "In my opinion, the open grave offers us a problem which objective history can never solve" (p. 258). "The continued presence of Christ with the disciples was an experience, and what one desiderates is merely the most reasonable explanation of the fact" (p. 261). There is one explanation which solves this and many more of our author's problems—in fact, these arise from his determined rejection of that—an explanation which is, however, rejected absolutely, because it is the miracle of the resurrection. Dr. Gardner's real objection to it is, he says, its "radical materialism," as if it is materialism to believe that the divine Spirit subdued and used physical forces for its own ends; strange that the materialists should now be those who believe that Christ was raised

from the dead! Our choice is now seen to be between a permanent mystery at the "crisis of Christianity"—and of all history—and the miracle of the resurrection; yet the acceptance of the latter would unravel the tangle into which all the threads of apostolic experience must and do fall without it. It is a great merit of Dr. Gardner's that he does not shrink from stating the alternative fairly before making his choice; he prefers the mystery to the miracle. And yet, in truth, why should they be named thus? For is not a miracle just a mystery? What more is it? Is not this *permanent* mystery of Dr. Gardner's at the "crisis of Christianity," for that reason and after all, a real miracle, a bit of God's work which ordinary standards cannot explain? Exchange the names and choose again!

W. DOUGLAS MACKENZIE.

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

MAN AND HIS DIVINE FATHER. By JOHN C. C. CLARKE, D.D.
Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1900. Pp. 364. \$1.50.

THE first part of this work is constructive. Its chief merit is its emphasis of concrete consciousness as the first datum of philosophy, and of personality as its regulative category at every stage. Upon this datum and under this category the author gives a summary account of the human person, the divine person, and the relations between the two. He occupies the Christian theologian's point of view, and the outcome of his general position is not far removed from that of Orr's *Christian View of God and the World*. He strongly emphasizes the duty of the philosopher, when constructing a system, to take account of all the elements of active, many-sided, conscious experience, and the duty of the Christian philosopher to embrace among his psychological and historical data the special facts of the Christian religion, including those which bear on sin and redemption.

The method of his philosophy he calls conductive. In fact, it seems to consist, under the impulse of a schematic tendency, in adding on at each new stage of investigation the appropriate elements in an already accepted system of results. He does avoid the deductive method of genuine analysis and the inductive method of generalized fact, but in so doing he avoids the path of rigid logical confirmation which at the outset he claims to follow. His system is a reflection of traditional theological views, with the addition of enough psychology to suit his purpose. As a summary the work is valuable, and many of its statements are very fertile in suggestion. His love of the

schematic shows itself especially in an elaborate table of categories which reads like a page of Illumination literature.

The second and larger part of the work is historical, and deals with the "philosophy" of the Old Testament, of Philo, and of the New Testament. The author traces through this line the development of the Christian *Weltanschauung*, of which the first part of the work is a summary. In his treatment of Scripture he shows little interest in recent critical views, and has missed the significance of biblical theology, with its study of single writings or groups of writings in historical relationship. An undue preponderance is given to the symbolic and apocalyptic elements of Scripture, but his study of these is decidedly fresh and striking. The study of Philo is less one-sided, and is perhaps the most useful part of the book.

A florid style mars the work. An index of Scripture references should have been added to the excellent subject-index.

J. FORSYTH CRAWFORD.

BEAVER DAM, WIS.

THE CHRISTIAN SALVATION. Lectures on the Work of Christ, its Appropriation and its Issues. By the late JAMES S. CANDLISH, D.D., Professor of Theology, Free Church College, Glasgow. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1900; New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. ix + 263. \$3.

PROFESSOR DENNY, who writes a prefatory note to the volume, states that the contents have been selected from a considerable mass of manuscript of Professor Candlish, covering the whole field of theology. The subjects treated are: "The Work of Christ," "The Church," "The New Life," "The Sacraments," and "The Last Things." These have been selected for several reasons, but partly because "they illustrate, more completely than most, that combination of the biblical, the historical, and the experimental which was the characteristic of all Dr. Candlish's work."

Dr. Candlish dwells chiefly on the work of Christ in making atonement and intercession. He considers in order the statements of Christ and of the New Testament writers as they bear on the doctrine of atonement, and sums them up in these words: "Christ's giving of himself up to suffering and death was on account of our sins, and on our behalf, and is the ground of our salvation." The intellectual theories which men have constructed of the doctrine he classifies as (a) subjective, or man-ward, theories; (b) objective God-ward theories;

(c) objective dualistic theories; (d) mystical theories. He finds a measure of truth in both the moral-influence and the substitutionary theories, but finds difficulties in them all. Regarding Christ's life-work and death as vicarious, he says: "Christ gives his life a ransom for sinners because he is their representative, and he is their representative because he has become the Son of man. His tie to the race is a real and living one . . . and it is by no appointment or covenant that he bears the punishment of the sins of men, but as a natural consequence of his oneness with God and man."

Dr. Candlish, of course, holds what he calls the evangelical, as distinguished from the Roman Catholic and the Erastian, views of the church. He holds that the church is one only because it is animated by one, *i. e.*, the Holy Spirit, and that the visible and invisible are but the man-ward and the God-ward aspects of the same church.

In treating of "The New Life," and also in his discussion of "The Sacraments," the author speaks of the soul as passive in regeneration, and only becoming active in repentance and faith. Possibly he regards the passivity as that of a patient under the surgeon's knife after he has sought his aid and submitted himself to him; for, as Dr. Candlish himself says: "We are not renewed by a magical process, or by mere power, but by one that deals with us as rational and free agents."

The subject of "The Sacraments" covers more pages than any other in the volume. Dr. Candlish, of course, rejects baptismal regeneration and transubstantiation and consubstantiation. His assertion that "a cleansing by washing" "has almost universally been recognized as the primary meaning of baptism" will not be "almost universally" admitted. He himself in a footnote quotes Ebrard as "maintaining that the true idea of baptism is that of dying and rising to a new life in and with Christ, and not that of washing at all;" and his statement that "the assertion that *βαπτίζω* always denotes a particular mode of washing, namely, by immersion . . . is given up by most competent scholars," will certainly not be indorsed by most competent scholars. Dr. Candlish holds to infant baptism, though he rejects many of the generally received arguments for it. He claims that "the church is essentially the same in all ages," and "the fact that the infant children of God's people were members of the Old Testament church proves that if it had been our Lord's will that they should not be members of the New Testament church, that must have been expressly declared." Hence "infants of professing Christians

receive baptism, not that they may be made holy, or dedicated to God, or admitted to the church; but because they are already holy, and members of the church visible, in virtue of being the children of believers."

The reviewer is of the opinion that the result of a thorough study of Dr. Candlish's argument for infant baptism, by one who previously had no opinions respecting it, would be the conviction that it had no scriptural support.

In his discussion of "The Last Things," or eschatology, the author makes a thorough study of the uses of the words "life" and "death" in the New Testament, observing that they mean much more than mere existence and cessation of existence. His conclusions are unfavorable to the doctrine of conditional immortality, as also to that of purgatory, and he finds no scriptural warrant for the final holiness and happiness of all men.

Dr. Candlish is a clear and candid reasoner. He states the positions of opponents and objectors clearly and fairly, and presents his own views modestly and frankly. The spirit of the whole discussion is admirable. The volume is full of valuable instruction, and is thoroughly evangelical in tone and spirit.

N. S. BURTON.

ANN ARBOR, MICH.

THE SUPREME LEADER: A Study of the Nature and Work of the Holy Spirit. By FRANCIS B. DENIO, D.D., Professor in Bangor Theological Seminary. Boston and Chicago: The Pilgrim Press, 1900. Pp. xiv + 264. \$1.25.

THIS book is a welcome addition to the too scanty literature on the subject of the Holy Spirit. It is written with the Anglo-Saxon rather than the German purpose. The author has attempted to give a clear, concise discussion of the subject as a whole, rather than to make some new scientific discovery. He has succeeded admirably in his purpose. It would be difficult to find a more clear and comprehensive survey of the doctrine in brief compass. The technical language of theology is kept in the background, so that we have a book for the layman as well as for the theologian. The scientific instinct of the author is shown in the thorough historical study which precedes the constructive portion of the work. He gives us first a careful discussion of the biblical doctrine of the Spirit. Then comes a very readable sketch of the history of the doctrine. Especially welcome is the account of the contributions

of the English Puritans to the doctrine. German historians are too apt to overlook this field. The third part of the book deals with the work and nature of the Holy Spirit, and the last part with the practical problem of the guidance of the Holy Spirit in Christian life and service. Modern theology is giving less and less attention to the problem of the absolute nature of God without reference to his relations to the world, and is seeking more and more to interpret the evidences of divine activity in the world. With this tendency Dr. Denio is in sympathy. "We need not ascend to heaven to bring the Spirit down, nor descend into the abyss to bring him up; he is nigh in Scripture, still giving it life; and, yet more, he is in all human life and relations, giving them all the power and value which they have" (Preface, p. v). The Spirit is God immanent in his universe and in the hearts of men. The book is essentially a description of the results of this divine immanence. Only seven pages are devoted to what a Kantian would call the problem of the Spirit-in-himself; and this is merely the familiar argument of the necessity of a social trinity in the Godhead in order to make love possible to God without depending on the existence of the world for an object of love. The last two studies occasionally bear the earmarks of the traditional minute theological analysis which allows the logical skeleton to become too apparent. But the discussions are sane and earnest with the warmth of a genuinely religious spirit. In these days, when the authority of the Spirit is being invoked by representatives of more or less fanatical and unbalanced movements in the religious world, so scholarly and devout a book has a field of great usefulness. It is to be hoped that it will have a wide circulation.

GERALD BIRNEY SMITH.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

CHRIST CAME AGAIN. By WILLIAM S. URMY, D.D. New York :
Eaton & Mains, 1900. Pp. 394. \$1.25.

A BOOK may have value as a symptom, quite apart from its value as a diagnosis. A certain doctrinal diathesis is indicated by the issuance from the publishing press of the largest Protestant denomination in America of a book advocating the somewhat revolutionary, though not new, theory that the second coming of Christ occurred and the millennium began at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, 70 A. D. The parousia is explained in its derivative sense, as not merely a coming, but a continued *presence*. The resurrection and the judgment

are placed at the death of the individual; and there is interesting speculation as to the "spiritual body," with approval of Mr. Joseph Cook's characteristic characterization of it as "an ethereal non-atomic enswathement of the soul." The "Man of Sin" and the Beast with the mystic number 666 are held to designate Nero; and there is advocated a rearrangement of the books of the New Testament and of Christian hymnology, creeds, and ritual in certain indicated particulars, to correspond to the theory. There is cogency in many of the arguments presented for this preteristic theory; and many difficulties found in other theories find in it a plausible explanation. Yet the impression produced by the author's treatment of dislocated fragments of Scripture is often weakened by reference to the connected text. The explanations only shift the difficulties of other theories. One interpretation is literal where another sees merely a prismatic trope, and *vice versa*. The theories simply bulge and shrink in different places. As in other theories, so in this, certain passages are made to suffer the tortures of a textual inquisition to make them say what they ought to say and to recant what they have been saying. The style is not felicitous, and the logic is sometimes lax.

AUGUSTINE S. CARMAN.

GRANVILLE, O.

PUBLIC WORSHIP. By T. HARWOOD PATTISON, Professor of Homiletics and Pastoral Theology in the Rochester Theological Seminary. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1900. Pp. 402. \$1.50.

THE substance of this book was evidently wrought out for use in the author's class-room. The directness of style thus secured greatly enhances its value; while its numerous quotations make it clear that the book is the fruit of wide and careful reading. In it the author discusses every part of public worship except the sermon; but he points out the vital relation of preaching to all other pulpit services. He rightly maintains that all these services, including the sermon, are a unit, and that none of them can be slighted without detracting from the quickening and devotional effect of the whole. He defines public worship and suggestively discusses the congregation. He contends that by wise leadership it should be brought into becoming decorum, and to a share in the worship by responsive reading and by singing. The author's suggestions concerning the administration of baptism

and the Lord's Supper and the manner of conducting the prayer-meeting are both timely and practical. In fact, his discussion covers a field too much neglected by the pastors of non-ritualistic churches.

We can hardly, however, agree with the author that, on account of the multiplication of hymn-books, the reading of hymns in the public service is no longer a utility. To read a hymn well interprets its thought and sentiment to many in the congregation, and so fits them to sing it "with the spirit" and "with the understanding also."

There seems to be in the book an excess of anecdotes, some of which from their ludicrousness are hardly congruous with the subject in hand, and some of them are somewhat worn. But, in spite of these slight blemishes, the book is an excellent one, and cannot fail to be widely read. If its suggestions are heeded, the services in many of our congregational churches will be greatly enriched and rendered vastly more impressive and useful.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

PERSONAL RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE MINISTRY AND IN MINISTERING WOMEN. By F. D. HUNTINGTON, S.T.D., LL.D., L.H.D., Bishop of Central New York. New York: Thomas Whitaker, 1900. Pp. 212. \$0.75.

In this volume there are four addresses to young men studying for the ministry and two to women engaged in Christian work. The addresses to candidates for the ministry, on "Singleness of Heart," "Spiritual Sensibility," "Self-Sacrifice," and "The Ministry of the Church a Ministry from on High," are packed with good sense and incisive thought, and are fine specimens of clear, forceful English. The main thought of the whole discussion is that downright, manly piety is the primal necessity for the work of a successful ministry. In winning men from sin to righteousness a minister's success will always be in proportion to his likeness to Jesus Christ. He must, first of all, renounce self—"self in the three forms of self-indulgence, self-will, and self-promotion." "The power to revive the dwindled energy and chilled life of the church will be in you in proportion as your own spiritual life is at once deepened and intensified." "We must *be what we teach* if we would have others follow our teaching, or even believe it." "What makes for the character of the man makes for the strength of the minister." These excerpts reveal the transcendently important thought which is luminously set forth in these addresses, a thought

which cannot be too deeply impressed on the ministry, especially since the spirit of worldliness has not only alarmingly pervaded the church, but also the ranks of the ministry itself.

The two addresses on the work of Christian women are in the same vein. They inveigh against mere mechanical and perfunctory ministrations. Such work is usually quite barren of spiritual results, either in the workers or in others. The author's purpose is to lead Christian women to do their work out of love to Christ and to those for whom Christ died. Such labor cheerfully performed, in forgetfulness of self, simply for others, will richly bless both the worker and those to whom she ministers.

Here and there we find such phrases as "holy baptism," "the grace of orders," and "sacramental grace." The New Testament mentions baptism, but not "holy" baptism; the grace of God, but neither the grace of orders nor sacramental grace.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

AN EXPOSITION OF THE GOSPELS OF THE CHURCH YEAR, on the Basis of Nebe. By PROFESSOR EDMUND JACOB WOLF, D.D. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1900. Pp. 914. \$4.50.

THE author of this book, in preparation for his life-work, studied both in this country and in Germany; and for more than a quarter of a century has been professor of New Testament exegesis and church history in the Gettysburg Theological Seminary. He has given us commentaries on the pastoral epistles and the epistle to the Hebrews. By his early study, followed by years of scholarly work, he was thoroughly fitted to write this book. It contains the exposition of fifty-nine passages of Scripture, which make up the Christian year. These passages, all found in the gospels, set forth Christ in his advent, nativity, ministry, death, resurrection, second coming, and final judgment of the race.

The author lays no claim to originality. "The true rendering is to be sought, and not a new one." His exposition of these passages is based upon Nebe's *Evangelische Perikopen*. While he takes from this great, scientific work what he approves, he also appeals to many scholarly modern exegetes, and presents his own independent views.

These expositions were first delivered to theological classes, and awakened much enthusiasm. The aim of the author was to give

to these candidates for the ministry a thorough exegetical knowledge of the passages which as pastors they would be called upon to expound in popular discourses. He taught the exegesis of these Scriptures that the young men in his classes might be able to preach effectively the pure word of God—that directly out of the gospels they might give to their congregations a “systematic and comprehensive presentation of the economy of grace.”

Following each exposition are several homiletical outlines, presenting different ways in which the thought of the passage may be wrought into popular sermons. This strikes us as the weakest part of the book. Even if the outlines were quite perfect, the use of them would be a positive injury to the preacher, making him dependent rather than independent. Strong men always spurn crutches.

At the close of the volume there is a brief, but helpful, index.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE CHRISTIAN AND CIVIC ECONOMY OF LARGE TOWNS. By THOMAS CHALMERS. Abridged and with an Introduction by Charles R. Henderson, Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900. Pp. ix + 350. \$1.25.

REPRODUCING in all essential particulars the treatise of Chalmers, this book pays a fitting tribute to the eminent Scotch divine who was in a manner a pioneer in sociological study. An ample introduction by the editor adds much to the worth of the volume, as giving the reader ready means of placing the views advocated three quarters of a century ago in juxtaposition with recent facts and theories. Points for criticism are found in Chalmers' neglect to notice important modifying considerations in connection with the Malthusian doctrine of population; in his scanty sympathy with trades unions and humble estimate of their vocation; in the narrow scope which he conceded to governmental agency in ameliorating the conditions of labor; and in his advocacy of exclusive dependence upon local and voluntary effort in rendering necessary help to the poor. On the other hand, he deserves credit for calling attention to the efficacy of minute supervision of limited necessitous districts; for emphasizing the immense advantage of a scheme which utilizes personal direction and encouragement to teach and to inspire men to help themselves, in place of leaving them sluggishly to depend upon alms; for inculcating

ideas quite in line with the institutional church and the social settlement; and for recommending that ministerial education should make account of social studies. It may also be said to the praise of Chalmers that he furnished a signal example of victorious benevolent enterprise: the way in which he wrought for the transformation of the West-Port of Edinburgh provoked the unstinted eulogy of Carlyle. As a friend of sociological thinking and achievement the editor has done well to afford this means of contact with the puissant spirit of such a man.

HENRY C. SHELDON.

BOSTON UNIVERSITY,
Boston, Mass.

THE SOCIAL MEANING OF MODERN RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN ENGLAND. Ely Lectures for 1899. By THOMAS C. HALL, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900. Pp. xv + 279. \$1.50.

THE book deals with the principal movements affecting the religious life of England since the beginning of the eighteenth century. The main topics discussed are "The Methodist Movement," "The Evangelical Party," "Radicalism and Reform," "The Broad Church Movement," and "The High Church Reaction."

In the opinion of the author, the value of the Methodist movement lay on the practical side. Wesley made a very scanty contribution to theological thinking, and Whitefield did nothing worthy of favorable notice in this field. The service of Methodism was to vital piety. It redeemed men from evil. It taught them self-control and self-discipline, and set them to work in lines of religious and benevolent activity. It thus had an immense social effect. No other agency wrought more efficaciously in the latter half of the eighteenth century. "Probably no factor, nay, no four or five factors together, may be said to have had the same social significance for the future of England's empire as the Methodist phase of the evangelical revival. . . . The movement was democratic in the very best sense of that word. It was touched with the feeling of human infirmity. It pervaded all English life before long, lifting up better ideals than the Revolution had provided, and appealing to all classes with the same warning and hope."

The evangelical party in the establishment was largely imbued with the practical earnestness of Methodism. Through its Calvinistic leanings in doctrine it was well suited to maintain a sympathetic

relation with nonconformists of Puritan antecedents. Ultimately it suffered abridgment of influence through a too anxious and narrow adherence to its circle of preferred doctrines. But it performed a highly important work in the era of transition from eighteenth-century conditions. Much of the inspiration for the energetic efforts put forth in the early decades of the nineteenth century for the amelioration of English legislation came from the evangelicals.

To radicalism, as represented by Bentham, Mill, Priestley, Owen, and others, the author attributes a useful vocation in compelling men to face social facts and to spend more thought upon them. In the broad-church leaders he recognizes a wealth of human sympathies and a hospitality for new points of view which had no inconsiderable value, at least as an offset to less genial ways of thinking. With the sacerdotalism of the high-church party he evidently cherishes very scanty sympathy, but he studies nevertheless to say a good word for the service rendered by the party in accentuating the mediatorial function of the church and giving prominence to the ideas of authority and submission. It would have done well to recognize the truth that "the church of Christ is not high-church episcopacy, but all Christ's friends who do whatsoever he has commanded them."

It cannot be said that every part of the book has a very obvious bearing upon the subject stated in the title. But the matter is everywhere interesting, and in its trend is sufficiently linked with the announced subject to afford a valuable exposition of it.

HENRY C. SHELDON.

BOSTON UNIVERSITY,
Boston, Mass.

The Light of Day. Religious Discussions and Criticisms from the Naturalist's Point of View. By John Burroughs. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1900; pp. ix + 224; \$1.50.) The author has brought together sixteen previously published essays, written for the most part twelve or fifteen years ago. They have to do with the old conflict between science and theology, a conflict more engrossing when the essays were written than now. A sentence from the preface indicates clearly the thread upon which the graceful and often eloquent sentences are strung: "I have urged the sufficiency and the universality of natural law, and that most of the mysterious lights with which our fears, our ignorance, or our superstitions have invested the subject of religion, when brought to the test of reason,

either vanish entirely or give place to the light of common day." The book is not comfortable reading to one who sets much store by theology, and yet it will be useful to theologians who wish an unvarnished statement of the extreme scientific standpoint in reference to the claims of theology. To the superficial thinker the book is a dangerous one, for in many cases the *non sequitur* is not easy to detect. The author allows to religion all that is claimed for it in uplifting and comforting mankind, and to Jesus all the noble human qualities that the most devout Christian could desire, but systems of theology receive scant courtesy.—JOHN M. COULTER.

History of Modern Philosophy in France. By Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, Maître de Conférences in the Sorbonne, Professor in the École libre des Sciences politiques. With portraits of the leading French philosophers. (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1899; pp. x + 500; \$3.) The author's intention, as stated in his preface, was to write, not a work of erudition, but a history. With the exception of a useful bibliography, prepared by the publishers especially for English readers, the book has none of the marks of a laborious scientific work; it is in marked contrast to the conception of a history of philosophy as represented by Ueberweg. It may be questioned whether it fulfils all the demands of a history; for an important element of history is the presentation of details in a continuous order of development; and though it is the author's purpose to present French philosophy as a development of Cartesianism, this purpose is not easily followed through the detailed accounts of individual philosophers. But, with this limitation, the impression made by the book is in every way pleasing. It is distinctly readable and interesting. The style, which is apparently not impaired by translation, has that ease and lucidity which seems to belong only to a Frenchman. Untechnical, yet not rhetorical, it is fitted to appeal to the general reader without offending the scholar. The spirit of the work is liberal and impartial. The author begins, as one would expect, with Descartes, and follows the movement of French philosophy down to the present time, though his treatment of contemporary authors is relatively fragmentary and unsatisfactory. In harmony with the spirit of French philosophy, which has always been relatively practical and popular, he has included in his list such "unprofessional" philosophers as Pascal, Voltaire, and Renan. His concluding chapter is an interesting analysis of the peculiar characteristic of French philosophy, which is referred to the affinity, in the

French mind, between philosophy and mathematics. Thus French philosophy has been, from Descartes onward, a "philosophy of clear ideas."—*Whence and Whither*. An Inquiry into the Nature of the Soul, Its Origin and Destiny. By Paul Carus. (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1900; pp. vi + 188; \$0.75.) This volume is one of the "Religion of Science Library." As its title indicates, it is an attempt to trace the genesis of the mind, and, on the basis of its genesis, to point out its destiny. The result is an interpretation of immortality which rests upon the conception of the unity of the race.—
WARNER FITE.

The Conception of Immortality. By Josiah Royce, Professor of the History of Philosophy at Harvard University. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.; pp. 91; \$1.) The problem of immortality, according to Professor Royce, involves fundamental questions of philosophy, and with these this book, containing his Ingersoll Lecture for 1899, is almost completely occupied. Central among them is the question of individuality. Does the individual really exist and can he be found? Having first argued that for sense-perception types only, not individuals, exist, *i. e.*, that we cannot define wherein individuality consists, and yet we stubbornly believe that we are individuals and do know individuals, he maintains that true individuality (1) belongs to an ideal world, (2) is expressed or realized in terms of will and purpose, (3) its partial realization here demands a complete fulfilment in the ideal world, (4) which will be attained in union with God, who is the ultimate will of both worlds, the unique individuality in whom imperfect individuals realize themselves and others. The argument is attractive and stimulating; the outcome hopeful and inspiring. We firmly believe that the way pointed out by Professor Royce leads in the direction he suggests so persuasively; whether its goal is immortality in any real sense is not so clear. The cord that binds us to the higher life is woven of many strands. This lecture surely indicates one.—G. S. GOODSPEED.

Studies in Eastern Religions. By Alfred S. Geden, M.A. (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1900; pp. xiii + 378; 3s. 6d.) Mr. Geden's earlier work in this series of "Books for Bible Students," entitled *Studies in Comparative Religion*, dealt with ancient oriental faiths, such as those of Assyria and Babylonia, Zoroastrianism, and Mohammedanism. The present volume is concerned with those religions which have

India for their origin or their home. The subject is vast and complex, and Mr. Geden with becoming modesty recognizes the difficulty of dealing adequately with the theme in a book so limited in extent and intended for popular reading. He has succeeded admirably, considering the plan which he has adopted, which may be called the descriptive as distinguished from the logical or historical. The book is in the style of Monier Williams' well-known treatises, but in its arrangement and clearness of discussion is a distinct advance upon those learned, but discursive and tantalizing, volumes. He gives a vast amount of information clearly arranged and digested. He is accurate in his facts and sympathetic in his treatment. First "Brahmanism and Hinduism," then "Buddhism," finally "Jainism," is the order of handling. Good references are given, and an ample index is provided. The author knows the best authorities, and presents the results of the latest and most trustworthy scholarship. It seems to us that such a method is not so helpful as one which endeavors, however faultily and audaciously, to give the reader a conception of the historical development of Indian religions as a whole and emphasizes the underlying elements of unity. Not that Mr. Geden does not do this to some extent, but essentially his mode of discussion is something different. His book cannot help being a little dry and tedious for the lack of a genial philosophical groundwork, even though it might therewith have been liable to the charge of being theoretical.—*Life of Lal Behari Day*. By G. Macpherson, M.A. With an Introduction by Thomas Smith, D.D. (New York: imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900; pp. xx + 148; \$2.) An East Indian "convert, pastor, professor, and author" is sympathetically pictured in this modest volume. He was one of the fruits of that remarkable combination of educational and Christian effort established and carried on by Dr. Duff, about the wisdom of which there has been so much controversy. The purity and earnestness of the Christian life which Lal Behari exhibited and his vigorous advocacy of the essential principles of the gospel at all times contributed materially to the progress of Christianity in India. If one gets the impression that he was not free from a pardonable vanity or that he was unable to continue long in one sphere of Christian activity, it will be a testimony to the candor of the biographer and the possibility of weaknesses even in sanctified souls, whether in America or India.—*Açvaghosha's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahâyâna*. Translated by Teitaro Suzuki. (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1900; pp. xiv + 160; \$1.25, net.) The discourse, translated for the first time from the Chinese,

is preceded by a preface from Dr. Carus and forty-five pages of introduction by the translator. Aṣvaghosha was one of the great philosophers and teachers of the Mahayana, or later speculative and modified Buddhism, which sprang up in Kashmir, and spread throughout Thibet, China, and Japan. This treatise is valuable because it is the pioneer in formulating the doctrine of faith so prominent in later Japanese Buddhist sects. It is not easy reading after all that the translator has done to facilitate our apprehension of it, but it is worthy of study and a welcome addition to the not very abundant stock of Mahayana texts from the Chinese.—*Dionysus and Immortality: The Greek Faith in Immortality as Affected by the Use of Individualism*. By Benjamin Ide Wheeler. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1899; pp. 67; \$1.) This beautifully printed little volume contains the Ingersoll Lecture delivered at Harvard University in 1898-9. President Wheeler is an accomplished Grecian and master of a charming English style—a combination which insures delight and profit to the reader. The subject is new and fascinating: the rise of a new religion which centered in the cult of the god Dionysus, its spread throughout Greece in the sixth and fifth centuries, and the feelings and thoughts which it brought in its train, particularly the ideas of immortality which it encouraged. The steps in the discussion are (1) the primal Greek religion concerned with the cult of ancestors, (2) the Homeric transformation of this, (3) the new conception of individualism stirred by the commercial expansion of the eighth century, (4) the revival of the old cults and their refinement under the new conditions, (5) the culmination of all in the mysteries and the Dionysus worship whose central thought, or rather feeling, is that of personal and glad relation to the life beyond, *i. e.*, the germ of a doctrine of blessed immortality. With the possible exception of the great prominence given by the author to ancestor-worship as the primitive Greek religion, one can agree heartily with this lucid discussion.—*Muhammed's Lehre von der Offenbarung quellenmässig untersucht*. Von Dr. Otto Pautz. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1898; pp. vii + 304.) The claim of the author to have investigated this subject from the sources is well substantiated by the contents of his work. Nowhere can one obtain more easily the sum of the Quranic passages bearing on the prophet's doctrine of revelation. Indeed, there is much given that has but a remote bearing upon that subject, but German thoroughness must have its way. Dr. Pautz takes up first Mohammed himself as the recipient of a revelation. Mohammed

was sincere in his belief in this regard, was not an epileptic, but hysterical, was subject to hallucinations and dreams, elevated by him into the sources of his revelation. He regarded himself as on a different plane from the prophets of his time, yet was much influenced by their methods. Then follows a discussion of Mohammed's conception of revelation in its essential character. It is occasioned by the sinfulness of man, who needs divine guidance for his salvation; this divine guidance is by revelation; it is the Quran, as made known to Mohammed; it is designed for all the world. It was prepared for in previous revelations, which are completed in it. The prophet hoped sincerely to bring Christians and Jews to recognize this truth. Since they disbelieved, he finally took a hostile attitude toward them. The third section deals with the contents of the revelation, which leads the author to outline a Quranic theology. In the fourth section the media of the revelation are given special treatment. The prophets of old, according to the author, were recognized by Mohammed as conveying divine truth, which he incorporated into the Quran, not as a conscious borrower, but as receiving their messages anew from God. Miracles and earthly punishments as conceived of by the prophet in the light of revelation are treated in this section. From this sketch of the contents of the volume it will be seen how much more Dr. Pautz includes under the doctrine of revelation than most theologians would recognize as belonging to it. Indeed, the handling of special points, like that of predestination in his second part, is quite unnecessary. One has to read too much to get at the heart of the matter. The book really touches on about everything bearing on Mohammed and his teaching. Nor can one say that it materially advances our knowledge along these lines. It is simply an admirable collection and discussion of materials which one would have to run through a number of larger works to gather up. As such, it is very acceptable, while it certainly should not be taken as sole authority on any of the points which it discusses.—G. S. GOODSPEED.

Die Echtheit der Bil'amsprüche, Num. 22-24, von Lic. theol. Franz Wobersin (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1900; pp. 80; M. 1.20), is one of the marks of the reactionary movement in Germany against the radical biblical criticism, especially of the Pentateuch. The theme is discussed under two general heads: (1) the philologico-historical points, and (2) the biblico-theological issues. Each head is systematically subdivided, and the author enters into the details of the treatments of

Numb., chaps. 22-24, by many modern scholars, especially by Wellhausen, Dillmann, Kittel, Kuenen, and Cornill. His conclusions throughout on the different points under discussion are stiffly conservative. He finds no real grounds for the assumption of different sources in the Balaam account. And the unity of this record in which the Balaam poems appear is not disturbed by any philological investigation. The language gives the impression of unity, and the linguistic difficulties are not due to different sources, but rather to a faulty text, or to the obscurity of thought because of its great age. The contents are a unit; the first poem is related to the last, as a little stream to the great river that flows into the ocean (p. 47). Balaam, though a thorough heathen, was used of God as an organ of revelation to Israel. Moses took note of the narrative of Balaam and of his poems, and so they became known to Israel and are preserved for us. All the theological ideas of these poems are genuinely biblical and fit into the picture of Old Testament theology. These poems give us a perspective of the history of the world and of the kingdom of righteousness.—*Allgemeine Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, von Lic. Dr. Carl Steuernagel (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900; pp. 249-86; M. 1), is a supplement to the author's commentaries that appeared in the Nowack series on Deuteronomy (1898) and Joshua (1899). In its thirty-six pages the author discusses (1) the Pentateuch and Hexateuch in general, (2) the tradition concerning the author of the Hexateuch and its value, (3) the necessity and possibility of distinguishing in the Pentateuch (Hexateuch) different coöperating authors, (4) the most important phases of the history of Hexateuch criticism, (5) the establishment of the newer document-hypothesis, (6) the individual original strata, (7) the combination of the sources or the editing of the Hexateuch. The author's conclusion, or solution of the problem presented by the Hexateuch, is not found solely in the so-called document-hypothesis. But a profound study of the four chief documents, commonly recognized in the Hexateuch, teaches that both the fragment- and the enlargement-hypothesis must be recognized, and that through them the document-hypothesis must be modified. While as a whole the document-hypothesis solves the problem, it is held that individual problems must find their solution in one of the three above-named hypotheses.—IRA M. PRICE.

The Jonah Legend: a Suggestion of Interpretation. By William Simpson. (London: Grant Richards, 1899; pp. 182; 7s. 6d.) Mr. Simpson's theory may be stated in his own words as follows:

Let it be granted that the story of Jonah is an initiatory legend, then all becomes simple and can be easily explained. The neophyte—not Jonah himself, the prophet is only the eponymous hero of the legend—would be assumed to have received orders to proceed to Nineveh, a great city—typical, like Babylon or Egypt, and noted, like all great cities, for the evil going on in it; but he is supposed to disobey the command, and takes a ship bound for Tarshish. This disobedience leads to the storm, which is followed by the initiate being lowered into the pit; and the pit is known as the “fish,” but it is also known as “Sheol” or the “grave,” implying that the initiate was assumed to be dead; but after the allotted time he is brought up again and restored to life, when he declares: “Salvation is of the Lord.”

It is easy to see that a good deal of weight is laid on the words of the song which Jonah sings on escaping from the fish. If, as is generally agreed, this is merely a temple psalm inserted in the book because of the supposed fitness of some of its phrases to the situation of the prophet, a good deal of Mr. Simpson's argument falls to the ground. However, as he calls it a “suggestion” rather than a well-developed theory, we should not be too hard on it, although to write a book for the presentation of a mere “suggestion” is putting the good nature of busy scholars to a severe test. By all means the most valuable element in the book, and constituting its more permanent part, is the collection of materials bearing on initiatory ceremonies in all parts of the world.—G. S. GOODSPEED.

Der Psalm Nahum (Nahum I), kritisch untersucht von Dr. Otto Happel (Würzburg: Andreas Göbel, 1900; pp. 34; M. o.80), is an investigation especially of results of the criticism of Nahum, chap. 1, by Frohnmeyer, Bickell (G.), and Gunkel. Happel reaches much more moderate and rational conclusions than either Bickell or Gunkel. He advocates in a word the following changes: (1) the erasure in vs. 2b of two words shown by the Alex., Vat., and Sinai codices to be dittography; of 10b (variants); of 12b, c to be emended after the LXX, whereby an *Aleph* and a *Nun* are to be erased, a *Waw* to be supplied, and *Ken* to be transferred from 12b to 12d; and 13a is to be erased; (2) to be supplied: one word in 7a after the LXX, through which 7a is divided into two lines; a *Waw* in 10c, and probably a word in 7c (b). A few unimportant changes and transfers conclude his treatise. A tabular arrangement of his results easily puts the whole matter before the eyes of the reader.—*Der Kanon des Alten Testaments*; ein Abriss von D. Karl Budde (Giessen: J. Ricker, 1900; pp. 80; M. 1.40), is practically a Germanized reproduction of the author's article on the “Canon of the Old Testament” in

Cheyne-Black's *Encyclopædia Biblica*. The methods and limits of discussion are the same, with the added advantage for this booklet that details, such as examples and references, are given in confirmation of the positions taken. The last twenty pages contain an admirable statement of the regard in which the several contested books of the Old Testament were held by leading writers in the times of Christ and among the early church fathers. This compact little volume is a valuable, scholarly, yet popular presentation of the best material on the Old Testament canon. — *Amos: An Essay in Exegesis*. By H. G. Mitchell, Professor in Boston University. Revised edition. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1900; pp. 215; \$1.50.) The first edition of this work appeared in 1893 as a private publication. Its deserved popularity exhausted that edition, and the author now issues it in this revised form. Its practically unchanged character precludes the necessity of any detailed examination. One notable modification is evident in its pages (*cf.* pp. 54 ff.). The author since 1893 has been "forced by the evidence" to assign Joel and Obadiah to a post-exilic period. This change of view has modified his former statements regarding these books. Two pages of addenda, containing additional notes, complete this edition of a good popular commentary on Amos.—IRA M. PRICE.

A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament. By the late Edwin Hatch, M.A., D.D., and Henry A. Redpath, M.A. *Supplement*. By Henry A. Redpath. Fasciculus I, containing a Concordance to the Proper Names occurring in the Septuagint. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900; pp. 162; 16s.) This first instalment of the supplementary volume to that monumental work, Hatch and Redpath's *Concordance to the Septuagint*, while, of course, inferior in interest and value to the main work, is yet a most valuable addition to it. One interesting characteristic of the LXX is reflected in what appears, even in glancing through these pages, the very frequent occurrence of the phrases "aliter in Heb." and "abest in Heb.," being in itself a revelation of the character of the LXX translation. The announcement of the contents of the concluding portion of this supplement, including an index to the Hebrew of the whole work, indicates that it will very greatly add to the value of the work as a whole.—ERNEST D. BURTON.

Der Prophet Esra. Uebersetzt von Hermann Gunkel. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1900; pp. xxxii + 100; M. 2.) In a lengthy

introduction the author describes the fate of the apocalyptic literature of the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem, maintaining that it would undoubtedly have wholly perished, if it had not already gained some footing in the early Christian churches. From the eastern churches this literature was subsequently banished by the speculative spirit of Greek philosophy, but in the Latin, Syriac, Armenian, and Coptic churches it lived longer. This, the author thinks, is the reason why the "Prophet Esra," more familiarly known as "IV Esra," has come down to us in a Latin, Syriac, Arabian, and Armenian translation, while both the Greek version and the Hebrew original have perished. In the introduction to his translation Gunkel also gives us the key by means of which the apocalyptic signs and visions in the book may be interpreted. As is the case with other apocalypses, this key is found in contemporaneous Jewish history. On the merits of the translation the reviewer does not presume to express an opinion, further than to say that the German of it is clear enough, if only the symbolic language were at all times intelligible; but such cloudiness seems to be a necessary part of a Jewish apocalypse. The subject-matter of the book naturally falls into seven chapters of unequal length, and the translator has placed his readers under obligation by setting off the main thoughts of the book under appropriate headings, thus making the reading easier than it otherwise would be. He has also added thirty pages of critical and explanatory notes, a great many of which are of considerable value.—ALBERT J. RAMAKER.

Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. By Rev. Herbert G. Miller, M.A. (London: Skeffington & Son, 1899; pp. 352; 12s.) We are compelled to say that, of all the commentaries on this wonderful epistle with which we are acquainted, this is about the worst. It is unfortunate that it professes to be, not only critical, but minutely critical; whereas it is marked by inaccurate scholarship, and by an artificial, petty, and fanciful exegesis which entitles it to a rank among curiosities. The style is diffuse and sometimes clumsy, and there is a good deal of the homiletical element intermixed with the exegetical. It would be easy to substantiate these statements with numerous illustrations, but we forbear. There is no topical index, no table of Scripture passages, and no catalogue of sources and authors.—MARVIN R. VINCENT.

Kirchliche Fälschungen. IV: "Jesus, Sohn Davids, König der Juden, Hoherpriester und Gott; Gesalbter (Maschiasch, Christos); später

Sohn des Heiligen Geistes und der Jungfrau." V: "Die Himmelfahrt Jesu." Von Friedrich Thudichum, Professor des Kirchenrechts an der Universität Tübingen. (Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1900; pp. 133; M. 2.) The aim of this book is to show that the two accounts in the New Testament of the descent of Jesus—the one, that he was a descendant of David; the other, that he had no human father, but was conceived by the Holy Ghost—are both inventions of the "priest party," the former dating from about the middle of the third century, and the second from the fourth. A considerable part of the book is occupied with a criticism of the narratives of the birth and childhood of Jesus, and of the hearings before Pilate, the Jewish council, and Herod, with the purpose of showing their inconsistencies. The conclusion reached is that all the passages relating to the birth of Jesus and reporting his declaration at the trial that he was king of the Jews and Son of God are *Fälschungen* of the third and fourth centuries. References to these narratives in writings composed prior to these dates, *e. g.*, Justin and Irenæus, render such writings subject to classification as forgeries. In Part V the ascension is treated in a similar manner, with the conclusion that, since the greater part of the New Testament is silent about this event, the three passages in which it is mentioned are forgeries of a later time. In view of the fact that Professor Thudichum furnishes no proof of these assumed forgeries, the small space assigned for this review is ample.—ORELLO CONE.

Das Recht im Neuen Testament. Rede beim Antritt des Rektorats der Friedrich-Wilhelm-Universität zu Bonn am 18. Oktober 1899 gehalten. Von Dr. Friedrich Sieffert. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900; pp. 24; M. 0.60.) In this address Professor Sieffert briefly traces the relation of the Sadducees and Pharisees, Jesus, Paul, and the other New Testament writers to political law. Their various references to legal matters as well as their positive teachings are considered comprehensively, with the conclusion that "the essential element of the church is to be sought, not in its legal forms, but in its inner, religio-ethical life." The address adds nothing to our general knowledge, but introduces one admirably to the entire field to be covered by any investigation of its subject.—SHAILER MATHEWS.

The Mode of Christian Baptism. By Rev. M. M. Smith. (Nashville, Tenn.: The Cumberland Press, 1899; pp. 147; \$0.50.) This book is an argument against the practice of immersion as baptism. We regret to

say that it cannot be commended to those who desire to see what can be fairly said on this side of the case. A writer who can find in the passage from Josephus, *Ant.*, 4, 4, 6, τοὺς οὖν ἀπὸ νεκροῦ μεμιασμένους τῆς τέφρας ὀλίγον εἰς πηγὴν ἐνιάντες καὶ ὕσσωπον βαπτίσαντές τε καὶ τῆς τέφρας ταύτης εἰς πηγὴν ἄρραινον, an evidence that βαπτίζω means to sprinkle "so plain that its force must be felt even by the most rigid immersionist" (pp. 23 f.), and can fill his pages with other arguments of similar character, demonstrates his incapacity for philological argument.—ERNEST D. BURTON.

Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands. Von Dr. Albert Hauck, Professor in Leipzig. Zweiter Teil: Die Karolingerzeit. Zweite Auflage, 1. und 2. Hälfte. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899; pp. 842 + ix; M. 7.50.) The great work of Dr. Hauck on the church history of Germany has already been noticed in this JOURNAL, Vol. I, p. 1065, and in its second edition in Vol. IV, p. 190. That the distinguished author would make constant additions and variations, thus bringing his monumental work nearer and nearer to perfection, was to be expected. In the two parts before us we have many additions which contribute very much to the excellence of the book. The reader will be most impressed with the enlargement of the footnotes, containing more extended observations and many new and old sources of information, which will be found on almost every page. The work is thus greatly enriched, and the reader is put in a position more than ever to follow out the author's suggestions and test his conclusions. A good example of these changes is found in 1. Hälfte, p. 71, where he omits the reference to his own article on Constantine, published in the second edition of the *Prot. Realencyklopädie*, Vol. VIII, p. 794 (a doubtful omission) and adds Dopffel's *Kaisertum und Papstwechsel*, Duchesne in the *Revue d'histoire et de litt. relig.*, and Ketterer's *Karl der Grosse und die Kirche*. But there are also considerable additions to the text, as in 1. Hälfte, pp. 203-5, an entire paragraph is added which throws much new light on *Karl's kirchliches Regiment*. With these numerous improvements the second edition of the church history of Germany will occupy an even higher place than the first in the estimation of historians.—J. W. MONCRIEF.

S. Bernardino da Siena a Verona ed Una Sua Predica Volgare Inedita. Da D. A. Spagnolo, M.E. (Verona, 1900; pp. 38.) This little contribution by the scholarly, genial, indefatigable friend to

scholars, the librarian of the Capitolare biblioteca in Verona, includes the text of a hitherto unpublished sermon of St. Bernardino in Italian, together with an admirable historical introduction, scholarly in method, thoroughly fortified with references, and exhaustive of the very special topic. It is a small, very specialized, but exhaustive and original contribution to the life of St. Bernardino, and at the same time a valuable contribution as a monument of the Italian language. Dr. Spagnolo, like the late Dr. Ezra Abbot, is better known for the often unrecognized work in collation and comparison, which goes into the works of others, than for his own publication, but what he does publish is well done.—ERNEST C. RICHARDSON.

Brenz als Katechet. Ein Beitrag zur Feier des 400-jährigen Geburtstages des schwäbischen Reformators. Von Lic. Dr. Th. Wotschke, Pastor in Gogolin. (Wittenberg: Verlag von P. Wunschmann, 1900; pp. 86; M. 1.70.) Johann Brenz, "et eruditione excellens, et egregia pietate praeditus," as Melancthon says, was a pastor whose very personality advanced Reformation principles in Halle and Stuttgart, the towns of his residence; a preacher whose eloquence is attested in the *Anecdota Brentiana* and elsewhere; and an author among whose many valuable publications (a complete edition would be a suitable recognition of his quadringenary) is the famous *Syngramma Suevicum*.

Like Luther considerate "des gemainen einfeltigen mans" and of the child, he added catechism-making to his other functions. Thus "surrendering to lowly things" he attained his highest usefulness.

Dr. Wotschke has investigated Brenz' work along this line. The result is the present monograph published in honor of the great Swabian's four-hundredth birthday. The publication is a substantial contribution to Reformation bibliography, and contains as well some interesting theological discussion arising from a comparison of the Brentian and Lutheran catechetical methods.—R. K. ECCLES.

Occam und Luther. Bemerkungen zur Geschichte des Autoritäts-princips. Von Lic. Dr. Friedr. Kropatscheck, Privatdocent der Theologie an der Universität Greifswald. (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1900; pp. 74; M. 1.) It has been maintained that Luther's teachings concerning the relations of the church to the state, the authority of magistrates, and the supremacy of the Bible over tradition, the popes, and the councils, were borrowed by him from Occam, who lived two

centuries before him. The author of this pamphlet searches the writings of Occam anew to test this criticism. He finds surface resemblances between the views of the two men on these and kindred subjects, but he finds also such essential differences as forbid us to see in Luther a disciple of Occam.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam. By Ephraim Emerton, Ph.D., Winn Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Harvard University. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899; pp. xi + 460; \$1.50.) Professor S. M. Jackson is the editor of a series on the "Heroes of the Reformation." Only by a far stretch of the imagination could he include Erasmus in the series. In a list of the biggest cowards of the sixteenth century Erasmus would certainly stand at the head. He was doubtless the most brilliant and polished scholar of his age, but at his best he had only a sneaking sympathy with the Reformers, and at his worst he was an arrant poltroon. It is a talented, scholarly, learned, versatile, sensitive, conceited, grumbling, cowardly, unlovable man that Professor Emerton has tried to introduce to his readers. He has set himself no easy task, for his "hero" was a bundle of contradictions, inconsistencies, pettinesses, trivialities, sinuosities. How can one be certain of his ground when he is dealing with such a singular compound of wisdom and deceit—a craven, evasive character, who, when self is concerned, seems incapable of telling the truth? Perhaps it is a high enough meed of praise to say that Professor Emerton has given us the most "complete and satisfactory life of Erasmus" that has yet been written. His critical spirit and method guard him against taking the word of Erasmus at its face value, and constrain him "in each case to weigh the value of the text with the fullest reference to all the circumstances." He has thus avoided numerous errors into which other biographers have fallen.—ERI B. HULBERT.

Der Johanniter- und der Deutsche Orden im Kampfe Ludwigs des Bayern mit der Kurie. Von Julius von Pflugk-Harttung. (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1900; pp. xii + 261; M. 6.) Being himself a member of the order of the Knights of St. John, Herr von Pflugk-Harttung, already well known for his historical investigations, has naturally made his order the object of his studies, and has published a number of interesting papers and studies in the history of the order. In his latest work he has gone farther afield and added the German Order to his field of investigation. He has sought to determine the policy of these two

orders during the struggle which Ludwig the Bavarian waged with the pope. Incidentally he has given us a good deal of information about the orders and their condition in the fourteenth century. The question at issue between papacy and empire was political, involving (1) the political supremacy in the empire, and (2) the theories of state and church on which this political supremacy was based. The author gives a good analysis of the forces and resources of each of the contestants. Then follows a brief history of the origin and growth of the orders, with an account of their organization. The Knights of St. John on the continent were essentially French, and although the order flourished in Germany, it never became identified with the country or the people. Being thus detached from both nation and emperor, the members of the order, with few exceptions, remained neutral, and supported neither pope nor emperor. With the German Order the case was quite different. Opposed and abused in the Orient (1) because they were a rival of the Templars and of the Knights of St. John, and (2) because they were Germans (for the Germans were never popular with the crusaders), it was only natural that they should come to look upon themselves as the standard-bearers of their nation and of their nationality. Out of feelings of patriotism they could be counted on to support their king in a struggle with a foreign power. The studies of our author all show that this was the case. The German Order supported Ludwig, aiding him in word and in deed. The emperor well repaid them, bestowing on them many valuable gifts and privileges.—OLIVER J. THATCHER.

A History of Lutheran Missions. By Preston A. Laury. (Reading, Pa., and New York: Pilger Publishing House, 1899; pp. 266; \$1.25.) The notion that modern missions began with William Carey will be dissipated by reading the accounts in this volume of Lutheran missions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Nobler missionaries never labored in India than the long line of precursors of Carey from Ziegenbalg to Schwartz. The preparations for the modern missionary movement were made in the Reformation period, and since that time a growing interest in the heathen world has characterized the Protestant church. The part the Lutherans have taken in this work of evangelization is succinctly described in Mr. Laury's volume.—ERI B. HULBERT.

Joseph Glanvill: A Study in English Thought and Letters of the Seventeenth Century. By Ferris Greenslet, Ph.D., Fellow in English in

Columbia University. (New York: The Columbia University Press; The Macmillan Co., Agents, 1900; pp. xi + 235; \$1.50.) Joseph Glanvill, recalled more often in modern days as the author of a famous book in defense of the belief in witchcraft and allied psychic phenomena, and known, by name at least, to the readers of Poe and of Matthew Arnold's *Scholar Gypsy*, was quite as famous in his own time as Anglican preacher, member of the newly founded Royal Society, and philosopher at large. This monograph is a study of his career and writings, and an attempt to vindicate for Glanvill a substantial place in the history of seventeenth-century English philosophy and theology. Incidentally the Cambridge Platonists, with which group Glanvill was closely allied, are studied in some detail, the history of the contemporary belief in witchcraft and of Glanvill's contributions to it is sketched, and a study of Glanvill's position in the history of English prose style is appended.

The volume is a creditable monograph on a subject very little worked, and will prove useful to the students of the thought of this period. Some day doubtless we shall have the much-needed full history of English thought in the seventeenth century, corresponding to Leslie Stephen's *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, and when that is written the only philosophers included will not be Bacon, Hobbes, and Locke. This work is a descriptive and expository essay, rather than an attempt at original criticism, and we are treated rather to scraps of philosophy than a full feast. The essay is well planned, but not always absolutely coherent in its minor parts. It is doubtful whether one ought to undertake a study of this sort without seeing all of the material, as Dr. Greenslet very honestly confesses he has not been able to do. We think that the author's account (p. 148) of the "universal" Elizabethan belief in witchcraft is a trifle exaggerated. At p. 22, l. 14, should we not read "monuments" for "movements"? An obvious misprint occurs also at p. 178.—F. I. CARPENTER.

Undercurrents of Church Life in the Eighteenth Century. Edited by Rev. T. T. Carter, M.A. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1899; pp. ix + 222; \$1.75.) The editor is Mr. Carter, but the writer is a woman whose identity is concealed. She is a sentimental religionist who has a well-nigh idolatrous veneration for that faction in the Church of England which clung to the fortunes of the Roman Catholic James II. and his heirs. In the

eighteenth century the broad- and the high-church parties were in the ascendant, and hence, since the high-church party was proscribed, the true church life necessarily ran in undercurrents. In spite of the severest measures of suppression, high-church men still clung to Jacobitism, Toryism, the divine right of episcopacy, the oblation in the eucharist, the unction of the sick, the middle state of separated souls, and all the other ideas of primitive Catholicism. This orthodox and Catholic remnant at last found its triumph and reward in the precious and glorious revival of the ancient faith and practice of the church through the consecrated labors of Newman, Keble, Pusey, and the other Oxford reformers. At the end of the century this little band of true Catholics was at the lowest ebb—"zeal abandoned to the Methodists, personal religion to the Evangelicals, sacramental life to the Romanists"—but early in the new century were born those men who were destined to bring about the Catholic revival, and through whose heroic and saintly labors we today live under the pure and blessed gospel of the New Testament and the primitive Fathers—especially the latter.

These pages exhibit in an interesting, almost fascinating, way the workings of a mind wholly devoted to Anglican sacerdotalism. The author traces the fortunes of the non-jurors in the eighteenth century, because these men were the precursors and harbingers of the Oxford revivalists of the nineteenth century who have leavened the Church of England with so-called Catholic sentiments.—ERI B. HULBERT.

Thomas Guthrie. By Oliphant Smeaton. "Famous Scots" series. (New York: imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900; pp. 160; \$0.75.) In this small volume our author gives a clear and interesting account of a great preacher, pastor, philanthropist, and reformer. Dr. Guthrie was an able and many-sided man. He was successful in multifarious spheres of activity. In his country parish at Arbirlot he promoted both the spiritual and material interests of his congregation. He even established for them a savings bank. Later at St. John's Church in Edinburgh he proved himself to be a mighty preacher, while with rare assiduity and self-sacrifice he carried by personal ministrations the gospel into the haunts of vice and the homes of wretchedness. He was among the bravest of the brave in the disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843. Through his personal efforts a great sum of money was raised to build manses for the free churches. He became

a teetotaler, and agitated the subject of temperance whenever opportunity offered. He took up the work of "ragged schools," in which both the bodies and souls of the poor were cared for. And when his voice failed him, he still continued to use his pen, and became the popular and successful editor of the *Sunday Magazine*. His life is full of valuable lessons for the preacher, pastor, and sociologist. And this small volume, which the busiest can read, attractively presents the whole career of Dr. Guthrie, who was in the highest and best sense truly great.—GALUSHA ANDERSON.

A Short History of the Free Churches. By Rev. J. A. Houlder. (London: R. D. Dickinson, 1899; pp. xiii + 240; 2s. 6d.) This little volume covers the history of the growth of religious freedom from 1366 to our own times, or 1898. The sketch is brief but painstaking, and it will prove useful to all who wish to acquaint themselves with the leading facts of free-church history.—J. W. MONCRIEF.

Die heilige Taufe und der Taufschatz in deutschem Glauben und Recht, in der Sitte des Volks und der Kirche, in deutscher Sage und Dichtung. Von Dr. A. Freybe. (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1900; pp. xii + 302; M. 4.20.) The task the author of this book has set for himself is a difficult one because of its vastness; he endeavors to show the position Christian baptism has held in the religious faith, laws, customs, liturgy, sagas, and literature of the German people from the time of their acceptance of Christianity to the present day. Notwithstanding the vastness of the subject, he has succeeded in writing a very interesting book. Objection might be made to his treatment of baptism in the apostolic churches, in that he here falls into the all too common blunder of reading the sacramental ideas of the second and subsequent centuries into the time of Jesus and his disciples. This he does in the opening chapter of the book, and once again this conception of the meaning of Christian baptism appears in chap. x, where he deems it necessary to make an application to present-day tendencies. In its historical references the book is a veritable treasure-house of facts carefully gathered and admirably grouped. He gives us the references to Christian baptism in German poetry from the *Heliand* to the Reformation, including the folk-songs and the saga of the golden cradle. He shows how the penalty for the refusal to submit to baptism came to be incorporated with civil law, and how the German people came to believe in the absolute necessity of baptism for their

infants. The book is rich in its description of baptismal ceremonies and feasts; it touches upon the different modes of baptism and the changes that were made necessary by the gradual disappearance of immersion. A most interesting chapter of the book is the one in which the author treats of the hymns German Protestant Christianity has produced on the subject of baptism — interesting on account of the very large number of such hymns and the sacramental views which they express.—*Die Dormitio und das deutsche Grundstück auf dem traditionellen Zion.* Von Dr. theol. Carl Mommert. (Leipzig: E. Haberland, 1899; pp. 132; M. 3.) This book gives a detailed description of the plot of ground which the German emperor, in the fall of 1898, during his brief visit to the Holy Land, presented to the "Deutscher Verein im heiligen Lande," as representing the German Catholics of the German empire. The land in question is irregular in its boundaries; lying just south of the house of Caiaphas and the old American cemetery, east of the Greek cemetery, and north of the well-known Moslem monastery in which, among other things, the grave of David is shown. Because of its proximity to the latter place, this land would probably never have come into possession of Christians, had it not been for this fortuitous visit of the German emperor. Its present name, Dormitio, is derived from the tradition, according to which the house of Mary, the mother of Jesus, stood at this place, and in which she is also said to have died. Dr. Mommert's book begins with a short history of the gift, notes some of the correspondence that has passed between the German emperor and the high dignitaries of the Roman church in reference to it, and has an account of the imposing public exercises which took place on the day the German emperor took possession of the property. The main part of the book is, however, devoted to a very full and learned discussion of the intricate question as to whether Mary died at Ephesus or Jerusalem. The author decides for the latter place, although he does not maintain that the house in which Mary died stood on the spot which now has become the property of the German Catholics. There is a vast amount of tradition and some historical material on the subject, and all this the author examines with commendable patience. He also shows an intimate acquaintance with the topography of the present city, and has a firm grasp on the literature of the many holy places in this city of traditions.—ALBERT J. RAMAKER.

Recollections of a Missionary in the Great West. By Cyrus Townsend Brady. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900; pp. 200; \$1.25.)

This is one of the most readable of recently published books. The frequent quotations made from it during its appearance as a serial in a monthly magazine and since indicate the prompt recognition of its worth as an intensely human book. It is characteristically western. Some of the expressions quoted in the stories are possibly objectionable from the standpoint of good taste, and yet the faithfulness to actual life makes the "recollections" interesting and valuable. Mr. Brady, as an archdeacon in the Episcopal church, certainly had his share of the hardships of life in a new country; he witnessed many pathetic scenes, and evidently accomplished much good. Unlike most books of such recollections, however, this one pays less attention to the results of the missionary labors than to the humorous side of the life of a pioneer churchman. — F. W. SHEPARDSON.

L'Année de l'Église, 1899. Par Ch. Égremont. Deuxième année. (Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1900; pp. 664; fr. 3.50.) This is a very thoroughgoing review of the condition of the Roman Catholic church in all countries for 1899. The point of view, of course, is that of French Ultramontanism, hostile to Protestantism, but hostile to the point of insanity as concerns England. We are amazed to learn that she is the great promoter of discord on the continent, but above all among the Latin nations. No doubt her government will be as much amazed at this information as the rest of the world. Italy, France, Switzerland, and all the missions are treated at length. There, of course, the great enemy is Protestantism. As each side represents the other as constantly encroaching, there is probably some truth on both sides. A very valuable manual, especially if kept up every year. — C. C. STARBUCK.

Über die Religion. Von Friedrich Schleiermacher. Zum Hundertjahr-Gedächtnis ihres ersten Erscheinens in ihrer ursprünglichen Gestalt neu herausgegeben von Lic. Rudolf Otto. Mit 2 Bildnissen Schleiermachers. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1899; pp. 182; M. 1.50; geb., M. 1.80.) These "addresses," first published in 1799, and famous ever since for the profound and permanent effect which they produced, are here presented in their original form; and this memorial edition will be welcome to many, not only for its well-known contents, but for the last-century dress in which they are clothed. — FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

Die Grundlagen der Schleiermacher'schen Theologie: eine kritische Untersuchung. Von Ernst Heinemann. (Berlin: Hermann Walther, 1900; pp. 48; M. 1.20.) The author of this little work attempts not so much a discussion of the religious and metaphysical presuppositions of Schleiermacher's *Glaubenslehre* as a negative criticism of his principal theological conceptions, especially of God, religion, Christ, and sin. In his view, to represent God as the "whence" of our feeling of absolute dependence, as Schleiermacher does, is to attempt to supply a positive need by a mere question, and it is absurd to try to discover in this "whence" the qualities of holiness, wisdom, etc. The religious experience presupposes the possession of the very conceptions it is made to create. The "two-natures" personality of Christ (though the author avoids giving his own conception of God) is a hopelessly self-contradictory hypothesis which Schleiermacher imported from traditional orthodoxy. The adoption of the orthodox world-view is fatal to his system. The author has given us a clever but not profound criticism of a system as vulnerable as it is wonderfully suggestive.—GEORGE CROSS.

Zur Lehre von der Gottheit Jesu Christi. Von K. Konrad Grass, Oberlehrer an der deutschen Hauptschule zu St. Petri in St. Petersburg. (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1900; pp. 208; M. 4.) This book, more restricted in theme than title, investigates under three "views" the significance of Christ's deity in his redemptive sufferings. Meeting with no material in Holy Scripture or the apostolic fathers, it passes to the "Eastern View," that of the Greek and earlier Latin theologians and of Luther. Here it finds Christ's deity explained as a potency into whose deadly domain Satan, by *sancta ars*, was lured through an incarnation, presenting to its deluded victim in its "likeness of sinful flesh" and its absconding "Word" what was called respectively the *δέλεαρ* and *ἀγκιστρον*, the *esca* and *muscipula*, or the "mud" and ambushed ichneumon, foe of Luther's "Wallfish." Under the "Western View," that of the later Latin and generally of the Reformed theologians, it finds, in accordance with the then prevalent "Anselmisch-Thomistische" (commercial) theory of the atonement, Christ's deity regarded as giving "worth" to his sufferings.

According to the "Third View" (the author's), deity enabled Christ so to bear apartness from God, the essence of sin, and its penalty as to reestablish for himself and us the broken association.

This treatise is principally valuable as an annotated compendium

of quotations illustrative of patristic, scholastic, and mystical soteriology.—ROBERT KERR ECCLES.

Village Sermons in Outline. By the late Fenton John Anthony Hort, D.D. (New-York: The Macmillan Co., 1900; pp. viii + 267; \$1.75.) In this volume the author discusses the Prayer Book, baptism, mutual subjection, the rule of life, the Sermon on the Mount, the advent, the armor of the cross, and the resurrection of Christ together with his various appearances to his disciples before his ascension. Each of these subjects save one is treated in a series of discourses. After the first sermon in each series the author gives at the beginning of each discourse a brief, clear résumé of the truths already set forth, so that the thought of his whole discussion is skilfully kept before the mind of hearer or reader. The method is admirable. It fixes in the memory the truths unfolded step by step in the entire series of sermons. It is the method Chrysostom often pursued, when he expounded in consecutive, popular discourses some book of Scripture. These sermons in outline are not cut up into formal divisions, but the thought in unbroken flow is put in logical order and is expressed in clear, vigorous English; but the full development and illustration of the thought has not been preserved. The special homiletical value of the book is in its fresh, suggestive exposition of Scripture. The sermons on mutual subjection and on the appearances of Christ after his resurrection are rich in truth touching Christian experience and the duties of the Christian life. The book will be of service to both pulpit and pew.—GALUSHA ANDERSON.

Aspects of Protestantism. By A. Herbert Gray, M.A., Minister of Grosvenor Square Presbyterian Church, Manchester. (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1899; pp. viii + 149; 1s. 6d.) The five addresses contained in this little volume were delivered to the author's own congregation, and afterward published by request. Although they are popular in style, they touch upon the great features of Protestantism in a way that makes them interesting to all readers. Those who have not technical training and who have great anxieties about the theological unrest of the present will find in this book much to instruct and to comfort them. The lectures on "Every Man His Own Priest," "Where Do Protestants Get Their Authority?" and "The Protestant Conception of Salvation," are particularly helpful.—J. W. MONCRIEF.

The editors of The American Journal of Theology
record with sincere sorrow the death, on the thirtieth day
of December, nineteen hundred, of their colleague,

George Washington Borthrup, D.D., LL.D.,

Professor of Systematic Theology in the Divinity School
of The University of Chicago.

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PRESENT RELIGIOUS TENDENCIES IN INDIA.

By GEORGE TRUMBULL LADD,
Yale University.

THERE probably never has existed, and there certainly does not now exist, another country about which generalizations are so uncertain and dangerous as that multiform, heterogeneous collection of peoples called India. This statement is true whether, in attempting to make the generalizations, regard is had to any one of several points of view. For the student of ethnology or anthropology this continent still offers almost every conceivable stratum of human evolution, from the dwellers in caves and trees, who come near to the level of so-called "primitive man," to the finest specimens, physically and intellectually, of modern civilization. For the investigator in philology the same thing is true. Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, Kolarian, and Dravidian languages, in various forms of modification and stages of development, are still alive in India, and compete with one another and with English, French, Portuguese, and other modern languages, for the patronage of the inhabitants in different parts of this strange land. Of the religions and religious tendencies of India the same difficulty of making general assertions has prevailed for centuries. The difficulty prevails almost undiminished today. Animism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, and Mohammedanism all flourish there—about as uncompromising and as

little affected by one another as they were two hundred years ago. Contrary to the common impression that Buddhism is extinct in India, more than seven millions of its different sects are registered by the census of 1891. The religions of the Sikh and of the Christian number nearly the same. And under that title, "Brahmanism," which claims five-sevenths of the about 290,000,000 of inhabitants, everything by way of *religious* belief is covered, from the grossest idolatry and devil-worship to the most subtile philosophic pantheism, or agnostic pessimism.

The facts and realities of Indian life are, therefore, not well adapted for hasty generalizations. A score of lifetimes would not suffice to put the observer so into possession of them all as that he could safely estimate in detail the drifts, beliefs, and practices that are *semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*. No less time than this would be necessary to investigate even the more important local and relatively limited religious phenomena. Is it strange, then, that the pronouncements of even the more intelligent and observing commissions of investigation, or of the tourists, whether for purposes of pleasure, trade, or lecturing, are usually entitled to confidence in nearly inverse proportion to the extent of the area which they are intended to cover, and the amount of self-confidence with which they are made? Lifelong residents, too, whether engaged in missionary work or in official service, are scarcely more trustworthy, whenever their conclusions are extended much beyond the narrow field with which they have made themselves most intimately familiar.

The insurmountable difficulties in the way of satisfactory generalizations about India are the facts themselves. They are, on the one hand, too diverse, too heterogeneous, too unsuitable for bringing under any common rubrics or universally applicable formulas. But, on the other hand, they are—each group of them—too persistently and doggedly incapable of uniting with one another by way of those processes of compromise, of giving-and-taking, of reciprocal modification, which characterize the modern western civilizations.

An apology and a confession of weakness might properly follow this introductory statement. It is eminently desirable

that the reader should know from the beginning how limited is the measure of adherence which the author expects, or to which he thinks himself entitled. But, since the point of view throughout is to be personal, I may perhaps fitly preface my treatment of the subject with a few words spoken in a not immodest self-defense. The cordial and intimate relations offered to me by the representatives of different grades and classes of religious opinions, the exceptional, and in some instances entirely unique, opportunities enjoyed for friendly intercourse and face-to-face observation, during a stay of only four months in India, cannot properly be disregarded; nor should they be appreciated at other than a fairly high estimate. One persuasion was always with me—the same that I have carried twice to Japan, the land so well known and loved. With all their weird and strange superstitions; with all their seemingly perverse yet subtle speculations; with all their disconcerting mixture of craft, greed, and lust, in conjunction with the most fundamental religious emotions, the natives of India are intensely human—essentially the same men in all most important respects as you and I. *Homo sum* must, then, express the prevailing consciousness with which to observe the worshiper of the sacred cow, the sacred tree, or the toe of his Çankara-āchārya. To every priest who uses his office to gratify more easily his lust, to every poor layman who—to quote the significant Bengali proverb—sees “the god in the procession and sells his cabbages” at the same time, as well as to every wrestler with the problems of the Infinite and his relations (*sic*) to man, or of the nature of *Karma* and the endless life, he who would gain insight in India must always be ready to address himself in the significant declaration of the Hindu philosophy: “*Tat tvam asi*” (“that art thou”). Psychological skill, somehow obtained, is the indispensable propædæutic to the understanding of its religious life, as of all the other manifestations of the life of man.

Two tendencies which are not of today simply or chiefly, but which underlie and control all the civil, social, intellectual, and religious life of the peoples of India, must be noticed first of all. These, however, are not so much particular tendencies,

whether of religious or other kind. They are rather drifts that control all the separate tendencies, great controlling characteristics of the popular temperament and habit that perhaps rest upon a cosmic basis in part; they are gross resultants of the subjective characters of the races that are dominant in the mixture, after being subjected through many generations to the continental environment. One of these is a strongly, and almost unchangeably, conservative tendency. The other would seem to be the exact opposite, and so destructive, of this tendency; for it is a tendency to never-ceasing and uncompromising diversifying of tenets, and to endless hairsplitting, accompanied by much of bickerings, schisms, and strife. The effect of these two tendencies is most potent over all other tendencies, and in its particular manifestations most astonishing. The conservatism of post-Reformation orthodoxy was certainly quite strong enough to satisfy all the reasonable demands of a safe and substantial progress. The splitting up into sects of this same orthodoxy afforded as much variety of means for satisfying different tastes as was desirable; while the disrespect for each other's opinions, and the freedom with which the contestants consigned each other to the limbo of heretics, if not to a yet more awful doom, went quite beyond the limits which are now deemed respectable for the Christian gentleman. But the mixture of stolid and unquestioning adherence to the traditions of the past, both as respects belief and also practice, with a contention over unimportant details that admits of no compromise and tends to wrathful and scornful divisions and subdivisions, which is displayed by the religions of India, taken as a whole, is something far surpassing, it seems to me, anything which can justly be laid to the charge of Christianity, at least in its European development.

In speaking of "present religious tendencies in India," the larger, stronger, and more permanent forces to which reference has just been made must constantly be borne in mind. The ancestral, historical tendencies still constitute the more potent forces; and such they will probably continue to be for an indefinite period of time. For centuries India has been the battleground of differing religions with so-called Brahmanism, the

prevalent religion. For centuries this Brahmanism so-called has itself been a seething pot for many species of nutritious or indigestible vegetables, and savory or ill-smelling herbs. The lower indigenous forms of nature-worship, and no little devil-worship, upon which the purer forms of the northern religion came down, are still about as obvious as they have ever been, and they are little less degraded than they were at the first. The different gods of the one religion are at the present time—if an expression may be pardoned which is borrowed from the somewhat shameless but expressive slang of the current occidental politics and business—"worked for all that they are worth" by their respective genuine devotees or more selfish and hypocritical followers. And yet there is a sort of unity of spirit to the entire religious manifestation of Brahmanism. A kind of odor is always in the nostrils of the looker-on which somewhat resembles that smell of the Orient which is one undefinable mixture of many not easily distinguishable smells. Considered as religious feeling, it is partly worshipfulness mingled with a fear of so missing the mark of the religious life here as to incur added doom in the endless round of lives through which the human soul is destined to pass—the feeling, rather than any definite doctrine, of *Karma*. It is *Karma* that is the supreme power; the merit and demerit of intelligent existence. And this power makes itself most potently *felt*, however lacking in ability the individual may be to give any consistent account of it. Considered as religious belief, Brahmanism is a vague pantheism, either thought out into many subtle, or distorted, or even monstrous forms of speculation, or else unthinkingly accepted and more *felt* than constructed into compacted conceptions—not to say a system of defensible ideas. Considered as social and ethical, however, the religions of India are, above all their other aspects and relations, most potent and uncompromising. For religion here is not, as it is in most Christian communities, an affair which has little or nothing to do with one's domestic life, or associates socially, or social and political or other functions. On the one hand, it cannot be claimed by the most enthusiastic advocate of Brahmanism (or of any of the other religions

of India) that its social and ethical results are comparable, in most respects, with those that permeate the best Christian communities. But, on the other hand, this religion is far more pervasive and controlling than is the Christianity of England or of America. In raiment, and in eating and drinking, in the home and at the club, on the street and in the hospital, in marrying and giving in marriage, in visiting and refraining from all avoidable social intercourse, in the school and the market and the government office, *religion* is the main factor in determining the details of nearly every kind of human relation.

This seemingly variable and yet rigorously fixed, this kaleidoscopic and yet permanent, background it is against which all the current changes in the religious condition of India, whether produced by Christian influences or otherwise, must be viewed. Current changes—and some of them exceedingly important and interesting—certainly exist. But before I speak of those which seemed to me most impressive, I wish to illustrate by reference to several personal experiences what has already been said.

In Bombay, in December, 1899, by the kindness of a wealthy Hindu, Mr. Tribhrowandas, I enjoyed the quite unique opportunity of attending an important ceremonial, properly open only to members of the caste. This caste, the "Kapola Bania," is—so my host assured me—"exceedingly orthodox." After the ceremonial, which need not be described at present except to say that it consisted in worshiping the toe of the Çankara-āchārya (or chief religious teacher), in essentially the same manner as that in which we had seen the idols and the sacred cows worshiped the day before, a sermon was preached by him in Sanskrit, and followed, paragraph by paragraph, with a translation in Hindustani. For "substance of doctrine," and making the necessary changes of subject and object, this sermon was similar to thousands of sermons preached by the post-Reformation Protestant orthodoxy, or by the most high-and-dry Roman Catholic or Episcopalian advocates of the infallibility of the church. The discourse began with praise of the sacred scriptures of the Hindu religion, the Vedas. They are the original, only, and infallible source of all true religion; they point out the way of salvation, and there

is no other way than that which they point out. Whoever walks in this way, and does as the Vedas instruct him, he has the true religion; he is safe. But whoever departs from this way, his religion is false; and he will not attain salvation, but will be punished in this life and in the life to come. But, now, whereas most men are ignorant and cannot understand the Vedas, and so know not the way of salvation, the Brahman knows the way. He gives all his time, his entire life, to these things. He is to be implicitly believed and unquestioningly obeyed; his instructions are to be followed in every particular. He who disobeys the voice of the Brahman, or refuses to follow the way the Brahman directs, he cannot find the way of salvation, but is of necessity ignorant and miserable, both in this life and in the life to come. As to the women, however—but I forbear; and I ask anyone who wishes to understand some of the tendencies which Christianity has to overcome in India to weigh well the force of these fateful words. They show clearly what binds millions of souls in that country to *their* religion; just as millions of souls in other countries have been bound to other religions. And it is as certain, in my judgment, as anything dependent upon the unchanging characteristics of human nature can possibly be, that no substitution of Christianity for Brahmanism can ever take place in India by means of a preaching which, in its spirit and its conception of religion, is not essentially different from this.

What, however, can be more widely different than the following account of the true Hindu religion which, some weeks later, I got in private conversation with the celebrated "ascetic Raja of ———"? A man of high intellectual quality, whose face lights up with pleasant smiles—touched, however, with occasional gleams of sarcasm and tender bitterness—is here. But he is as far from the "religious light" of the Bania caste in his description of the "higher Hinduism" as Schopenhauer's "World as Will and Idea" is from Quenstedt's *Systema Theologicum*. All these writings—says the scholarly and devout Raja—the Upanishads, Puranas, and even the most ancient Vedas, are full of admixtures, and contain only occasional truths, with much that is rubbish and erroneous. The true and higher

Hinduism rejects the claims of the Brahmans and the infallibility of any of the sacred scriptures. Even the Vedas are of uncertain origin; and the teachings of the Pundits are of small value. The current revival of the Yoga philosophy is not the true Yoga philosophy; it is gaining few adherents and exercising no worthy influence. The theosophists are more numerous hereabout; but they do not know what they mean and can only captivate silly boys. All is *Māyā*—even the teaching and scheme of the Vedas, and, *a fortiori*, all the Brahmanical philosophy and liturgy. The world is only evil; pain is the fundamental, the universal, the ineradicable experience. The way of utter self-denial is the only way of salvation. To extinguish all desire, all love of self and all interest in self, brings the believer at last to Nirvāna.

How shall the honest seeker for truth find his way to what he seeks? No wonder that the answer is hard to give for the intelligent and sincere native of India today, as it has ever been for the intelligent and sincere inquirer, not only for centuries in India, but always and in all lands. Particularly hard is the discovery of religious truth just now there, where the conditions of every sort—intellectual, material, social, and civic—are so difficult and in many ways distressing that sympathy and sympathetic assistance seem the most fitting attitude toward them.

Here let me quote from a letter received in Calcutta and written by one of the most gifted and keen-sighted of the natives:

In the present transition period [he writes] the old spiritual and philosophic molds are being broken up, and western ideals have not yet taken deep root. Our Indian universities have committed the fatal blunder of ignoring the philosophical inheritance of the Indian peoples. It was their business to graft modern philosophic ideals and scientific method on the old stock. But they have begun with a *tabula rasa*, as it were. They import the manufactured products of the West, and in the meantime the prolific philosophic faculty of the Hindu race is dying of inanition and atrophy. The transition from the mediæval to the modern standpoint in Europe has been a normal growth, from within, after all; in India there is a violent gap, an utter breach of continuity in the national life and consciousness; and this has made genuine thinking more or less impossible. We think in counters and symbols, meaningless abstractions, second-hand formulas, and are cut off

from those original experiences of life and nature which are the sole source of scientific and philosophic inspiration.

Now, when we remember that, in the higher and more thoughtful circles of India, as has always been the case and as always will be the case, philosophy and religion are closely and inextricably intertwined, we understand the better the bearing of what my correspondent declared true upon the present religious tendencies of that land.

If further proof is needed of this persistent and almost indefinite tendency to variability, with this variability persistently falling under certain hereditary and generic characteristics of feeling, belief, and social and ethical influences, and just at present all the more accentuated by the period of transition through which the religions of India are passing, such proof is accessible to any candid inquirer. Let him accept with me the invitation of the editor of the ——— and call upon him to talk over religion together in his office. Ascending a dirty, dark, and winding stairway, we shall find our way to a very small and uncomfortable room, from which emanate the influences that are to reform Hinduism and give it, newly regenerated, to the world as the only powerful and true religion for all mankind. An emaciated man, with the physical appearance of one far gone in tuberculosis, and with a mixture of conceit, fanaticism, and craft in his bearing, is the one whom we seek. He promptly begins to complain of the powerlessness of all religions, especially of Christianity, to accomplish anything ethical and practical by way of bringing man into communion with God. Particularly worthless is this new claimant to be a world-religion in a land so well supplied with worthier claimants. While inquiring into your views as to what Christianity can offer, the man makes upon you the impression that there is not the slightest reality or moral earnestness in his attitude of inquiry. But when inquired of as to what *his peculiar form* of Hinduism provides to meet the religious needs of man, he glows with a pathetic earnestness. And when the interchange of views is over, he follows us wearily to the head of the stairs, and listlessly bids us good-by with the remark: "We Bengalīs

have a religion of our own; it is far better for us than is your Christianity."

From the dingy office of this editor, who is fanatically advocating a new form of Hinduism, we will go to the magnificent drawing-room of a wealthy Maharaja, whose ancestor was outcasted and compelled to form a new caste of Brahmanism. For this ancestor—whether voluntarily or on compulsion, the tradition is divided—committed the unpardonable sin of smelling Mohammedan roast beef; and therefore he and his descendants have been ever since doomed to pay high prices for their sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, and for the Brahmans to act as the family's priests. Next let us visit the house of Dr. ———, an educated gentleman, an orthodox Hindu, and a Rai Bahadin by favor of the British government in India. He, with undoubted sincerity, speaks, with the feeling of a true Christian, of the recent loss of his wife and favorite son, of his broken ambition and courage, and of the alone bright and sustaining hope of a reunion with his loved ones. Yet nothing could tempt him, he assures us, to allow a member of his family to enter the house of the outcasted Maharaja we have just left.

After these calls, if time permits, we may pay a visit to the three or four different and irreconcilable portions of the Calcutta Brahma Samaj: to that called Ahdi (or "True"), which derives itself in direct line from Rammohun Roy through his chosen successor Maharshi Debendranath Tagore; or to either of the two branches which regard Kesub Chunder Sen as their divine father; or to that Brahma Samaj which is called Sadhara (or "Common"), and which is perhaps most popular and influential with the students—resembling, as it does very closely, Felix Adler's Ethical Society in this country. Or if you wish, when in Bombay, to find a similar representation of the Calcutta attempts to *reform* Hinduism, you must seek the Prarthana Samaj; for how could a Hindu reformer in the Bombay presidency consent to take the title for his "New Dispensation" from his confrère in the Calcutta presidency, however closely similar their thoughts or methods of reform might be? Among these men will be found some who have been baptized with a practically Christian

formula into this "New Dispensation" of the ancient and ancestral religion; and some who talk of the place and power of Christ in their faith and life in a manner which would secure them unhesitating admission into most of the orthodox churches in America. Yet these men may be as far as the members of the Kapola Bania caste from willingness wholly to abandon their ancestral faith for the acceptance of a religion which they regard as, in many respects, essentially the same with their own, and, in other respects, not only alien, but also inferior.

All these varieties of the one religion, however, are obviously for the thoughtful, for the "good few" only. For that which is between the highest and the lowest one may go, for example, to the garden where the "holy man of Benares" lived, received the homage of visitors, and gathered their autographs; Swami Paribraj-āchārya Bhaskaranand Saraswati was his "religious" name. Simple-hearted, sincere, devout, but not very intelligent, he believed sincerely in his own divinity; but did not exploit it overmuch for purposes of gain. Here in a shrine sits, in the characteristic attitude of the living, the marble effigy of the departed saint; and although scarcely a decade has passed since his death, he is already deified and worshiped as a god; while his successor has set up in the business of Swami—obviously "in it for all it may be worth."

If one is an adherent of Brahmanism and belongs to the great multitude of worshipers, one can pay one's devotion and get good for one's soul at the "monkey temple" near by. Here, however, one who has no sympathy with this strange human longing to stand right with the invisible powers will find the monkey much the most interesting part of the totality—building and surroundings, material and human. Or one may wander through the winding lanes of this "holy city;" they are not more than five or six feet wide, are dank and slippery with the urine and dung of goats and cows. They are crowded with animals and with human beings, noisy with the chaffer of trade and with the gossip and wrangling of worshipers. If one gets a glimpse into the temples themselves, the sights are yet more

repulsive; and what goes on unseen betimes within these temples is worst of all. And down in the ghat, when the sun is rising and the bodies of the dead are being brought to be washed in the sacred river and then burned on its banks, one will find more *pice* and gifts of floral sort at the shrine of the goddess of smallpox or of cholera than anywhere else. Devil-worship, virtually, is this. But why should those who would propitiate the divinity and keep away that which they have most to dread, if unenlightened, do differently from this?

What then, let us ask ourselves, must be the present religious tendencies of a people, the great underlying currents of whose life have flowed for centuries in such directions as these? If the individual remains within the main current, no matter how near its rather ill-defined outer limits, which is, nevertheless, carrying along more than two hundred millions of his fellow-men, he may believe and practice (unless he transgress the social customs of the caste) pretty nearly as he will. He may form a new subdivision of the religion, if he is able to devise some modification of the ancient tenets or speculations that shall prove attractive to a band of disciples. If he has money to buy priests and sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, and to support them all, he may—although with much discomfort—break with all the castes and form a new caste of his own. But if the native of India goes from any one to any other of the influential religions of the land, he severs all ties of every sort—ancestral, domestic, social, friendly, religious; he carries with him, it is likely, nothing but such small share of personal security and civic rights as the British government is able to support. Particularly is it true that becoming an out-and-out Christian means the passage from everything that is, in faith and in practice, in the life of the family and of society, wrought into every fiber and cell of the brain, and into every drop of blood, as *homelike* and most temporally and eternally precious. The convert from the higher circles of Brahmanism to Christianity becomes a despised and distrusted alien and stranger.

What is so emphatically true of the forceful influence which the religion of Brahmanism exercises over the millions of India

is true, only in a somewhat less degree, of Mohammedanism. And although the same truth is less obvious and forceful among the Jains, the Sikhs, and the remaining Buddhists in India, it is true of them also. Most notable for their freedom from the bonds of caste and prejudice, and, in respect of their social and business relations, most fusible, as it were, with modern and occidental beliefs and ways, are the Parsis of the Bombay presidency. Some of the most influential of them have sent their sons to be fitted for the university by the fathers of the St. Francis Xavier College; and they are, in general, most intimately associated with the foreign and Christian residents of India in various forms of charitable and reform movements.

It is, then, this elastic firmness, this variable conservatism, which constitutes the one predominatingly influential tendency of the religion of India today. It is a present tendency which has the momentum of centuries behind it; and in its favor all the hopes and fears that have to do with the future, both for time in this world and for the invisible and eternal.

But, as has already been said, India is feeling the force of certain more recent tendencies introduced from abroad by Christian civilization. These tendencies are really and somewhat powerfully, though, of necessity, slowly and rather indirectly in many cases, modifying its religious life. Of such present religious tendencies, although they are all to be interpreted as seen against the shifty yet essentially unaltered background already described, I notice the following four. Two of these four are negative, but two are positive. The former, in all periods when the religions of a vast multitude are changing their form, are simply inevitable. They are in some respects deeply to be regretted and even feared. Both of the positive tendencies, however, are to be recognized with a sympathetic pleasure, although one of them is only indirectly to be traced to Christianity, and is even opposed by some adherents of the Christian cause.

First: There is undoubtedly a very considerable and a growing tendency, especially among the younger educated Hindus (the *babus* of the various colleges and other schools, native and

foreign), to agnosticism and indifference in religious matters. This tendency, as has already been indicated, is common to all great transitional periods in the religious history of any people—especially in places where there already exists a considerable degree of intellectual and social cultivation. Japan has been passing through such a transitional period with an astonishing rapidity and with that extreme thoroughness with which this nation has thrown itself into all the currents of modern civilization. India is entering upon a corresponding period—more slowly and secretly, on account of its dread of breaking with its own social and religious past, and of imperiling the future condition of the souls of its multitudes. But India is certainly feeling the disintegrating power over its own religions of foreign religious beliefs and practices.

Moreover, the tendency to agnosticism and irreligion among the natives of India is just now undoubtedly much accentuated by British commercial, educational, and official influences. The officer of the British government in India is very properly forbidden to take sides in any religious controversy, or to exercise his authority or influence as an officer in the behalf of Christianity. By example, and in other indirect ways, some of the official classes—notably some of the higher official classes—have done much to commend a purer religious life and a nobler and more rational faith to the needy multitudes of India. But this is by no means the case with all of the British official influence in India. The same thing is true of the more unrestricted influence of the classes engaged in trade or in education. In some cases foreign merchants from Christian nations commend Christianity to the natives by their dealings and by their lives; but in other cases the commercial influence is decidedly unfavorable to all religion. Thus it is also with the teachers in the government schools. Subtle and almost irresistible influences from the environment account for a part of this. These influences are—in a very partial way, to be sure—indicated by the wit of the Scotchman who explained the differences between his life at home and in India as follows: "I dinna gang till the kirk every sabba day; but I tak my bath every morning."

Especially strong is this negative influence from certain teachers in the government schools who, without explicit attempt, or even perhaps consciousness of what they are doing, destroy all manner of religious belief in their pupils—whether by use of text-book, by verbal instructions, or by example.

I found all classes of seriously religious people, native and foreign, admitting and deploring the spread among the younger educated natives of this agnostic and irreligious tendency. Especially in northern India there was general agreement that the *babu* of today is less sober in mind and less trustworthy, morally and religiously, than his predecessor of a generation ago. The earnest Christian teacher attributes the change, perhaps, to a lack of dogmatic positiveness in the prevalent teaching of his own or some other sect. The serious Hindu bewails it as one of the evil effects of a foreign religion, which, being in itself much lacking in power to influence the life, has seduced the native youths from the safe paths of their ancestral faith without providing any other guide to their faltering and uncertain steps. And then there is everywhere the too obvious greed of the Christians resident in India for wealth or for official preferment. It has infected, say the Hindus, our own youth. The believers in a form of the Christian religion that lays high claims to absolute authority agree with the most orthodox of the Hindus as to the defects of Protestant Christianity. In a conversation with a Roman Catholic archbishop, who has been more than a half-century in India, after agreeing with me in the statement that the agnosticism and atheism of many of the present generation of *babus* formed a worse condition than their former Hinduism, he quoted with approval the saying of an Englishwoman, Lady —: "India will all ultimately become either Catholic or agnostic."

This tendency to agnosticism and irreligion is not, of course, to be charged to Christian missions; nor by any means wholly to the influence of those who are Christians only in name. It is an influence with which all the religions of India will be obliged to reckon; it will be more and more destructive of much that was good, as well as of much that was bad, in the older forms of faith.

How it will ultimately affect the substitution of Christianity, in any form of modification consistent with its essential and unchanging content, for the higher forms of Hinduism, Mohammedanism, or Parseeism, I do not believe it is possible at present for any one confidently to predict.

A second tendency affecting the present religious condition of India is that toward a disintegration of the bonds of priestly domination and authority, and even of the hitherto all-powerful influence of caste. Brahmanism is distinctly a *priestly* religion; in India today, as for many centuries in the past, the people are "priest-ridden"—more sorely and onerously, perhaps, than they ever were in the darkest days of Italy or of Spain. Numerous attempts, either local or widely extended, have been made in the past to throw off this domination of those who, as the sermon of the Çankara-āchārya of the Kapola Bania (a "very orthodox") caste informed us, are the only possible way to salvation for the multitudes of men. And especially is the power of the priests over the *women* endangered; and there is where their chief secret of power has ever been and still is. Without priestly sanction and assistance, woman in India can realize no good, whether in this world or in the life to come. There are millions, especially of the younger and middle-aged men, who today are quite ready, so far as mental preparation is concerned, to break with the domination of the Brahman and with the supremacy of the system of caste. But for the individual such a break is still apt to be expensive; there are the women and the children, and the priest holds them, for all manner of temporal and eternal welfare, under his sway. But the keys of heaven and hell are destined to slip from his grasp.

For, in spite of all efforts to prevent it, the breach is widening; the stupendous ancestral force of the Brahman, which is still nearly the whole of what is most obvious to the popular religion, is weakening and giving way. Two experiences of mine were most suggestive in respect of this matter. I shall not easily forget with what an air a wealthy Hindu, for an entire morning, showed me over the burning *ghat*, and the long series of temples with their sacred tank, which were *his very own*

possession. The various priests were ordered to exhibit to the guest all that he desired to see; to worship the idols and the sacred cows for his instruction. The holy men, the Yogis, took down their matted hair for his amusement; and so did they smoke to order their dole of Indian hemp. At another time and place a well-to-do lawyer was showing me with unconcealed pride over his well-appointed house. Among the other appurtenances thereto was the room where the family Brahman was seated alone, performing the religious functions of the household. His sacred personage was displayed with the same air of ownership as that with which the dairy and the office of the "master of the house" had previously been displayed. It was explained that the Brahman was merely a convenience; he was given so much rice and so many *pice* daily, to do the religion for the family. The owner of all, then, need no longer bother himself about such matters, but could attend exclusively to his legal and business affairs.

Trifling but significant indications for one who can master their meaning constantly bear witness to the increased strength of this tendency of the Hindus in India to throw off some of the bondage of caste. The prohibition placed upon traveling abroad, for example, has already been softened, and will soon have to be abandoned. In Bombay I was shown the "Cosmopolitan Club," where rather more than one hundred Hindus of four or five different castes are trying to cultivate the spirit of unity, *à l'Anglaise*, by playing billiards and drinking whisky and soda together! In Madura I took tea at a club of high-caste Brahmans, who do not even allow soda water in bottles to be brought on the premises, for fear of exciting suspicion; but who have assisted the foreign missionaries in a street-preaching campaign against intemperance. Exceedingly interesting and courteous gentlemen were these; and although they did not go so far as to eat and drink *with us*, they sat around in friendly converse, while some of the gentlemen of our party served the ladies with biscuit and tea. When a young native who entered the Convocation Hall at one of my lectures in Bombay, without removing his *native* shoes (to wear "native" shoes in the house

was not permissible under the old etiquette, while foreign shoes need not be removed), was rebuked by the vice-chancellor for his breach of courtesy, he replied: "Why? we do not even take off our shoes in the temples now." These may be straws, indeed, but they show to anyone who understands even superficially the characteristics of the native life in India which way a strong current of wind is setting.

There is, moreover, in India evidence of a tendency toward the reform of the ancient, native religions, as respects both their doctrines and also the domestic and social ethics so closely allied with these doctrines. This is a third tendency, positive and reconstructive, rather than negative and destructive; it should, I think, be hopefully and sympathetically recognized by the student of the present religious condition of this land. Reform of religion is, indeed, nothing new in India. Within Brahmanism itself there have originated during the centuries of its existence a number of significant attempts at reform. Jainism and Buddhism are the two most important instances of such attempts. The former was of the more negative character—a revolt against the priestly domination and sacrificial practices of Brahmanism. The latter was a positive and, on the whole, most beneficent attempt to bring the principles of hope and pity to bear upon the daily life of the suffering multitudes of the people. But Jainism and Buddhism have long since lost whatever power they may once have possessed to work important religious reforms in the faith and life of India. They are not, however, by any means the only instances of the good Spirit working from within for the improvement of the existing religious conditions—the true Light "that lighteth every man coming into the world." From the roof of the beautiful new museum at Jaipur one can look down into the gardens of a monastery where a Protestant and reforming Hindu sect, very radical and locally influential, was founded by Dada, a later contemporary of Martin Luther. Some of his one hundred and fifty-two disciples left a poem of about five thousand stanzas (still extant, although only in manuscript), in which the teachings of the master are given in detail. Dada rejected the authority of the Brahmins,

disbelieved in the efficacy of ritual and of sacrifice, and derided idol-worship. He advocated a religion that should bring the soul of every believer into divine communion, and should purify, elevate, and comfort the daily life. Thus all over India, in spots at least, there have always been those effectively interested in the purification of the Hindu religious faith and life.

One of the most valuable and important results of the spreading of truly Christian influences is felt in the improvement of the religions with which Christianity comes into conflict or contact. Indeed, in the case of an ancient and elaborate civilization, and especially among the more thoughtful classes, unless these classes become quite agnostic and irreligious, the improvement rather than the abandonment of their own ancestral religion is likely to be one of the most important results of Christian missions. No observing person who has been twice in Japan within the present decade—once at the beginning and again at the end—can fail to note the quickening and elevating of the tone of Buddhism in that land. Thus in India, too, all the greater religions prevalent there—especially Hinduism, Mohammedanism, and Parseeism—have been stimulated by Christian influences to put forth their inherent power to reform themselves. It is true that this beneficent, indirect influence of Christianity is usually most grudgingly admitted, if admitted at all, by the advocates of these religions. But it is also true that the influence, though so often indirect and so largely unrecognized, is most real.

It must be confessed that the more worthy and "high-toned" among the reformers of the present religious conditions of India are, when faced by those powerful and widespreading tendencies of which I first spoke, a scattered and feeble folk. They are also themselves so far influenced by these same opposing tendencies as to be too much divided and, as a rule, somewhat deficient in hope and in courage. Anyone who knows what prolonged life in India is, with its depressing climate and other physical and social discouragements to efficient reform, will not be surprised at this. Yet the truth seems to me to be that, slowly, and "here a little and there a little," a real and great

betterment of an ethical and religious sort is taking place. In proof of this opinion I might instance—not statistics, of which there are surely enough about India, and the meaning of which few of those even who gather and publish them really comprehend—but impressions derived from personal observation and from conversation with the promoters of reform. Not to mention other names, I will venture to refer to Professor Bhandarkar, that most sincere, intelligent, and influential advocate of a reformed theism. Any thoroughly Christian thinker could scarcely find elsewhere a man with whom to establish more points of agreement and of sympathy than with him, on all the great ethical and spiritual themes that enter into the very substance of our religion. Or suppose that one seeks, not so much credible theological and religious belief as the life that is patterned after the founder of Christianity, both as respects its motive and its example. A more thoroughly Christlike work of reform has rarely been undertaken than that for which stands the name of that Parsi gentleman, Mr. Malabari—God bless him!—in his self-denying labors for the relief and elevation of Hindu women. So, also, among the missionaries of the Brahma Samaj in Calcutta there are a “good few” (*few*, indeed, compared with the 290,000,000 of India) to whom any most sincere and cautious Christian may extend the name and hand of “a brother.” Nor are such wholly wanting among the orthodox Hindus in other places. When to these, and such as these, we add the influence for the reform of religious faith and life exercised by such pronounced Christians among the educated men as Mr. Kali Banurji, of Calcutta, we have a band—small and too much, of necessity, divided indeed—that nevertheless requires recognition as an increasingly powerful tendency.

It would not be right, moreover, to neglect the yet more indirect influence upon the present religious condition of India which comes from the local, as well as the more extensive, efforts of the natives of India to introduce certain reforms in the domestic and social life of the people. It has already been made sufficiently clear how intimately connected these matters are with the religious beliefs of the people. Not marrying or

burying according to custom may be for the Hindu a potent factor in determining Karma; and killing a starved cow for its hide, in famine times and when the man is himself starving, may involve his eternal damnation. But if reform begins at the other end, as it were, and your custom in marrying or burying is made more sanitary and reasonable, or the bodies of cows are, in fact, treated as though they were of less value than the souls of men, there is pretty sure to follow some reactionary effect upon the connected religious belief. There is much debate about matters of social reform in India just now. Two parties are forming, the one conservative and the other more radical and bent on extensive changes. This is the customary experience. The conservatives are still far stronger and more numerous; they have in command most of the vested interests. And even the government is, in most cases, mainly on their side. But certain reforms are soon coming; and more reforms are sure to follow. These all tend to alter, by inevitable reaction upon them, the religious beliefs and practices of the people. If, then, the Brahmans find all this good, truth, and improved conduct in their own ancient books, and so adapt their own religions as to include the higher faith and better practice, the lover of God and mankind, the true Christian, will give the thanks and the glory to the divine Source of all good.

Finally, in the fourth place, there are tendencies which, at any time under favorable physical and social conditions, may sweep away vast numbers of the people from their ancient, native religions into the changed name at least of the *Christian* faith and manner of life. Hinduism is no "good news" for the millions of the common people. It was its upward lift of pity and sympathy which carried the multitudes centuries ago into Buddhism, as *their* religion; although as designed and promulgated by its founder Buddhism was no *religion* at all. But what shall the "poor man" do in India today—the man who is "poor" beyond all our American conceptions of the utmost extreme of poverty? His choice is, in general, starvation or dependency, if he changes his religion; and it may be both. He is, therefore, cheaply to be bought for a nominal adherence to your

faith. By the judicious distribution of a few *pice*, for example, Dr. Valentine, of Agra, gathered a regular congregation (a so-called "Beggars' Church") which averaged more than eight hundred; but the fifty sincere converts made among them could not be baptized, since after baptism no Mohammedan would either employ or give alms to them. During the famine of 1897 this same Christian missionary relieved, with funds from England and America, "103,144 famine-stricken ones." Yet larger similar work has been done by Dr. Robert A. Hume at Ahmednagar during the past two years of yet sorer famine. Such friendly assistance creates in India a tendency.

Millions of "rice Christians" can now be had in India, for the tendency is strong, and gathering strength, toward a religion that furnishes something for both body and soul to feed upon; in it one may at least live physically, and also have some hope and cheer dawn upon the life of the soul both here and in the hereafter. To have a religion that allows the poor soul to pass out of existence altogether is an improvement upon the popular Brahmanism. To have a religion that promises a life which is worth the having—this is, if it could be credited at all, an inspiration under which even the inescapable physical burdens of the lower classes in that vast and mysterious continent might be lightly borne, or at least accepted with more than characteristic native resignation and patience. What will ultimately be its outcome, should the physical and social environment become distinctly more favorable to this tendency on the part of the multitudes of India, it is not easy to predict. It may grow into an irresistible, an overwhelming impulse.

There are two remarks of practical import which I wish, in closing, briefly to emphasize. For the religious enlightenment of the more intelligent and educated of the Hindus in India it is not only useless, but also mischievous, to employ men who have not the very finest equipment of reflective thinking and scholarly culture. Flattery and polemics are apt to be alike unavailing for the real improvement of their religious condition. The one fosters their pride; the other tends to increase misunderstanding and bitterness. For the religious elevation of the millions of

common people, however, nothing else is, in my judgment, so important at the present time as the establishment of self-supporting, self-respecting *industrial Christian communities*. In order to be self-respecting, they must become self-supporting. In order to become self-supporting, they must be founded by the support of the Christian well-wishers of India.

For both classes, and for all classes, now in India, as at all times in all places, the *life* which plainly shows the spirit of Jesus is the great reforming, purifying, and uplifting religious tendency.

THE BEGINNINGS OF PROTESTANT WORSHIP IN GERMANY AND SWITZERLAND.

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It is not the purpose of the writer to propound or to defend any particular theory of worship, nor to seek to justify any particular form of worship; but only to give a brief account of the beginnings of Protestant worship, and to describe some of the forms and orders of worship which came into existence with the great Reformation of the sixteenth century. However, it may be affirmed as axiomatic that changes of view in regard to worship, both as to a theory of worship and as to its forms and methods, inevitably follow changes in doctrinal conception; that is, worship, both in theory and in form, is determined more or less by doctrine. It is on this principle that we can explain the differences in the worship of the Greek, the Roman, the Lutheran, and the Reformed churches.

It is well known that in the worship of the Roman Catholic church the chief feature is the service of the mass, and in the mass the chief part is the *canon missae*, in and by which Christ, according to Roman Catholic conception, is offered as a propitiatory sacrifice, by means of which "we obtain mercy and find grace in seasonable aid."¹ In connection with this doctrine of sacrifice, as preliminary and necessary to it, is the doctrine of transubstantiation, according to which the bread and wine used in the mass are, by the words of priestly consecration, changed into the veritable body and blood of Christ.

At the time of the Reformation the private masses and endowments for celebrating the same, mass priests and side altars, were multiplied almost beyond the powers of our conception in regard to such matters. The castle church at Wittenberg had 83 clerics, and endowments for 9,901 masses per year, and consumed annually 35,000 pounds of wax for candles.² There

¹ *Council of Trent*, twenty-second session, chap. ii.

² KÖSTLIN, *Friedrich der Weise*, p. 96.

were public masses, private masses, masses for the living and the dead. These masses, and the manner of celebrating them, obscured faith, and brought the *opus operatum* into the greatest prominence. The abuses were many and very great. Masses were celebrated chiefly for money. It was natural, then, that the mass, with its doctrine of sacrifice, its *opus operatum*, its work-righteousness, and its withholding of the cup from the laity, should be one of the first things to be attacked by the reformers. So early as 1518 Luther declared, in opposition to the current teaching of the church: "The sacraments of the New Law do not work the grace which they signify; faith is required prior to the sacrament."³ In a sermon on penance he declared in the same year: "All is at once given in faith, which alone makes the sacraments effect what they signify, and everything to be true which the priest says; for as thou believest, so is it done unto thee. Without faith all absolution, all the sacraments are vain; yea, they do more harm than good."

In a sermon preached in December, 1519, on "the venerable sacrament of the holy, true body of Christ," he expressed the opinion that a general council of the church ought to restore the cup to the laity, inasmuch as Christ appointed it to be used by the people. He declares further: "We use the sacrament aright when we exercise faith with it, and thereby become acceptable to God. The *opus operatum* works only injury. There must needs be the *opus operantis Dei*."⁴ This sermon, both in its teaching and tone, was so contrary to the practice of the church that it excited the anger of Duke George of Saxony, and was confiscated at Leipzig. In the year 1520 the sturdy reformer furiously attacked the papal theory of sacrifice in connection with the mass. In the *Babylonian Captivity of the Church* (1520) he designates the withdrawal of the cup the first tyranny, and calls transubstantiation "a figment of human opinion destitute of support from Scripture or reason. This is the second tyranny. The third tyranny is to regard the mass as a good work or sacrifice." He says further: "It is a manifest and impious error to

³ *Luther's Werke*, Jena edition, Vol. I, p. 34.

⁴ *Luther's Werke*, Erlangen edition, Vol. XXVII, pp. 25 ff.

offer or to apply the mass for sins, for satisfactions for the dead, for any necessities of ourselves or of others."

Yet during these three or four years of his reformatory activity Luther made no effort to change the practice at Wittenberg, neither by abolishing the private masses, nor by omitting the *canon*, nor by restoring the cup to the laity. He only pleaded for a general council to consider these things, and to abolish the existing abuses connected with worship. He preferred an orderly and authorized reformation. He was not disposed to make ecclesiastical changes on his own motion. He hoped that the teachers and rulers in the church would become convinced of the existence of disorders and abuses, and would order the needed changes. But at the diet of Worms, in the spring of 1521, he became convinced that no help could be expected from the Church of Rome. Yet, because of his detention at the Wartburg, he could not take the initiative in the work of practical reform. But the time had come when the old usages could no longer be tolerated in the light of the Wittenberg teaching. By the middle of the summer of 1521 the question of introducing various reforms was taken up in earnest at Wittenberg. When Luther heard what was contemplated, he wrote to Melancthon, August 21: "I am greatly delighted that you are going to perfect the institution of Christ. This above all things is what I had intended to insist on, had I returned to you. Now we understand this tyranny, and we are strong enough to resist it, so that we may not be forced to receive only one form. I shall never again celebrate a private mass."⁵

It is thus evident that the proposed changes in the order of worship received his cordial approbation. Hence in November of the same year he wrote his celebrated treatise, *De abroganda missa privata*, and dedicated it to his "Augustinian brethren in the Wittenberg cloister." But already late in September, or early in October, the Augustinians at Wittenberg had brought on a crisis. They resolved to permit the monks to remain in the monastery or to leave it at their own option; to wear the

⁵ DE WETTE UND SEIDEMANN, *Briefe, Sendschreiben und Bedenken Luthers*, Vol. II, p. 36.

monastic dress as a matter of Christian liberty; to change the ceremonies; to abolish begging and votive masses; and to allow those to preach the Word of God who were qualified for such service, while others not thus qualified were to provide food for their brethren by the labor of their own hands.⁶

When this action of the Wittenberg monks was reported to Frederick the Wise at Lochau, he commissioned his trusty chancellor, Brück, to inquire into the matter, and to report to him. October 11 the chancellor reported (1) that "Master Gabriel Zwilling, the preacher of the Augustinians, had declared in a sermon [October 6] that the venerable sacrament of the altar should not be adored, since it was not instituted for that purpose, but only as a memorial, and to adore it is idolatry." (2) That the mass could not be celebrated in the customary way without sin. (3) That the monks should not be constrained to hold daily masses; that he and his comrades would not again celebrate the mass, but would administer the sacrament under both kinds. (4) That the theological faculty of the university and the chapter connected with the castle church did not approve these innovations.

Brück expressed the opinion that the monks, should they persist in their determination to celebrate no more masses, would soon suffer in the kitchen and in the cellar; that is, that food and wine would fail.⁷

Opposition only stimulated to action, and resolves were quickly carried into effect. From a recently discovered letter written by Albert Burer to Beatus Rhenanus, October 18, we learn that the mass ceased to be celebrated in the Wittenberg monastery October 13, 1521, and that on that day a certain monk, evidently Gabriel Zwilling, had preached in the morning two hours to the people on Christian faith, and one hour in the afternoon on the abuse of the mass, and that all who had heard him were astonished.⁸ Burer goes on to say that on October 17 a public discussion had taken place touching the abolition of the

⁶ *Corpus Reformatorum*, Vol. I, pp. 457, 458.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 459 ff.

⁸ *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1882, p. 325.

mass. In this discussion Andreas Carlstadt had argued *pro* and *contra* for the purpose of eliciting the opinion of every person present. He recommended that the persons present, if they intended to abolish the mass, should act in conjunction with the authorities of the city. He urged a return to the institution of Christ as quickly as possible. Burer then adds: "It has not been decided what is to be done. It is certain that we will commune under both kinds, though the pope and all his nebulones should burst; that is, unless Philip [Melanchthon] has failed to tell the truth, since he said in a public lecture: 'I think we will decide to commune under both kinds.'"

October 23 Felix Ulscenius wrote from Wittenberg to Capito: "Yesterday Jonas preached in the castle church. He raged more vehemently than I have ever seen anyone do against the abuses and rites of the mass, and strives utterly to abolish them all."⁹

November 8 Jonas reports to Johann Lange, of Erfurt: "Your Augustinians here still abstain from the masses. Don't doubt, don't be alarmed at their zeal, don't be in haste to find fault."¹⁰

The excitement resulting from the action of the Augustinians, and from the various sermons and public discussions, was very great, as we learn from this letter of Jonas' to Lange. He says: "This subject of the mass is stirring up huge tragedies."

Soon the university espoused the cause of the monks, and October 20 a committee, consisting of Jonas, Carlstadt, Melanchthon, Pletner, Amsdorf, Doltz, and Schurf, memorialized the elector. They first set forth three reasons which determined the monks in their course: (1) That the mass, as currently held, was regarded as a good work, by which God is reconciled, by which something is offered to God as a sacrifice for sins. (2) That masses, as then held, are contrary to the institution of Christ and to the usage of the apostles, since they always communicated a company, and never a single individual. (3) That Christ instituted and appointed the use of both kinds. Hence the current use cannot be held with a good conscience.

They say that the abuse of the mass is one of the greatest sins on earth, and is the cause of war, of pestilence, and of the

⁹ Jonas' *Briefwechsel*, Vol. I, p. 75, note.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

blindness of reason; that many ungodly priests celebrate it for money, while pious priests are forced to act against their consciences. They then beseech the elector, as a Christian prince, to abolish the abuses of the mass, without regard to consequences, and to restore the true use of the mass as it had been instituted by Christ, viz., that when the people come together the Word of God shall be preached, after which the bread and wine shall be consecrated by one priest and given to all who desire the communion.

This memorial gives prominence to three principles that have ever since prevailed in worship in the Lutheran church, viz.: that the preaching of the divine word is the most important part of divine worship; that the mass is a communion which is to be administered under both kinds; that as a communion it is to be given to all who desire it, that is, to all who long for the forgiveness of sins.

The committee concludes its memorial by saying that it does not think it would be a sin for the Augustinians to hold private masses, provided they abstain from abuses. Neither should the monks be prevented from celebrating the mass according to the gospel, that is, as a communion under both kinds.¹¹

It is evident that the elector was much impressed by this memorial from his university; but his course was cautious and hesitating. The proposed changes involved the possibility of the most serious consequences. Churches, monasteries, and altars had been erected and endowed for the purpose of holding masses, and priests had been consecrated for the purpose of celebrating masses. In view of the proposed changes, what was to become of the endowments and of the priests? The mass as a sacrifice for the living and for the dead was now a venerable institution in the church. Would not its abolition herald revolution and anarchy? These and many similar questions must have seemed very weighty to the mind of the prudent elector. His heart was with the new movement, but he was not yet ready to give it the weight of his authority. Hence he commissioned Dr. Christian Baier, at that time mayor of Wittenberg, to watch

¹¹ *Corpus Reformatorum*, Vol. I, pp. 465 ff.

events closely, and to report to him by special letter. But he insists that the Augustinians shall continue to say mass as before, until a decision could be obtained from their vicar, or until matters could be more fully discussed and considered by the university.¹²

But the movement had now become too widespread and influential to be checked by the hesitation and delay of the elector. The university, the Augustinians, Jonas the provost of All Saints, Licentiate Amsdorf, and many influential citizens favored the proposed change in the mode of celebrating the mass, that is, wished to abolish the Roman Catholic mass and to restore the institution of the Lord's Supper. And now a new impulse was given to the movement when, late in October, 1521, Melanchthon published sixty-five "Propositions on the Mass."¹³ He declared *inter alia* that the mass does not justify, that is, secure the pardon of sins; that there is only one sacrifice for sins, namely, the satisfaction of Jesus Christ. The mass can only remind us of the promised grace and assure the heart of the promise of grace. Masses without the Word, that is, without preaching, are unprofitable. The Word is incomparably superior to the sign, that is, to the mass. The abuses of the mass ought to be abolished by the magistrates. He then proclaims the priesthood of all believers, and pronounces an anathema on Thomas and Scotus, the authors of the mass, and on the bishops who have not resisted the ungodly practices connected with the mass.

Excitement ran high, and was soon followed by acts of violence. Early in December a crowd of students and citizens entered the parish church before light in the morning, drove the priests from the altars, and took away the mass-books. Other acts of violence are reported, and soon matters reached a crisis, under the leadership of Carlstadt, who now determined to come forward as a practical reformer. In the castle church, of which he was archdeacon, he announced, December 22, that on New Year's day he would celebrate the communion of the Lord's Supper under both kinds, as Christ had instituted it, and would

¹² *Corpus Reformatorum*, Vol. I, pp. 470 ff.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 478-81.

abolish many of the ceremonies. This announcement was at once reported to the elector by Dr. Baier, with the recommendation that Carlstadt be forbidden to make changes in the mass, inasmuch as the university had not yet announced its decision. Anticipating interference from the elector, on Christmas day Carlstadt preached a short sermon in the castle church, in which he treated of the abuse of the mass. He then stepped to the altar, read the mass service as far as to the gospel lesson, omitting the *canon missae*, the elevation, and everything that savored of sacrifice, and administered the communion to all who wished it, using the words of institution. At the close of the service he announced that thereafter he would lay aside the usual vestments, and would omit other ceremonies. On New Year's day and on Epiphany he administered the Lord's Supper under both kinds with simple ceremonies to very large numbers of communicants.¹⁴

The decisive step had now been taken. The venerable institution of the mass, the most effective instrument of the church's power over the souls and bodies of men, had been abrogated, annulled, and set aside at Wittenberg. The doctrine that had been so ardently taught and proclaimed by Luther, Melancthon, Zwingli, and Carlstadt had now been practically applied. It was a heroic act, and as such it deserves to be classed with the nailing up of the ninety-five theses, and the burning of the pope's bull. Had Carlstadt abstained from certain acts of fanatical extravagance and from alliance with the Zwickau prophets, he would today be universally regarded by Protestants as the reformer of worship. His ideas were correct, viz., that the Lord's Supper is a communion; that its celebration must be preceded or attended by the preaching of the divine Word; that it must be administered under both kinds; and that it must be open to those who desire it.

Nor was the work of Carlstadt, though in several respects defective and confused, without valuable results. The time had come for the change, which was approved by the theologians

¹⁴ *Real-Encyclopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 2. Auflage, Vol. VII, p. 526; J. KÖSTLIN, *Martin Luther*, Vol. I, p. 515.

and the people. On the first day of January, 1522, Felix Ulsценius wrote to Capito: "Dr. Carlstadt has preached in the castle church, and has administered the body and blood of Christ according to the original institution and apostolic usage. The priests are very anxious about their own stomachs. We must obey God rather than a miserable man."¹⁵ On the same day Justus Jonas wrote to Capito: "On Christmas and on New Year's day a large part of the citizens communed under both kinds. I am sure that Wittenberg will be in ill repute. But the church rests on the clear Word of God, and has the example of the ancients."¹⁶ To Johann Lange he wrote January 8: "Christmas, Epiphany, and circumcision day almost all of the people here communed under both kinds. Also more than two hundred persons communed at Lochau. The same was done at Schmiedburg. We are sorry to learn that we are openly called heretics, though this may appear to the enemy as a small matter. But, however it may be, the people, fired by the writings of Dr. Martin, seemed to be on the point of seizing it themselves, had it not been given them."¹⁷

The most of the priests connected with the castle church continued to say mass in the old way, but from about the first of January, 1522, private masses ceased to be said in the parish church, and henceforth the doors of that church were closed on weekdays. A communion service took the place of the Roman Catholic mass. That the change might have the sanction of authority, Carlstadt, who was now practically at the head of affairs, drew up a social and ecclesiastical constitution, which was accepted and approved by the university and by the town council. The order for worship, the first composed according to evangelical principles, and officially ratified January 24, 1522, is as follows: The Introit; the Kyrie; the Gloria in Excelsis; the Collect; the Epistle; the Gradual; the Gospel; the Creed; the Offertory; the Preface; the Sanctus; the Communion, which closes with a collect, without the *Ite, missa est*. The *canon*

¹⁵ *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1882, p. 330.

¹⁶ *Jonas' Briefwechsel*, Vol I, p. 82.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

missae is omitted, and the bread and wine are placed in the hands of the communicants.¹⁸

This directory, though it was not long used at Wittenberg, has permanent value, and has left an abiding impression on the Lutheran orders of worship. It fixed the custom of retaining the pure parts of the traditional service; of omitting the canon; of giving the chief place to the sermon; of consecrating the elements in the vernacular; and of giving both the bread and wine to each communicant. Luther's subsequent reforms of the service simply carried forward this first evangelical order in the direction of greater simplicity, as notably in his *Formula missae* (1523), and in his *Deutsche Messe* (1526). Of these two the former has an order almost identical with that of Carlstadt; while the latter has the following order: Hymn or Psalm; Kyrie; Gloria; Collect; Epistle; Gospel; Creed; Sermon; Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer; Consecration and Distribution; Agnus Dei; Collect; Benediction.

There is no evidence that Luther's *Formula missae* was ever used at Wittenberg, for the church at Wittenberg had banished the Latin language from the service of worship, and had introduced the German language, on the principle that worship can be truly profitable to the worshiper only as its forms are understood, since the words of promise contained in the gospel and in the sacrament are the proper objects of faith, without which worship degenerates into a performance, an *opus operatum*.

And the example of Wittenberg was now rapidly followed in exchanging the Roman Catholic mass for the communion under both kinds, and by the use of the German language, though the word "mass" was long retained as the designation of such service. No doubt the process of change was hastened by the publication, in January, 1522, of Luther's *De abroganda missa privata*.

In this same year a German mass was introduced at Basel by Rudolph Weissenberg, at Nördlingen by Caspar Kantz, at

¹⁸ Reprinted in RICHTER, *Die Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Vol. II, p. 484; also in *Corpus Reformatorum*, Vol. I, p. 540, in a little different order; also in SECKENDORF, *Historia Lutheranismi*, Vol. I, p. 217.

Strassburg by Pastor Zell. At Easter, in 1523, Thomas Münzer introduced the German mass at Alstädt in Thuringia. The following year his orders for matins, vespers, and the mass were published in print. In 1523 Zwingli published his *Epichiresis de canone missae*, a trenchant and energetic criticism and condemnation of the Roman Catholic mass. Fault is found chiefly with the *canon*, which is regarded as utterly contrary to the teaching of the Scriptures. He proposes the following order of service, which is remarkable for its liturgical conservatism: Introit; Kyrie; Gloria in Excelsis; Collect; Epistle; Hallelujah, with sequence; Gospel; Confession of Faith; General Prayer; Preface and Sanctus; Consecration, consisting of a prayer and the words of institution; Distribution; Prayer of Thanksgiving; Nunc Dimittis; Benediction.

But this order was not used, and not until in 1525 was the Roman Catholic mass abolished at Zürich and an evangelical service introduced. The liturgical service prepared by Zwingli, with the title "Action or Use of the Lord's Supper,"¹⁹ has the double distinction of being the first Reformed liturgy, and of being the most responsive or antiphonal service ever used in the Christian church: Prayer; Reading of 1 Cor. 11:10-20; Gloria in Excelsis, said in alternate sentences by the men and women responsively, or antiphonally; Salutation; Reading of John 6:47-64; Apostles' Creed, said antiphonally, as is the Gloria in Excelsis; Exhortation and Lord's Prayer; Another Prayer; Distribution of the Elements; Reading of Ps. 113 antiphonally by the minister, men, and women; Thanksgiving.

The communion was first celebrated according to this rite on Thursday of Passion Week, in 1525. "Indescribably great," says Jean Grob, one of Zwingli's biographers, "was the impression made by this first celebration according to the new mode. All were most deeply affected. Aged men and women, while receiving the bread and wine with thankful emotions, wept aloud. After the celebration many embraced each other as redeemed brethren. People who had long been enemies extended their hands sincerely to one another; a spirit of brotherly love, as in

¹⁹ *Deutsche Werke*, Vol. II, pp. 235 ff.

the early Christian church, could be felt everywhere. Zwingli could not thank the Lord sufficiently for the rich blessing of this first celebration of the Lord's Supper."²⁰

In Passion Week of 1524 Wolfgang Volprecht introduced a German evangelical mass—that is, a communion with the use of the German language—at Nuremberg. He was soon followed by Andreas Döber, pastor at the new spital in the same city. In the same year Bugenhagen prepared a German order for Wittenberg, and Köpphel a similar one for Strassburg. The next year a German order appeared at Erfurt, of which Johann Lange and Justus Jonas are supposed to be the authors. These several orders last named bear such a remarkable resemblance to each other and to Carlstadt's order as to suggest that they must have imitated a common model, or at least that they have their common preconception in Carlstadt's order. And yet, notwithstanding the remarkable similarity *inter sese*, there were yet sufficient differences to call out the following complaint from the Strassburgers to Luther: "You celebrate the Lord's Supper in one way, the Nurembergers in another way, we in another way, and our Nördlingen neighbors in another way. Not a few persons regard this as a proof of inconsistency and uncertainty." They express the hope that uniform ceremonies will be adopted by the churches.²¹

We do not know what Luther wrote in reply to this letter. But when, a short time before this, Nicholas Hausmann, of Zwickau, requested him to prepare a German mass for the evangelicals, and suggested the calling of a council for the purpose of arranging uniform ceremonies, Luther replied: "I desire a vernacular mass, but I do not care to promise it, since I am not equal to the task, which requires music and spirituality. I permit all to do as they like until Christ shall have given something different. I do not think it safe to appoint a council from among us to arrange for uniformity of ceremonies. The history of the councils from the beginning deters me. As in the council of the apostles works and traditions were considered, rather than faith,

²⁰ *Life of Zwingli*, chap. xv.

²¹ *Luther's Werke*, Weimar edition, Vol. XIX, p. 45.

so in those of later times faith was never discussed, but always opinions and questions. Hence I mistrust and dislike the name of 'council' almost as much as the words 'free will.' If one church wishes to follow another in these external things, what need is there of compulsion by conciliar decrees, which will soon be turned into laws, and snares of souls? Let one church imitate another voluntarily, or be permitted to enjoy its customs, provided unity of spirit be preserved in faith and the word, though there be diversity and variety in the flesh and in the elements of the world."²²

The same liberal and evangelical principle had been enunciated by Luther in his *Formula missae*, prepared in November, 1523, in which he says: "We will apply our hand to making provision for the public administration; yet we will hinder no one from accepting and following another; yea, we earnestly and for Christ's sake beseech that, if anything better shall have been revealed to them, they bid us be silent, that by a common labor we may serve the common cause." And in his German mass of the year 1526 he says that he does not mean to set up a law, nor to bind the conscience of anyone with his form of worship, but he sends it forth "because everywhere the German mass and divine service are insisted on, and much complaint and scandal exist in consequence of the manifold forms of the new masses."

This principle of freedom and independence of authority in all matters of ceremony has ever prevailed in the Lutheran church. For the most part Luther's *Formula missae* and his German mass were accepted as guides and patterns in the Lutheran church, but neither of them ever had extensive use. Nearly every principality and large city in Germany constructed its own order of service, so that during the sixteenth century nearly two hundred Lutheran liturgies came into use. Unity of doctrine was emphasized and insisted on, but not uniformity of ceremonies. Indeed, Lutherans have rather prided themselves on diversity in forms of worship, and no Lutheran synod, or

²² DE WETTE, *Luthers Briefe*, Vol. II, p. 563.

conference, or consistory has ever condemned another Lutheran body nor any Lutheran congregation because of difference in the forms and ceremonies of worship. Hence it has become a law in the Lutheran church, guaranteed by the confessions themselves, that forms and orders of worship are not to be imposed, nor accepted, nor used as tests of soundness in the faith.

THE OLD TESTAMENT TEACHING CONCERNING GOD.

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FOR centuries theologians have differed greatly in their views as to the central doctrine of systematic theology. But in reference to the biblical theology of the Old Testament no such difference of opinion is found, it being generally agreed that the central position should be accorded to the doctrine of God. "The religious development of Israel is virtually a development in the idea of God."¹ The present inquiry is of importance, therefore, not only in itself, but also in its relation to the whole subject of the biblical theology of the Old Testament. Although much has been written concerning this subject, the conclusions reached have been so diverse that further consideration of the matter is not unnecessary.

An inquiry into the origin of the Old Testament teaching concerning God is not, strictly speaking, included in biblical theology. But it is a question which, besides being intrinsically of great importance, is so closely connected with that of the teaching itself that it should be considered here.

The present discussion will necessarily be rather brief, and will proceed, as already implied, from the point of view of biblical rather than of systematic theology. The aim, therefore, will be, not to present exhaustively all that the Old Testament has to say concerning God, but to consider the teachings upon which especial emphasis is placed in the Old Testament itself. Since the prophets teach theology more fully than any other part of the Old Testament, their writings will for that reason be chiefly, although by no means exclusively, considered.

As the present inquiry should keep in mind, so far as possible, chronological order in the development of thought, the important question arises: What is the chronological order of Old Testament literature? The Old Testament itself expressly indicates such

¹ A. B. DAVIDSON in HASTINGS, *A Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II, p. 201.

an order only to a very limited extent, so that the chief guide must be the indirect indications furnished by the literature. The conclusions of higher criticism have furnished in some respects a different order from that which was formerly held. This question is one that is too large to be discussed here with any fulness. It may be sufficient to say that the present writer accepts some of the usual conclusions of higher criticism, but some he is unable to accept. It is his conviction, *e. g.*, that the dates generally given to the documents of the Hexateuch, especially D and P, are too late, at least for their substance; that Moses surely wrote the kernel of the Pentateuch, and David many of the psalms; and that such books as Joel and Proverbs are of early date. With a view to strengthening the argument, however, it has seemed best in the present discussion not to argue from passages concerning whose date there is much difference of opinion, but from those on which there is substantial agreement among most modern scholars. Occasionally when the question of date affects especially the point at issue the fact will be expressly indicated.

I. There are certain preliminary considerations with reference to the Old Testament which it will be desirable to keep in mind.

1. Neither the Old Testament as a whole nor any part of it was written distinctively as a systematic or complete theological treatise. The emphasis in each portion is put on the truth of practical importance at that particular time, while other truths, in themselves of importance, are left unmentioned. There is peculiar danger, therefore, that an argument from silence may be fallacious.

2. In general, theological questions in the Old Testament are not treated speculatively or philosophically. A speculative treatment is found, to be sure, in books like Job. But even here it is speculation designed to solve practical difficulties. It is often necessary, therefore, to be careful not to give a metaphysical meaning to words and phrases, such as they might have at the present time, but did not have when first spoken or written. Even when it is a matter of necessity or convenience to use expressions common in theological discussions of the present

day, they must often be used in a meaning somewhat different from that which they bear in modern times.

3. The distinction must be carefully made between the teachings of the Old Testament, or of any part of it, and the ideas of many of the people of Israel, even of many of the leaders. This distinction is frequently not observed, and great confusion results thereby. Nothing is more certain than that many of the Hebrews had low ideas of God, especially throughout the pre-exilic period of Old Testament history. But to grant that is a far different thing from saying that such are the teachings of the Old Testament itself. The prophets were continually proclaiming doctrines which were not followed in practice by the mass of the people. But it is the sermons of the prophets, and not the customs of the people, which contain the teachings of the Old Testament. The Old Testament recognizes the existence of much which it does not indorse.

4. There is a progressiveness in revelation in the Old Testament, as also in the New. This means, in general, that God's revelation of himself to men is conditioned by their capacity to receive the revelation—a principle clearly recognized by Christ when he said to his disciples: "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now," John 16: 12. Hence, in general, there is an increasing fulness and definiteness in the teaching as we advance chronologically throughout the Old Testament.

II. The origin of the Old Testament conception of God.

This question, as often discussed, is: What was the origin of the religion of the Hebrews? Yet the form in which it is stated above really contains the substance of the matter, for the reason, already suggested, that the conception of God occupied a central position in the religion of the Hebrews.

The different views of the origin of the Old Testament conception of God may be classified as follows:

1. The explanation has been given that the Semitic disposition naturally inclined to monotheism, or at least to something approximating to it. This view has been held by Renan,^a

^a *Journal asiatique*, 1859.

Hitzig,³ and others.⁴ In favor of it it has been urged that the three great monotheistic religions of the world—Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism—are of Semitic origin. Increasing knowledge of the Semitic nations, however, has shown the untenableness of this view. The three religions named were not independent in origin; Judaism and Christianity are really one, and both originated among the Hebrews. The essence of Mohammedanism was borrowed from Judaism and Christianity, chiefly the former. For its monotheism it is certainly indebted to Judaism. The Arabs before the time of Mohammed were polytheistic, and so in fact were all the other Semitic nations, except the Hebrews. Even the Hebrews found it only too easy to relapse into polytheism. So this view is plainly disproved by the facts now known. It may further be said that, even if this explanation were sufficient to account for the monotheism of the Hebrews, it would still be an inadequate explanation, because the essence of the Old Testament teaching concerning God is so much more than monotheism, the holiness of God being, in fact, fully as fundamental.

2. The explanation has been given that the religion of Israel, especially their conception of God, was, in its essence, borrowed from some external source. Many different views concerning this source have been held. Some, in older times, have thought that it was to be found in the far-famed Chaldean wisdom, which Abraham brought with him from Ur of the Chaldees. But we now know enough of the religion of Mesopotamia in the time of Abraham to affirm positively that it was radically unlike that of Israel.

Kaiser, Schiller, and Plessing have sought the source in Egypt, and with them Decius and von Cölln have agreed in part.⁵ Their explanation is that the Egyptian priests had a secret monotheistic teaching, which was transmitted from age to age, and into which Moses was initiated. Against this view it

³ *Vorlesungen über biblische Theologie und messianische Weissagungen des Alten Testaments*, pp. 11-14.

⁴ See in general DILLMANN, *Handbuch der alttestamentlichen Theologie*, pp. 59 f.

⁵ See for this view DILLMANN, *ibid.*, pp. 52 f.

may be said, as Dillmann⁶ has done, that the belief in the existence of any real monotheism in Egypt is now generally thought to have no solid foundation. Besides, as already stated, the Old Testament conception of God is much more than monotheism, so that, even if the existence of a possible source of monotheistic teaching could be shown, the religion of the Old Testament would still be unaccounted for. On general grounds, also, the improbability of this explanation is seen, because the history of Moses' time emphasizes the contrast between the religion of the Hebrews and of Egypt; it gives no hint of similarity.

Others think that Yahweh was the god of Jethro (Reuel), and that his worship was borrowed by the Hebrews from Jethro and the Midianites. Among those who have held this view in some form are Ghillany, Tiele, Stade,⁷ Smend,⁸ and Budde.⁹ This is really a conjecture, based chiefly on the fact that Jethro was the father-in-law of Moses and appears prominently in connection with him at various times. In reply it may be sufficient to say that there is no evidence in favor of the view, and that, in fact, what Jethro is said to have furnished Moses was not teaching concerning God, but only advice in certain practical matters concerning the administration of justice.

The various attempts which have been made to explain the *name* "Yahweh," as derived or borrowed from some foreign language, by Voltaire, Schiller, Bohlen, Brugsch, Hartmann, Hitzig, Hoffmann, Niebuhr, Hommel,¹⁰ etc., need not be considered here in detail, because in most cases they are concerned merely with the *name*, and do not imply a foreign origin for the religion of Yahweh itself.

3. The conception of God is often explained as the result simply of development or evolution. The original conception of the Hebrews is supposed to have been that of a national god, who was in essence a nature-god, or personification of some of

⁶ DILLMANN, *Handbuch der alttestamentlichen Theologie*, pp. 53 f.

⁷ STADE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Vol. I, pp. 126, 133.

⁸ *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte*, p. 30.

⁹ In general see DILLMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 103, note 1.

¹⁰ See for these views especially KÖNIG, *Expository Times*, January, 1899, pp. 189-92.

the forces of nature, and this conception was adopted by Moses without substantial change. The higher conception, that of an ethical God, was introduced by the prophets, but even then was developed out of the older idea by a purely natural process. According to this view, the religion of the Hebrews differed only in slight details, not in essence, from that of their Semitic neighbors, the Edomites, Moabites, and others. This is essentially the view of Kuenen,¹¹ Duhm,¹² Wellhausen,¹³ Stade,¹⁴ Smend,¹⁵ and others.¹⁶ Most of these would hold that Yahweh was originally a personification of light.

Against this view it may be said: (a) The question is primarily one of fact. As such, the chief argument urged in its favor from the Old Testament is fallacious. That argument is substantially this: Because in the earlier times many of the Hebrews had no higher ideas of God than those of the surrounding nations, therefore the Hebrew idea of God as a whole was of this same low character. We have already spoken of the distinction which shows the inconclusiveness of this reasoning. In reality the evidence of the Old Testament is all against this view, in two ways. On the one hand, manifold passages make it plain that the conception of God held by the Hebrews in the time of Moses or earlier was much higher than that of the surrounding nations. This appears from the explicit teachings of Moses, as in the ten commandments, which teach practical monotheism and the spirituality of God, as will be seen more fully in the later discussion; which are teachings far higher than could be found elsewhere at that time. It also appears from the rebukes given to Israel by Moses, and by others afterward, for sharing the ideas and following the customs of the surrounding nations. On the other hand, it is equally evident from many passages that the prophets did not represent themselves as

¹¹ *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 313-29.

¹² *Die Theologie der Propheten*, pp. 73-91, 103, etc.

¹³ *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, pp. 22-35 and 123-32.

¹⁴ *Geschichte Israels*, Vol. I, especially pp. 428-39.

¹⁵ *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte*, pp. 12-27, 159-67, etc.

¹⁶ See DILLMANN, *Handbuch der alttestamentlichen Theologie*, pp. 54 ff.

preaching a doctrine that was new and radically different from that which had preceded, but as giving teachings which, at least in germ, were familiar, but were now more fully unfolded and emphatically stated. The attitude of the prophets is regularly that of severe reproof of the people for not practicing that which is already familiar to them, but which they have allowed themselves to neglect. (b) The change supposed is, in the nature of the case, incredible. A nature religion cannot by its own inherent force develop into an ethical religion; the two things are radically different. The evolution of an ethical religion from a nature religion pure and simple is impossible, because it is an effect without a cause. By the mere working of evolution the prophets themselves would not have become teachers of an ethical religion, but soothsayers and diviners, as the prophets were in the surrounding nations, and as they were in Greece and Rome. The Old Testament religion shows a moral life flowing from its ethical character which exists nowhere else in antiquity. To account for this merely by evolution is as impossible as to account for the origin of physical life by evolution, which is apparently a hopeless task, although many scientists dream of being able to accomplish it some day.

4. The religion of Israel in general, including the conception of God, shows simply the remains of a primitive revelation made in the very beginnings of humanity upon earth. This was a common older view, but is now generally abandoned. It is possible that there are traces of knowledge from this source. But they must be slight, as shown, *e. g.*, by the fact that even the immediate ancestors of Abraham were polytheists. The explanation is decidedly insufficient to account for the facts.

5. The Old Testament teaching concerning God is the result of revelation from God made "by divers portions and in divers manners," to Moses, and to patriarchs, prophets, and poets before and after his time. There are manifold lines of proof that the Old Testament gives a revelation from God. We are here directly concerned, however, only with the question whether its teaching concerning God is the result of revelation from God. To establish this point there are two especially important lines of proof:

(a) This is throughout the consistent claim of the Old Testament. Moses is said to have received a call from Yahweh and to have taught the people what was revealed to him by Yahweh. The other prophets as well were continually saying: "Thus saith Yahweh." These statements do not at all explicitly define the method or extent of this revelation, but positively assert the fact. (b) This is the only adequate explanation of the plain facts which meet us, the only one in which the cause is sufficient for the effect. The more fully the Old Testament conception of God is compared with that current among the surrounding nations, even the kindred Semitic nations, the more striking is seen to be the contrast between them. What kind of a conception of God could be attained in the times of the Hebrews merely by the natural efforts of nations comparatively civilized, intelligent, and religious, is clearly shown by Moab, Edom, and Phœnicia, with their national gods, who were but nature-gods; or by Babylonia and Assyria, with their pantheon, in which was no god who was more than a magnified image of his worshiper. The Old Testament teaching is distinguished fundamentally from all these, not only by its monotheism, but also by a conception of the holiness of God, in which is included moral purity, which makes the Old Testament religion an ethical one and affords a sound basis for morality. Such teachings are absolutely unique among the religious teachings of antiquity, and can have come only from revelation.

III. We pass to a consideration of the teaching itself of the Old Testament concerning the nature and attributes of God.

1. The nature of God.

(a) The unity of God, or monotheism. It is claimed by many that in the Old Testament real monotheism does not appear until a late date. The time of its appearance is somewhat disputed, but by Baudissin¹⁷ it is put as late as the time of Jeremiah. Those who maintain this view hold that all the early teaching which approximates to monotheism is really henotheism or monolatry, the latter being the more appropriate term. In other words, it is claimed that the teaching of Moses, and the teaching

¹⁷See PIEPENBRING, *Theology of the Old Testament*, pp. 93 ff.

for centuries after his time, was not, There is no God except Yahweh, but, It is your duty to worship Yahweh, because he is the national God of Israel, just as Chemosh is the national god of Moab. This is claimed to be the teaching of the first commandment: "Thou shalt have none other gods before me," Exod. 20:3. It is also thought to be favored by many passages which speak of Yahweh as the God of Israel and Israel as the people of Yahweh. This view is presented popularly by Rev. Arthur E. Whatham.¹⁸

This view is apparently the common Semitic idea of national gods, based originally on the notion that there is a physical connection between a god and his people. It must not be thought to be necessarily identical, however, with the one previously mentioned, which would make the religion of Moses entirely identical in substance with that of the surrounding nations. In the view now being considered Israel is like the surrounding nations in believing in national gods, but may be superior to them in having to some extent an ethical conception of God.

The question as to the correctness of this view is perhaps partly one as to the use of language. If the term "monolatry," as here used, is intended to include any *express recognition* of the existence of the gods of other nations, then the view must be regarded as unfounded. There is no such express recognition in the language quoted in favor of the view. If, however, the term means to imply simply that the existence of the gods of other nations was not explicitly denied, the view may be regarded as probably correct. If the latter statement is all that is meant, however, then the term *practical monotheism* really represents the facts better than *monolatry*. This is no more than would be expected from the practical rather than speculative nature of the Old Testament. In a world of polytheism the first practical necessity was to have nothing to do with other gods, whether real or unreal; later came the forcible assertions of their non-existence, theoretical monotheism. But even in the early times there are many things which show a higher idea of God than that of the

¹⁸ "Were the Israelites Ever Polytheists?" *Biblical World*, May, 1899, pp. 293-307.

surrounding nations, and point in the direction of monotheism. "If the decalogue be Mosaic, there was virtual monotheism in Israel since the exodus, though it might be only among the higher minds, and more latent than conscious."⁹ Some indications of this "latent" monotheism from early times, justifying the interpretation of the first commandment as teaching practical monotheism, are the following: (1) Specific phrases are used in passages of early date, which do not expressly assert, but imply, monotheism. Here may be mentioned such passages as 1 Sam. 2:2, in the song of Hannah: "There is none holy as Yahweh; for there is none beside thee;" 2 Sam. 7:22, the words of David: "Wherefore thou art great, O Yahweh God! for there is none like thee;" and 2 Sam. 22:32 (= Ps. 18:31), the words of David: "For who is God, save Yahweh? and who is a rock, save our God?" (2) In passages in Genesis admittedly of early date the God of the Hebrews is described as the creator of heaven and earth and the ruler of the earth. Thus in the words of Abraham, Gen. 18:25, he is called the judge of all the earth. This is inconsistent with the idea of national gods. (3) The national god was a local god, who lived and manifested his power in his own land. How can this be reconciled with the teaching concerning Yahweh, that he was with Israel in power in all their wanderings from the time of Abraham till the final subjugation of Palestine, and even when settled in the land of Egypt? (4) No passage of the Old Testament indicates any physical connection between Yahweh and Israel as the basis of their relation. The reason for the relation is God's free choice of Israel, and the bond of connection is the covenant which demands from Israel a character morally like Yahweh. This is in entire contrast with the idea of physical connection among the surrounding nations.

These reasons seem sufficient for saying that the teaching of the Old Testament throughout may be called monotheism, considered especially from the practical side at first, and later from the theoretical point of view as well. Expressions indicating theoretical monotheism are, however, found quite early. The history of Elijah speaks of him as emphasizing the conflict

⁹ A. B. DAVIDSON in HASTINGS, *A Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II, p. 202.

between Yahweh and Baal, insisting that both cannot be gods. Stronger expressions are found in Amos, who called the foreign gods lies, 2:4, and in Hosea, who spoke of the calf of Samaria as a not-god, 8:5, *cf.* 4. Isaiah emphasizes strongly the vanity of other gods besides Yahweh, using of them frequently the expression אֱלִילִים, *things of naught*, asserting that they are actually non-existent. Isaiah is the first writer of certain date to use this expression of idols, Lev. 19:4 and 26:1 being of disputed date. After Isaiah it is so used by several other writers.

(b) God is a person. This is the teaching of the Old Testament throughout, and there is no great progress of thought on this point. The thought of God as a metaphysical abstraction, or as a great unknown force moving in the universe, is utterly foreign to the Old Testament. The tendency is rather to what seems at times like an excessive emphasis on personality, leading to anthropomorphism, which will be discussed more fully later. In some ways the transcendence of God is emphasized, as will be seen, but his immanence is continually prominent. It is said of Moses as an exceptional thing, Exod. 33:11: "And Yahweh spoke unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend." Yet the later prophets also continually laid emphasis on the personality of God, as he acts unceasingly in his world and comes very near to men.

(c) God is always represented as a spirit. This is a thought which needs especially to be kept in mind by the side of that just mentioned.

It might seem at first sight as if this were not the teaching of the Old Testament. For God is definitely associated with certain places; he is worshiped at the tabernacle, and later at the temple; he dwells above the mercy-seat; and he manifests himself to men in connection with the phenomena of nature, such as clouds, storms, thunder, lightning, etc. Also in the common anthropomorphism, including in this term anthropopathism, of the Old Testament, God is frequently spoken of in language such as is used of men. But, on the other hand, it should be noticed that many expressions are used which teach clearly that God is not identical

with, nor necessarily associated with, those places and phenomena in connection with which he frequently manifests himself. *E. g.*, in Solomon's dedicatory prayer, 1 Kings, chap. 8, the heavens are spoken of in popular language as the dwelling-place of Yahweh, as in vs. 30: "hear thou in heaven thy dwelling-place;" and so also in vss. 32, 34, 36, etc. But in the same prayer it is recognized that in reality God can have no abode; thus in vs. 27: "But will God in very deed dwell on the earth? behold, heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house that I have builded!" So also the language of the later times, Ps. 104: 2, "Who coverest thyself with light as with a garment," only expresses definitely the distinction between God himself and the phenomena of nature with which he clothes himself, which is elsewhere implied.

In reference to the matter of anthropomorphisms, it is to be noticed that the Old Testament shows a reserve in their use which is in marked contrast with the usage of the other nations of antiquity, in which the anthropomorphic details are elaborated with great realism. An especially instructive contrast is afforded by the anthropomorphic expression used concerning the sacrifice of Noah, Gen. 8:21, "And Yahweh smelled the sweet savor," when compared with the expression used in a similar connection in the Babylonian account of the deluge: "The gods smelled the savor, the gods smelled the sweet-smelling savor, the gods gathered like flies over the sacrifices."²⁰

In general, the anthropomorphism of the Old Testament may be accounted for partly on historical grounds, it being a result of the fact that the writers and speakers used popular language in order to be intelligible to the people of their own times. The explanation is also partly that anthropomorphism, then as now, was a necessity in thinking and speaking of God, unless one would go to the extreme of thinking of him as a mere philosophical abstraction. The conception of the personality of God made anthropomorphism necessary.

It may, however, be positively affirmed that even in early times there was given direct teaching which states or implies the

²⁰ "Epic of Gilgamesh," ll. 160-62 (IV Rawlinson, second edition, plates 43 f.).

spirituality of God. This appears chiefly from the second commandment, Exod. 20:4, 5: "Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, nor the likeness of any form that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down thyself to them nor serve them." Here what is forbidden is the representation of Yahweh by any kind of an image for worship. It is not therein expressly stated that God is invisible and incorporeal, but that is naturally implied. The only special advance made in the later times on this point is that in general the prophets lay more emphasis on the fact that God is unlike man and exalted far above him, and also far above all created things. Hence the worship inculcated by the prophets is the worship of God as a spirit; it does not consist essentially of external acts performed at certain places and times, such as sacrifices, but of that which is internal, the attitude of the heart toward God, manifesting itself in a right life. This is not peculiar to any one prophet, but is the common prophetic teaching. What will be said under the next head will also indicate somewhat in detail how God as a spirit was conceived.

2. The metaphysical attributes of God. For convenience the terminology of Piepenbring²¹ is adopted, and the *metaphysical* attributes are here spoken of, and later the *moral* attributes. The term "metaphysical" is not to be taken fully in the modern sense; even those attributes which may be called metaphysical are contemplated from the practical standpoint.

All these metaphysical attributes we should probably sum up by saying that God is infinite. The Old Testament expresses substantially the same thought from the practical side by speaking of the majesty of God, and using other similar phrases. Our term is metaphysical, meaning that God *cannot* be bound by *any* limitations. The Old Testament term is practical, meaning rather that God is not bound by any limitations *such as man experiences*; he is above them, he is superhuman, supernatural. This has been put very justly by Schultz²² in a passage which may be

²¹ *Theology of the Old Testament*, pp. 114, 120.

²² *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, p. 418.

translated: "Not the idea of the Absolute interested the pious, but the power of the divine personality, its actual protection, and its genuine providence. One saw in the personal freedom of God, over against time, space, and created things, the certainty that he is the covenant God of his people, who is absolutely trustworthy and hindered by no limitations."

This general teaching of the majesty or infinitude of God first appears prominently in the Davidic psalms, although with many suggestions before that time. It is expressed with great poetic beauty in such Davidic psalms as Ps. 18. Later it is found most prominently in Isaiah and Deutero-Isaiah, in such passages as Isa. 2:11: "The lofty looks of man shall be brought low, and the haughtiness of men shall be bowed down, and Yahweh alone shall be exalted in that day;" and Isa. 57:15: "For thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy: I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit."

As subdivisions under this head we may mention:

(a) God is not bound by the ordinary limitations of time. Here, too, we must remember that it is from the practical side that this attribute is spoken of; the life of God is not like the life of man, the time limits of humanity do not apply to him, no time limit is assigned to him. In modern phrase we should say: "God is eternal;" and this really represents the Old Testament teaching, only putting it in a more theoretical form. Of course, the theoretical side becomes more prominent in the later parts of the Old Testament. A further indication of the general practical nature of the Old Testament treatment is afforded by the fact that it is not the eternity of God in itself, but in its effects, which is usually contemplated. Thus it is said frequently that the kingdom or rule of Yahweh is eternal, as in Exod. 15:18: "Yahweh shall reign for ever and ever," and Ps. 10:16: "Yahweh is king for ever and ever;" his mercy is eternal, Ps. 103:17: "But the mercy of Yahweh is from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear him, and his righteousness unto children's children;" the same is true of his salvation, Isa. 51:6: "The heavens shall vanish away like smoke, and the earth shall wax

old like a garment, and they that dwell therein shall die in like manner: but my salvation shall be for ever, and my righteousness shall not be abolished;" and of his word, Isa. 40:8: "The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: but the word of our God shall stand for ever." So far as the strength of these passages depends on the Hebrew words for "eternity," especially עולם and עַד, it needs to be kept in mind that they often do not mean more than "indefinite duration." But in many of the passages quoted, especially the later passages, stronger expressions are used.

The development and emphasis of this attribute is found in the later times, especially in Deutero-Isaiah. This is seen from the quotations already given, and also from such passages as Isa. 41:4: "Who hath wrought and done it, calling the generations from the beginning? I, Yahweh, the first, and with the last, I am he;" 43:10: "Before me there was no God formed, neither shall there be after me;" 44:6: "Thus saith Yahweh, the King of Israel, and his redeemer Yahweh of hosts: I am the first, and I am the last; and beside me there is no God;" and 48:12: "Hearken unto me, O Jacob, and Israel my called: I am he; I am the first, I also am the last." This attribute will be referred to again in another connection.

(b) The freedom of the power of God from human limitations, or, in modern, more theoretical, phrase, the omnipotence of God. In the practical form of treatment of the Old Testament it means that the power of God is dwelt upon, that no limits are assigned to it. This is an attribute on which naturally special stress is laid in the Old Testament. With equal naturalness it is a trait which is specially emphasized in all other religions. While in the polytheistic religions, however, the power of the gods is greater than that of men, yet the gods are represented as working against each other, so that the power of each one is very much limited. In the Old Testament there is no such limitation, but God has created and governs all things. His hand, his arm, his power, his strength, are often spoken of, in all parts of the Old Testament; see, *e. g.*, Gen. 18:14: "Is anything too hard for Yahweh?" The prophets in general develop the

thought by laying special emphasis upon God's power in controlling the destinies of other nations as well as of Israel. Thus in Amos 9: 7 Yahweh says: "Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir?" In Habakkuk it is Yahweh who raises up the Chaldeans, and it is Yahweh also who shall cause their destruction. In Jer., chap. 18, not only Israel, but other nations, are in the power of Yahweh, as clay in the hands of a potter. In Deutero-Isaiah occur such expressions as this, 43: 13: "Yea, since the day was I am he; and there is none that can deliver out of my hand: I will work, and who shall let it?"

(c) The freedom of God from the limitations of space, or, in modern theoretical phrase, the omnipresence of God. This is viewed no less practically than those which have preceded it. This attribute is expressed strongly even in early times, as in Gen. 28: 15, in the language of God to Jacob: "And, behold, I am with thee, and will keep thee whithersoever thou goest, and will bring thee again into this land; for I will not leave thee until I have done that which I have spoken to thee of." It is expressed very strongly by Amos, from the theoretical as well as the practical side, 9: 2-4: "Though they dig into hell, thence shall mine hand take them. And though they climb up to heaven, thence will I bring them down; and though they hide themselves in the top of Carmel, I will search and take them out thence; and though they be hid from my sight in the bottom of the sea, thence will I command the serpent and he shall bite them. And though they go into captivity before their enemies, thence will I command the sword and it shall slay them; and I will set mine eyes upon them for evil and not for good;" and also by Jeremiah, in 23: 23 f.: "Am I a God at hand, saith Yahweh, and not a God afar off? Can any hide himself in secret places that I shall not see him? saith Yahweh. Do not I fill heaven and earth? saith Yahweh;" and in Isa. 43: 2: "When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee." It is a conspicuous thought in the later, chiefly the

post-exilic, psalms; see especially Ps. 139:5-10: "Thou hast beset me behind and before, and laid thine hand upon me. Such knowledge is too wonderful for me; it is high, I cannot attain unto it. Whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend up unto heaven, thou art there: if I make my bed in Sheol, behold, thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea; even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me."

(*d*) The freedom of the knowledge of God from human limitations, or, in modern phrase, the omniscience. The proof of this is found by the Old Testament writers partly in his omnipresence. Thus in Ps. 139, in close connection with the passage just quoted, occur these words, vss. 3 and 4: "Thou searchest out my path and my lying down, and art acquainted with all my ways. For there is not a word in my tongue, but, lo, O Yahweh, thou knowest it altogether." It is also proved partly by his work in creation, as in Ps. 94:9: "He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? He that formed the eye, shall he not see?" As this teaching is so closely allied with that of omnipresence, naturally the chronological development of the two is similar. One phase of God's omniscience emphasized frequently by the prophets is that his knowledge and power extend to the future, so that he not only plans the future, but carries out his plans.

3. The moral attributes of God. These are practically summed up in the term "the holiness of God," in its most common meaning. The words "holy," "holiness," etc., are translations of different Hebrew words from the root קדש. Their use begins early, as in Exod. 3:5, and they are common after that time. The etymological meaning of this root קדש is much disputed, and need not be discussed here. It seems evident, at any rate, that the fundamental meaning of the words as used of God is "exaltation": the holiness of God is his exaltation above the limitations of all created things. This exaltation may have various specific applications. It may have reference especially to power in various ways, the infinite in contrast with the finite; holiness then conveys "the idea of divine glory,

majesty, exaltation, greatness."²³ In this sense the holiness of God is practically equivalent to his majesty, of which we have spoken as including all his metaphysical attributes; but there is usually a special emphasis on the idea of power, omnipotence. This is the meaning of the term, *e. g.*, in the early passages, Exod. 15 : 11: "Who is like unto thee, O Yahweh, among the gods? Who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?" and 1 Sam. 2 : 2: "There is none holy as Yahweh, for there is none beside thee: neither is there any rock like our God." It is also found in some later passages, as in Hab. 3 : 3, "God came from Teman, and the Holy One from Mount Paran. His glory covered the heavens, and the earth was full of his praise," considered in connection with the following description of his majesty; and in Ps. 99 : 1-3: "Yahweh reigneth; let the peoples tremble: he sitteth upon the cherubim; let the earth be moved. Yahweh is great in Zion; and he is high above all the peoples. Let them praise thy great and terrible name: holy is he." But it is characteristic of the lofty teaching of the Old Testament that this exaltation should come to be thought of prominently on its ethical side. This means that exaltation above all the limitations of created things includes exaltation above their weakness, imperfection, and sin. So that the most common meaning of the term is to express the "ethical completeness" of God, as Dillmann calls it.²⁴ All attributes which go to make up the ethically complete character of God, all moral attributes, are therefore included in the term in this common meaning. In the later usage this conception of ethical completeness was often given a specific application, so that it meant especially moral purity, freedom from sin, exaltation above the sin of mankind. Isaiah especially emphasizes the holiness of God, and in his usage it often means freedom from sin, purity. This appears in Isa. 6 : 3, "And one cried unto another and said, Holy, holy, holy is Yahweh of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory," taken in connection with 6 : 5: "Then said I, Woe is me! for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean

²³ PIEPENBRING, *Theology of the Old Testament*, p. 108.

²⁴ *Handbuch der alttestamentlichen Theologie*, p. 256.

lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips : for mine eyes have seen the King, Yahweh of hosts." As applied to men, the same meaning of the word "holy" is seen in Isa. 4 : 3, 4 : "And it shall come to pass that he that is left in Zion, and he that remaineth in Jerusalem, shall be called holy, . . . when the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion, and shall have purged the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof." A phrase which apparently originated with Isaiah, and is used frequently by him as descriptive of God, and but seldom elsewhere, except in Deutero-Isaiah, is "The Holy One of Israel." The meaning of this phrase is not that the holiness of Yahweh is expressly limited to his relation to Israel, but it indicates rather that in the relation of God to his chosen people, Israel, it is his holiness that is prominent. The implication is that God demands of his chosen people a holiness like his own.

A characteristic treatment of the matter of holiness is found in P, concerning the date of which there is difference of opinion. In this, especially in the so-called Law of Holiness, Lev., chaps. 17-26, it is expressly said that God, because he is holy, demands holiness of his people, and this is the reason for the specific laws, moral and ceremonial, given in this code. Here purity is the prominent thought in holiness. The fundamental thought is expressed in such passages as Lev. 11 : 44 : "For I am Yahweh your God : sanctify yourselves therefore, and be ye holy; for I am holy;" and 19 : 2, 3 : "Ye shall be holy: for I, Yahweh your God, am holy. Ye shall fear every man his mother, and his father, and ye shall keep my sabbaths: I am Yahweh your God."

The following moral attributes of God may be mentioned as subdivisions under his holiness, in the common meaning of ethical completeness :

(a) Faithfulness, trustworthiness, as a result of his eternal existence. In speaking of the eternity of God it was mentioned that that attribute was commonly considered, not in itself, but in its results. The chief practical result is that God is always the same; his plans and purposes, his character, are the same in every age. This thought appears frequently throughout the Old

Testament. Besides occurring as a frequent inference when the eternity of God is mentioned, this attribute connects itself chiefly with two words. One is the word "living," so often applied to Yahweh. This means, not merely that he is alive, in contrast with dead idols, but that he is ever the same living force in the world. The other is the name itself, Yahweh, the name of the God of Israel. This probably means etymologically *the existing one*. But this is to be understood religiously rather than metaphysically. He is the one who *is*, alike to every generation. This is strongly suggested by Exod. 3:14, where Yahweh himself explains the name as meaning "I am that I am," and in 3:15 he goes on to speak of himself as "Yahweh, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," and adds: "This is my name forever, and this is my memorial unto all generations."

(b) The righteousness of God. This attribute is expressed chiefly by various words derived from the root צדק . These words are used of God in a variety of ways. In general, however, there may be distinguished two classes of meanings, a broad and a narrow. In the broadest sense "righteousness" is used as practically equivalent to "holiness," meaning ethical completeness. When not used quite so broadly, it means the ethical completeness considered with special reference to some particular attribute. This attribute is often faithfulness; that is, God's righteousness is seen in his keeping his promises, regarding his covenant, and caring for those who trust in him. When this last thought is prominent, righteousness often approaches closely to the idea of mercy, as in the prayer of Ps. 31:2: "Deliver me in thy righteousness." The consideration of righteousness in these broader meanings is sufficiently covered at other points in our discussion.

In the narrower sense the righteousness of God means his justice; that is, in his relations with men he gives to each man what is his due. In a general way it is a legal term, as in our modern use; but, as used of God, justice is of course conformity, not to a human law, but to the divine standard of right, existing in the divine nature, and made known to men by revelation.

Justice includes, of course, the reward of the deserving and the punishment of the wicked. But, as God is dealing with sinful men, his justice is more frequently manifested in the latter way, in punishment.

In the earlier times the punishment most frequently mentioned in the Old Testament is that visited upon the enemies of Israel. Many have claimed, therefore, that in the early times it is not justice that Yahweh manifests, but favoritism. That is, it is asserted that Yahweh is represented as favoring Israel because they are his chosen people, and as punishing their enemies simply as enemies, without regard to the merits of the case. This would be another manifestation of the idea of national gods. An example of this is said to be the destruction of the Canaanites in order that the Hebrews might have their land.

Without discussing this view in detail, several considerations may be presented in answer. It may be granted that in form and details some of these early punishments are not such as would be inflicted at the present time. But this does not mean that they were unjust, cruel, or unwarranted. It means simply that they were adapted to the ideas and customs of the times, in order to make the needed impression. In their fundamental purpose they were fully in accordance with justice. This is seen when it is remembered that the chief reason given, for example, for the destruction of the Canaanites is their terrible moral corruption, which is so great as to render their destruction just and necessary. It must also be kept in mind that in the Old Testament a nation is often thought of collectively. This is especially true in the earlier portions, and with particular reference to the fate of nations. Hence a nation is often punished or rewarded as a whole according to its predominant national character.

A great advance in thought comes with the time of the prophets. Previous to their time it had often been insisted upon that God would and did punish Israel for their sins. But Amos is the first writer of certain date who emphasizes so strongly the universal justice of Yahweh as to predict the downfall of Israel as a punishment for sin; who affirms that God will

not only chasten, but destroy his own nation. This is taught in many passages, such as Amos 2:6-8, 14-16; 3:2; 5:1-2, 18-24; 7:9; and 9:1-4. Note especially 5:2: "The virgin of Israel is fallen; she shall no more rise: she is cast down upon her land; there is none to raise her up." Chap. 3:2 makes a new application of God's relation to his people: "You only have I known of all the families of the earth: therefore will I visit upon you all your iniquities." This teaching was incredible to the hearers of Amos, who had thought that their relation to God as his chosen people guaranteed them immunity from destruction. It may be noted also that such a conception of the justice of God was utterly unknown in any other nation in the time of Amos. The Assyrian hosts went forth to wars of conquest, of aggrandizement, and of cruelty, with the same confidence that their gods were fighting on their side as when their cause was just. In general, the nations of antiquity believed that they might be defeated in war because their gods were angry and refused to help them, or because the gods of other nations were more powerful than theirs; but that God's justice was such that he could hand over his own people to destruction on account of their sins was a conception utterly unheard of outside of Israel.

This thought of Amos is carried on by Isaiah, who emphasizes the teaching that Yahweh is the judge of all the earth, dealing with all nations on the same principles of justice, as in 3:13; 2:19, 21; 10:23; 14:26; and 28:22. Note especially 3:13: "Yahweh standeth up to plead, and standeth to judge the peoples."

In the later times God's justice in relation to the individual as well as to the nation is emphasized more fully than in the early writings.

(c) Another general attribute of God is his goodness, which manifests itself in mercy, grace, and love. Mercy and grace will first be considered. Mercy, according to the usual definition, is help to the needy; grace, favor to the undeserving. In the Old Testament use, however, they are not sharply distinguished, and may be considered together. The attribute

expressed by these two words is ascribed to God throughout the Old Testament. An early expression of God's mercy is in connection with the second commandment, *Exod. 20:6*, where Yahweh speaks of himself as "showing mercy unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments."

One very significant manifestation of God's grace is in his "longsuffering." This describes what is in a sense a triumph of mercy over justice. It is God showing mercy to men by delaying long to inflict punishment when it is richly deserved.

The mercy of God is a prominent theme with the prophets, even with many of those whose threats of punishment are most severe. These threats are interspersed with exhortations to repent and seek mercy from God. It is always implied, and frequently stated, that God will show mercy, and not simply justice, however aggravated the offense may be, if the people will only repent, although sometimes the message is only of punishment, because the people were supposed to be beyond the point where repentance was probable.

Naturally, it is God's mercy to Israel that finds chief expression, yet there are not lacking many indications that this quality is manifested also to other nations. Perhaps the most striking expression of the broadness of God's plans of mercy is found in *Isa. 19:24, 25*: "In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth: for that Yahweh of hosts hath blessed them, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance." Here Isaiah puts Egypt and Assyria, the inveterate enemies of Israel, on an equality with the chosen people as sharers in God's plans of mercy.

The same thought finds expression in the book of *Jonah*. Whatever other lessons this book may have been designed to teach, one of its most prominent lessons is certainly this: God shows mercy, even after specific threat of punishment, to a foreign nation that repents of its sins.

Closely connected with the mercy and grace of God is his love. In reality, they are the manifestation of love. Yet, while mercy and grace are spoken of in all the Old Testament, it is only in

the prophets that the love of God is prominent. It is spoken of quite independently of mercy and grace.

The thought of the love of Yahweh for Israel is implied rather than expressly stated when Israel is called the son, or firstborn son, of Yahweh. This term is common in early times, as in Exod. 4 : 22, 23 : "And thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, Thus saith Yahweh, Israel is my son, my firstborn : and I have said unto thee, Let my son go, that he may serve me ; and thou hast refused to let him go : behold, I will slay thy son, thy first-born ;" and in the later times as well. The correlated term, Yahweh as the father of Israel, is also frequent, as in Deut. 32 : 6 ; Isa. 63 : 16, etc.

It is the prophet Hosea who most tenderly depicts the love of Yahweh for Israel when he compares it to the love of a husband for a wife, even a love which triumphs over repeated acts of infidelity, and leads the husband to try every means to win back to himself the erring wife. This is seen plainly in Hos. 3 : 1 : "And Yahweh said unto me, Go yet, love a woman beloved of her friend and an adulteress, even as Yahweh loveth the children of Israel, though they turn unto other gods, and love cakes of raisins." Other expressions of the love of God are found in Hos. 11 : 3, 4, 8 ; 14 : 4-9. This love is so intense that it must awaken an answering love on the part of the people, 2 : 15 ; 3 : 5. Hosea's fundamental thought is "that the relation between Jehovah and Israel is a relation of love and of such duties as flow from love."²⁵

IV. Here a few lessons may be suggested which to some extent sum up the conclusions reached in a practical form.

1. The Old Testament teaching concerning God is radically different from the conceptions of the nations surrounding Israel. The most fundamental difference is that the religion of the Old Testament is ethical, being based on a conception of a God of exalted holiness. The impartial justice and the abounding mercy of God are the manifestations of this holiness. None of the weakness, partiality, and human imperfection which are found in all the gods of the other nations appear in the character of

²⁵ W. ROBERTSON SMITH, *The Prophets of Israel*, p. 163.

Yahweh. Here is a teaching which cannot be accounted for except as the result of divine revelation.

2. There is no warrant for thinking that the Old Testament teaching is similar to the prevailing idea of national gods, even although Israel is the chosen people of Yahweh. Neither is there any reason for holding that the Old Testament narrows God's activity to his own nation alone. The choice of Israel was plainly necessary in the plan of God. But, while it is naturally God's relations to Israel that are chiefly mentioned, yet his activity, his judgment upon sin, and his plans of mercy disregard this national limitation. There is nothing narrow in the Old Testament teaching concerning God; he is the Lord of all the earth.

3. While the relation to the New Testament teaching has not been directly mentioned, yet it must be obvious. So far as the doctrine of God is concerned, these two parts of the Bible are not in contrast, but in harmony; their fundamental teachings are the same. There are, of course, many differences in the phrases used, and in the matter of emphasis, and fuller teaching on many points in the New Testament, and also much new teaching in the New Testament. The holiness of God, for example, we have seen to be made very prominent in the Old Testament. In the New Testament it is seldom directly mentioned; it is assumed, but not specially emphasized. Many think that the Old Testament presents God as a God of justice and vengeance; the New Testament, as a God of love. But really both parts agree in teaching that, while God is a God of justice, yet his mercy and love belong to the very essence of his character. The sunshine of God's love illumines and warms both the Old and the New Testaments.

THE ORIGIN OF THE TEMPORAL PRIVILEGES OF CRUSADERS.

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THE origin of the temporal privileges of crusaders, like that of most of the other institutions of the church, is to be sought, not in direct innovation, but in custom; not in definite legislation, but in judicial interpretation. Although some hint of a similar theory has been given with reference to certain particular privileges, this explanation of the whole body of temporal privileges seems never to have been made before. Due probably to the fact that the temporal privileges, like many other matters of customary law, were in time embodied in definite legislation, the only theory which seems to have been conceived of heretofore to account for their existence as a whole is based on the assumption that their origin is to be found in definite decrees issued by popes and secular princes. It is to refute this assumption and to point out the true origin of the temporal privileges that this paper is written. In order to avoid any possible confusion, it may be well to define that particular class of immunities of which we propose to treat.

By privileges of crusaders is meant such immunities as the church either granted to those who enlisted in the holy wars or claimed belonged by right to them. Of these privileges there are two classes: one pertaining solely to things of the church, and containing exemptions from certain ecclesiastical laws or rules; the other, pertaining to things of the state, and containing exemptions from certain secular laws. It is only with the second class, which are spoken of as temporal privileges, that this paper is concerned.

Both because of their nature and by reason of their application to the thousands who took the cross to fight the enemies of the church in the East and in the West, the privileges must have had a far-reaching influence on the subsequent religious and

political life of Europe. Yet, apart from Henry C. Lea's admirable work on the indulgence,¹ very little has been written of them. Such as it is, that which has been written is to be found mainly in brief notes and references contained in works on the crusades or on some matter of contemporary interest.* The treatment of the temporal privileges in these works reveals the want of a clear understanding of their origin, and a consequent misconception of their significance—a fact well illustrated by the notes of Du Cange and Michaud, who give us the fullest discussion and the only enumerations of the privileges that we have.³

By directing attention for a moment to the way in which these two scholars came to their conclusions concerning the origin of the privileges a clearer understanding of their position may be reached. The privileges, as has been said, were in time actually embodied in definite decrees. From the time of the proclamation of the first crusade by Urban II. in 1095, the holy see, in summoning the faithful to take the cross, almost invariably promised to those who should comply some special inducement in the form of temporal privilege; and from the time when Philip Augustus began his preparations for the third crusade, the secular power in France likewise made occasional concessions to crusaders. At one time or another, between 1095 and 1215, the holy see definitely granted to crusaders respite from debt, freedom from the payment of interest, the right to

¹ *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgence*, Vol. III.

* For mention or brief discussion of the temporal privileges see such histories of the crusades as those of WILKEN, III, p. 41; MICHAUD, IV, p. 146; SYBEL, p. 187; KUGLER, pp. 18, 133, 424; ARCHER AND KINGSFORD, pp. 207, 307; and COX, p. 33. For further mention or commentary see Peter de Marca in MANSI, *Conc.*, XX, 890; Ruinart in MIGNE, *Patr.*, CLI, p. 184; DU CANGE, *Glossarium*, "crux," "crucis privilegium," and notes on *Établissements*, ed. Viollet, IV, 32; THOMSON, *Essay on Magna Carta*, p. 248; HEFELE, *Conc. Gesch.*, V, p. 222; GIESEBRECHT, *Deut. Kais.*, III, p. 670; H. C. LEA, *Hist. of Inq.*, I, p. 44; LAVISSE AND RAMBAUD, *Hist. Gen'l*, II, p. 301. For reprint of some of the privileges see WILKEN, *Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge*, VI, Appendix; for translation with notes, D. C. MUNRO, *Trans. and Reprints*, pub. University of Pennsylvania, I, No. 2.

³ *Gloss.*, "crux," "crucis privilegium," and notes on *Établissements*, ed. Viollet, IV, p. 32; and *Hist. des Croisades*, IV, p. 146.

mortgage fiefs without the consent of the overlord, and in part exemption from secular jurisdiction. With some definite limitations, but also with some additions, at one time or another, between 1188 and 1270, the king of France granted these same general privileges. Although elsewhere Du Cange and Michaud give some hint of another theory, yet, when they come to discuss the privileges as a whole, they lose sight of this fact entirely, and proceed on the assumption that in these definite papal and royal decrees they have the source of the temporal privileges. In doing this they make an error, not only in regarding the grants of secular princes as one of the sources of the privileges, but even in regarding them as the result of any direct legislation whatever.

The first error is the more obvious. Finding that some of the privileges were granted for the first time in decrees of the king of France, these scholars assumed that in them is the origin of those particular privileges, and accordingly, when they attempt to enumerate the privileges, they represent them as consisting of the papal legislation on the subject modified by the restrictions placed on it by the secular power of France. But manifestly the king of France had no power either to grant or to deny privileges to any outside his own domains, and therefore these scholars are wrong in considering the source of the privileges of the whole body of crusaders in Europe to be in grants made by the prince of any particular state.

That their origin is not in any definite legislation whatever is not so obvious. To show this will involve an examination of each of the privileges in turn to see when it was first embodied in a definite decree, and then whether or not its origin is in that particular decree.

Beginning with exemption from secular jurisdiction, the most important of the privileges, we find that partial exemption from such jurisdiction was promised to crusaders in 1145. In this year, in his famous bull summoning the faithful to the rescue of Jerusalem, Pope Eugene III. orders that until their return or death is fully proven no lawsuit shall be instituted in regard to any property of which crusaders are in peaceful possession when

they take the cross.⁴ Although this promise was frequently renewed during the period of the crusades, as were all of the other privileges when once granted by the holy see, no further grant of immunity from secular justice was ever made by any pope. Two provincial councils of the archbishopric of Tours, at a much later date, one in 1231 and the other in 1236, decreed, however, that if a crusader should confess homicide or other enormous crime in ecclesiastical court, or be convicted of it, he should be divested of his cross, but for lesser crimes he should be punished by the court of the bishop before whom he was tried.⁵ The second council afforded the additional statement that, if a crusader was taken by a secular judge for any crime whatever, he should be demanded by a competent ecclesiastical judge. Before the time when this action was taken by these two provincial councils the secular power in France had gone far beyond the single form of exemption promised by Eugene III. in 1145; how far may be seen from the fact that in 1214 Philip Augustus, who had already lent his sanction by a decree issued in 1188⁶ to the provision made by the pope, granted to crusaders in his domains almost unrestricted benefit of ecclesiastical court.⁷ Two sorts of cases only, those of crime for which the penalty was loss of life or limb and those in which fiefs were involved, he reserved for the secular court, but since in these latter he allowed the crusader an appeal to the bishop, his grant was practically an exemption from the secular court except in case of capital crime. Later in the century Saint Louis made a similar concession, although in somewhat different terms. Specifically classing crusaders with clerks, he provided in 1270 that the church should have jurisdiction over the clergy, but that, if a clerk not tonsured should commit a crime for which the penalty was death by hanging, the secular court should try him.⁸

Such are the decrees which constitute the essence of all the

⁴OTTO VON FREISING, *Gesta Fred.*, M. G. S. S., XX, p. 371.

⁵HARDUIN, *Conc.*, VII, p. 191, c. xxii; *ibid.*, p. 263, c. i.

⁶ISAMBERT, *Anc. Lois Franç.*, I, p. 171, no. 75.

⁷ISAMBERT, *ibid.*, I, p. 207, no. 117.

⁸*Établissements*, Book I, c. 84; *ibid.*, II, 465.

definite legislation on the subject of the exemption of crusaders from secular jurisdiction.⁹ In only one particular class of suits, namely, those in which the property of crusaders was involved, did the pope ever definitely grant this exemption. On the other hand, except in case of capital crime, immunity from all civil and criminal jurisdiction was conceded by the king of France. The question now is: Did the privilege in either of its forms originate in these grants? The evidence on this point is significant.

The crusaders' privilege of exemption from secular jurisdiction in cases involving their property was not embodied in a decree until the time of the proclamation of the second crusade, as has been seen, and yet, in an important case that excited much interest at the time, calling forth an expression of opinion from prominent churchmen in France, and even from Pope Pascal II. himself, such immunity was actually claimed and secured as early as 1107. Our knowledge of the case in point is obtained from the letters of Ivo, bishop of Chartres.¹⁰ From the first letter we learn that a controversy had already arisen between Hugo, viscount of Chartres, a crusader, and Rotocus, count of Perche, concerning a fortress that the latter had constructed on the land of the crusader. Hugo had given an estate in benefice to his vassal, Lord Ivo, but Rotocus had bought a part of the estate and had erected a fortress on it. Since Hugo was about to go to Jerusalem, *i. e.*, was a crusader, he had demanded justice of the church, as his right, declaring that the defense of the land belonged to him. His claim had been admitted, and a day set for the trial; but because the case could not be decided without a duel, and the church had no jurisdiction where there was shedding of blood, the case was sent to the court of the countess of Chartres, the feudal overlord of the parties. But Hugo, meanwhile, had appealed to the holy see, and the pope had ordered the bishop to do justice to the injured

⁹ Besides enjoying exemption from secular court after the middle of the thirteenth century, by order of the holy see, crusaders were freed from liability to summons before any court outside their own dioceses. Mention of this immunity is to be found first in a letter of Innocent IV. in 1250. (RYMER, *Foed.*, I, i, p. 159.)

¹⁰ BOUQUET, *Rec.*, XV, pp. 137 f., Ep., 168, 169, 170, 173.

lord, and to excommunicate the offender. The bishop, in writing to his archbishop, Diambert, asks if he is to excommunicate Rotrocus immediately, or to give him a hearing first. In the next letter Bishop Ivo writes to the bishop of Paris that the pope had been urged to see justice done in this case, and that, as his holiness did not know the details of the controversy, he had ordered Archbishop Diambert, together with the bishops of Paris, Orleans, and Chartres, to investigate them. Rotrocus, the letter goes on to inform us, had declared that he would submit to the judgment of the church; but the archbishop, in reply to Ivo's first letter, had, in the meantime, ordered that Rotrocus be excommunicated forthwith in accordance with the apostolic letters. In still another letter, the last of the correspondence on this subject which we have, Bishop Ivo writes to Pascal himself, stating that the commission constituting the special ecclesiastical court had heard the case, but had come to no decision, "*because it was a new institution for the church to protect the property of those going to Jerusalem.* We do not know," says the bishop, "whether the protection pertains to their property alone or to the lands held from them. They are both powerful lords, whom it is difficult to bring to terms; consequently," the letter concludes, "both are being sent to you."

This is all we learn of the case, but the material which we have is sufficient to prove that by 1107, in a suit involving his property, a crusader, instead of being obliged to go before the secular court that ordinarily had jurisdiction over such cases, had the much-prized benefit of ecclesiastical court. So far as the relation of crusaders to the state was concerned, therefore, when, in 1145, Eugene III. declared that until their vows were fulfilled no lawsuit in regard to their property should be instituted, he was merely sanctioning a privilege which had already arisen as a consequence of the fact that the church had undertaken to protect such property.

But while this one particular form of immunity was secured at an early date, until 1214, when, as has been said, Philip Augustus of France granted to crusaders what really amounts to benefit of ecclesiastical court, except in cases of crime where the

penalty was loss of life or limb, nothing is heard of their exemption from the criminal and other civil jurisdiction of the state. Seemingly Philip is taking the initiative here. But just as the partial exemption granted by Eugene III. in 1145 did not have its origin in the pope's bull, but at a much earlier date and in a custom of the church to protect the property of crusaders, so this further extension of the privilege did not originate in the king's decree. Of this we may be certain from a statement in the introduction of the decree itself. Here we learn that the king is merely stating "the custom of the church in her defense of crusaders," as it has been reported by a commission appointed by him for the purpose of investigating the subject." The material furnished by the decree is, for this reason, of utmost value. Not on account of any definite decree, but in accordance with her policy of protecting crusaders, the church was accustomed to claim jurisdiction over them to the exclusion of the secular power.

Although better evidence of this fact could scarcely be desired, it is interestingly borne out by three papal rescripts issued, owing to the fact that, in spite of the king's provision for trial of capital crimes in secular court, crusaders, because of the protection afforded them by the bishops, were able to commit the most enormous crimes with impunity. With reference to this state of affairs, Saint Louis found it necessary on two occasions to complain to the pope, and the archbishop of Rheims asked for papal instructions concerning the competence of bishop's court over crusaders. "Because of the liberty granted them," complained Saint Louis, "crusaders commit robbery, homicide, rape, and other detestable crimes;" and, in answer, Pope Innocent IV., in 1246, ordered the French clergy not to defend crusaders in such crimes, inasmuch as he was "quite unwilling that their liberty should be made an occasion for excesses."¹⁸ Again, in 1260, we find a similar complaint and a similar provision. Alexander IV. writes to the French clergy: ". . . the king of France has

¹⁸ ISAMBERT, *Anc. Loïs Franç.*, I, p. 207, no. 117.

¹⁹ TEULET, *Lay.*, II, p. 641, no. 3560. MANSI dates this letter 1243 (XXIII, 600); POTTHAST (no. 12342) and TEULET (*ibid.*), 1246.

complained to us that for those crimes which properly come under the cognizance of the secular court, neither the king, his bailiffs, his provosts, his barons, nor his nobles may punish crusaders. . . . Therefore we command that you do not hinder the king, his officials, etc. . . . from proceeding against lay crusaders in enormous crimes which require capital punishment, *any custom to the contrary notwithstanding*."¹³ In 1267 still another letter bearing on this same question was issued from the papal court, addressed this time to the archbishop of Rheims. It reads:

Your fraternity has informed us that a dissension has arisen between our beloved son, the king of France, and his barons and bailiffs in the province of Rheims on one side, and you and your suffragan bishops on the other: the former declaring that lay crusaders should not be defended through ecclesiastical judges, under pretext of the indulgence conceded to crusaders in which we have placed them, their families, and their possessions under our protection and yours; you and your bishops protesting that the said crusaders, on account of this indulgence, . . . should come under your jurisdiction in criminal as well as civil cases, and that they should be exempt from that of their lords. You have asked our opinion; . . . we respond that the said indulgence is not to exempt crusaders from the jurisdiction of their lords, unless a regular custom legitimately defends them, or they are protected by a special privilege, indulgence, or right.¹⁴

Such is the history of the immunity from secular justice, a privilege so deeply rooted in custom by the middle of the thirteenth century that, as the repeated complaints and the statements of the archbishop of Rheims show, even papal rescripts were of little avail against it. Wherever crusaders are found enjoying benefit of ecclesiastical court, in any form, it is clearly because this is held to be their right, inasmuch as the church has taken them under her immediate protection. Having found the origin of this, the most important of the privileges, in custom and not in law, we have now to consider the other privileges; namely, respite from debt, exemption from taxation, freedom from the payment of interest, and the right to mortgage fiefs without the consent of the overlord; all of which pertain to property rights, over which the jurisdiction of the church had been established at least as early as 1107.

¹³ DE LABORDE, *Lay.*, III, p. 503, no. 4579.

¹⁴ DUCHESNE, *Hist. Fr. SS.*, V, p. 862.

The privilege of respite from debt has a history very like that of immunity from secular justice. In 1215 the fourth Lateran council included respite from debt among the privileges, ordering that for those who were unable to pay their debts to Jews the secular power should provide "a useful delay."¹⁵ Even before this time papal letters had been written to urge the secular power to secure, "if possible," a respite for crusaders. By 1209 Innocent III. had written several letters of this nature, having first addressed Philip Augustus, and afterward the consuls of no less than thirteen cities.¹⁶ But it was in 1188 that respite from debt was first decreed, and then not by the church, but by the king of France. To this grant, however, cannot be traced the fact that respite from debt came to be regarded as one of the privileges of crusaders. As she thereby deprived the creditor of any means by which to collect his due the church had in reality secured this privilege for crusaders, when she secured for them exemption from secular court. Consequently, until by fulfilling their vows they ceased to be under the protection of the church, after 1107 at least crusaders must have enjoyed respite from debt. On this point William of Tyre gives most interesting testimony. In writing of the first crusade he says: "Many took the cross to elude their creditors to whom they were held bound for debt."¹⁷ The bishop of Tyre may not be as good an authority for the first crusade as for the later period, of which he had intimate knowledge; but, even granting that he is reading conditions of a later period into the time of the first crusade, yet he wrote his history before respite was ever decreed to crusaders by any power, ecclesiastical or secular, and the value of his statement with reference to the rise of this privilege from the protection extended by the church to crusaders is unimpaired.

Like respite from debt, exemption from taxation was first promised to crusaders by the pope in a decree of the fourth Lateran council in 1215, when it was declared that, if the expedition should exceed one year in length, crusaders were to be exempt from all taxation.¹⁸ Although not decreed by the

¹⁵ MANSI, *Conc.*, XXII, 1057.

¹⁷ Lib. I, c. xvi, BOUQUET, *Rec.*, I, p. 43.

¹⁸ BOUQUET, *Rec.*, XIX, pp. 508, 529.

¹⁶ MANSI, *Conc.*, XXII, 1057.

holy see until this date, this privilege, with certain reservations, was granted to crusaders by the king of France in 1214. In this year Philip freed burgesses and peasants who took the cross from all taxation not levied for the support of his army or for the defense of the commune before the cross was taken; but he insisted on having military service or a money payment in lieu of it, and the usual land tax from whomsoever it was due.⁷⁹ The decree of 1214 in which this provision is contained is the one in which, as has been said, Philip is merely setting forth "the custom of the church in her defense of crusaders." In view of the action taken by the general council in the following year, it seems very doubtful that he is conceding the full claim of the church; but, however this may be, his decree is of interest here, because it affords unmistakable evidence that, in regard to this privilege also, the theory of Du Cange and Michaud is not tenable. Exemption of crusaders from taxation is likewise a privilege which had its beginning in custom.

While thus there is material to prove that each of the three privileges already examined actually became privileges of crusaders, not because they were definitely granted by any power, ecclesiastical or secular, but because the church had undertaken to protect crusaders in the fulfilment of their vows, there is no direct evidence to show that the other two privileges—freedom from the payment of interest and the right to mortgage fiefs without the consent of the overlord—were enjoyed by crusaders before they were first definitely promised by Pope Eugene III. in his bull of 1145. Yet, be this as it may, in the light of the development of the other privileges, it seems that these also existed before they were definitely granted in a decree. This is certainly true of freedom from the payment of interest. Deprived of recourse to regular court, after the crusader became exempt from secular jurisdiction, in this case as in that of debts, the creditor had no means of collecting interest from one who had taken the cross. Moreover, since, in accordance with Old Testament law, the church had always prohibited the payment of usury, as she termed interest, when in 1145 Eugene III. declared

⁷⁹ ISAMBERT, *Anc. Lois Franç.*, I, p. 207, no. 117.

that crusaders should be free from its payment, he conferred no new privilege. When we consider the privilege of exemption from the feudal obligation to consult the overlord before mortgaging a fief, we see that the immunity from secular justice which deprived the creditor of means of collecting interest must at the same time have deprived the feudal lord of control over his vassal. Had a lord summoned a crusader to appear in a feudal court to answer for having mortgaged a fief without his consent, the crusader might well have refused to appear on the ground that, as he had taken the cross, such a court no longer had jurisdiction over him. Had the lord then seized the fief, he would have been excommunicated. Whether actually claimed or not, therefore, right to mortgage fiefs without the consent of the overlord may likewise be said to have existed before it was first granted.

Having now examined each of the privileges in turn, we find that every one of them existed before it was granted by definite legislation, and that the theory of the privileges having their source in definite decrees of the popes and secular princes is not borne out by facts.

It now remains to point out their true origin. The same material which proves that the privileges did not originate in definite decrees shows that they did have their origin in custom. Moreover, this same material shows that they all arose from the general custom or policy of the church to protect crusaders in the fulfilment of their vows. It was because of this protection, as has been shown, that crusaders came to be exempt from the civil jurisdiction of the state and to enjoy all of the other privileges depending on such exemption. It was also because of this protection, as Philip Augustus declares, that crusaders enjoyed immunity from taxation and criminal jurisdiction. Again and again, during the period of the crusades, the holy see issued letters and decrees extending the protection of the church to the faithful who should enlist in the holy wars, but it was at the council of Clermont, in 1095, that this was first promised. On that occasion Urban II. extended it to the persons and property of those who should go to the recovery

of Jerusalem.²⁰ The policy of protecting crusaders in the fulfilment of their vows may, therefore, be said to date back to the time of the proclamation of the first crusade.

Concerning the development of the policy from this time on the evidence, though meager, furnishes sufficient basis for a conclusion as to its general course. Urban did not define in what his promised defense was to consist, but he assigned its enforcement to the bishops throughout Christendom.²¹ Hence it is evident that, in the absence of other interpretation, they would be obliged to determine what was implied by the protection of crusaders. In the ecclesiastical court of his diocese every bishop had regularly established machinery to assist him in this task, and to this court the crusader would naturally go for redress of grievances, as the viscount of Chartres did in 1107, when an aggressive neighbor built a fortress on his land. From the nature of the case crusaders would not be slow to push their claims, and surely episcopal zeal in this direction was never lacking. In time the decisions made in answer to the appeals of crusaders doubtless constituted that body of customs fixing the legal status of crusaders which is known as the temporal privileges, and the privileges may be considered as being for the most part judge-made law.

In enumerating the privileges Du Cange and Michaud include the protection promised to the persons and property of crusaders among them, and three noted German scholars, Hefele, Giesebrecht, and Sybel, hold that this implies no more than the inclusion of crusaders under the truce of God; in other words, that it implies no more than their defense from violence.²² What the protection actually implies has, however, already been pointed

²⁰ The decree by which Urban II. placed the persons and property of crusaders under the protection of the church is not mentioned in the collection of the canons of the council of Clermont that Mansi quotes from a codex of Lambertus, bishop of Arras, but we have sufficient evidence that it was granted. See c. viii of MS. from Cenci Chancery (MANSI, *Conc.*, XX, 902); Dominizo (Donizone), *Vita Mathildis* (MANSI, XX, 890); PFLUGK-HARTTUNG, *Acta*, II, 161, no. 194; GUIBERT NOG., Lib. II, c. 5, *Rec.*, IV, p. 130; WILLIAM TYRE, Lib. I, c. 15, *Rec.*, I, p. 42; Lateran council of 1123 (MANSI, XXI, 301); Ep., Pascal II, 1101 (BOUQ., *Rec.*, XV, p. 20).

²¹ WILL. OF TYRE, Lib. I, c. 15; BOUQUET, *Rec.*, I, p. 42.

²² *Conc. Gesch.*, V, p. 232; *Deut. Kais.*, III, p. 670; *Gesch. d. erst. Kreuz.*, p. 187.

out. It was not merely one of the privileges, but rather that from which by custom and interpretation came all of the privileges.

Although this explanation of the origin of the whole body of temporal privileges seems never to have been made, as has been said, some suggestion of it with reference to certain particular privileges is not wanting. In his commentary on the council of Clermont, Peter de Marca, archbishop of Paris in 1662, declares that crusaders enjoyed the benefit of bishop's court in all suits in which their property was involved, as a result of the fact that their property had been taken under the protection of the church; and, as a consequence, respite from debt.²³ It is at some idea of this sort that Du Cange and Michaud hint. In his notes on the *Stablimenta* of Saint Louis the former suggests that the bishops took advantage of this protection to extend their jurisdiction to crusaders,²⁴ and Michaud, in writing of the first crusade, once speaks vaguely of crusaders as enjoying exemptions from justice and the payment of imposts and debts in accordance with the degrees of the council of Clermont.²⁵ But, inasmuch as they not only fail to bring out the important idea underlying these suggestions, but even neglect to refer to them when at a subsequent time they treat of the privileges as a whole, they evidently did not see the bearing or realize the force of their own suggestions.

Since, by placing crusaders under the protection of the church in 1095, Urban II. is found to have initiated a policy of such import in the life of the immediately succeeding centuries, the question might well be asked: Had he any precedent for this step? Such a precedent he certainly had; and in it lies the peculiar significance of the temporal privileges. In accord with her policy, the church endeavored to free crusaders from feudal obligations to their overlords, from financial obligations to their creditors and even to the state, and, most important of all, to exempt them from secular jurisdiction. Carried to the extreme, her efforts in behalf of crusaders practically amount to an

²³ MANSI, *Conc.*, XX, 890.

²⁴ Notes on *Établissements*, ed. Viollet, IV, p. 33.

²⁵ *Hist. des Crois.*, I.

attempt to free them from the law of the state and to make them responsible to her alone. As this is in fact the claim that she was already accustomed to make for her clergy, it may be said that the policy of protecting crusaders was in reality to place them on the same legal footing as ecclesiastics. In other words, the protection decreed to crusaders implied that, so far as their relation to the state was concerned, crusaders were to be classed with clerks.²⁶ Inasmuch as the custom of claiming special privileges for the clergy was one which had its roots in a remote past, the claim of such immunities for crusaders is not to be looked upon as a direct innovation. Urban II. is to be thought of, not as establishing a new institution when he extended the protection of the church to crusaders in 1095, but rather as including a new class of men under an old institution. When compared with the view of those who regard the temporal privileges as merely successive grants made by popes and secular princes, this view of their origin is seen to be much more in accordance with the history of the development of the other institutions of the church.

²⁶ It is possible that Seignobos and Lea had a similar explanation of the significance of the temporal privileges in mind, a hint of which is contained in what the former says of the crusaders' privilege of respite from debt, and in what the latter says of the exemption of crusaders from secular jurisdiction. In the one sentence that Seignobos devotes to a consideration of the temporal privileges in the *Histoire générale* (II, p. 301) he says: "Thus [because the journey to Jerusalem took the place of all penance] a crusader became a pilgrim; an ecclesiastical person, he could not be pursued by his creditors; anyone who molested his property was excommunicated." Lea says: "... crusaders were released from earthly, as well as heavenly, justice by being classed with clerks and subjected only to a spiritual justice" (*Hist. of Inq.*, I, p. 44). As will be seen, these writers do not suggest any connection between the fact that Urban II. extended the protection of the church to crusaders and the fact that they were classed with clerks, which is, to our mind, the key to the explanation of both the origin and the significance of the temporal privileges.

THE HASTINGS BIBLE DICTIONARY, VOL. III.¹

Natural History and Archaeology.—In the articles on objects in nature and on archæological topics the third volume of this dictionary keeps up the high standard set by the preceding volumes. The editors are to be congratulated on having secured the services of so eminent a scientist as Professor Macalister, of Cambridge, who is not only a recognized authority on anatomy, but also possesses a rare familiarity with modern biblical exegesis and talmudic lore as well. His contributions on Leprosy, Medicine, and Ointment are of great value. It may perhaps be questioned whether the ancient Hebrews had any conception of leprosy that can be said to be "confirmed" by the discovery of the *bacillus lepræ*. A religious reason is more likely to have led to the isolation of the man "smitten by Yahweh." True leprosy may have appeared very early in India; but our knowledge of the history of India does not warrant us in dating an event quite as closely as "about 1400 B. C." In the article on Medicine the diseases of the Bible as well as the cures are enumerated and explained. One misses a reference to the venereal affections, Lev., chap. 15.

Professor Post, of the American College at Beyrout, furnishes articles on Lily, Lion, Locust, Mandrake, Natural History, Oak, and other subjects, revealing a thorough acquaintance with the flora and fauna of modern Syria. He identifies the "lilies of the field" as a species of *gladiolus*, and thinks that the comparison of lips to lilies in Cant. 5:13 may refer to fragrance, not to color. He deems it possible that שושן is a Persian loan-word. Lagarde's article on بشنين in the *Nachrichten von d. k. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, March, 1886, should have been consulted. Under the heading Natural History a valuable summary is given. The article on Oak should not have been

¹ *A Dictionary of the Bible*. Dealing with its Language, Literature, and Contents, including the Biblical Theology. Edited by JAMES HASTINGS, M.A., D.D., with the assistance of JOHN A. SELBIE, M.A., and, chiefly in the revision of the proofs, of A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew, New College, Edinburgh; S. R. DRIVER, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford; H. B. SWETE, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Vol. III., *Kir-Pleiades*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1900. Pp. xv + 896. Maps and Illustrations. Cloth, \$6; half morocco, \$8, per volume. To be completed in four volumes. For a review of Vols. I and II see this JOURNAL, Vol. III, pp. 84-98 (January, 1899) and Vol. IV, pp. 99-119 (January, 1900).

left without a suggestion of the view now generally held among scholars. It is safer to assert that all the words translated "oak" refer to "sacred" or "divine" trees, than that anyone of them designates an oak. Curiously characteristic of the standpoint of some authors in this dictionary is Professor Post's statement under the title *Night Monster*: "The mention of such fabulous monsters does not commit Scripture to an indorsement of the fact of their existence." The dangers of this method of reasoning should be sufficiently apparent. It permits us arbitrarily to withdraw the indorsement of Scripture from anything in Scripture in which we do not happen to believe ourselves, while it leaves the authority whose indorsement is deemed essential hanging in the air without necessary contact with the actual teachings of the authors of the Bible.

The article on *Leaven* was written by the late Rev. H. A. White, in the main from a modern point of view. But Amos should not have been credited with particular concern about the use of leaven as an accompaniment of the thank-offering. His criticism was more radical. Mr. Benecke's article on *Magi* is cleverly written, but disappointing. In regard to the tribe he is too skeptical; touching the individuals worshipping the new-born king he is too credulous. Professor Whitehouse, in the article on *Magic* that immediately follows, gives a more satisfactory statement of what may be held concerning this tribe. If astronomy furnishes no clue, neither the conjunction of planets in 7 B. C. nor the evanescent star possibly seen in China in 4 B. C. quite answering the purpose, the author should not have glided so easily over the manifest astrological presuppositions of the story. Why the development of this beautiful legend from biblical imagery and mythological conceptions should require "almost superhuman cleverness" is not apparent. In Professor Whitehouse's excellent article on *Magic* good use has been made of the material recently brought before us by Tallquist, Zimmern, and Jastrow. That the מַשְׁכִּימִים were connected with the worship of מַשְׁכִּימִים (Mesha Inscr. 1, 12), conceived as a god of love, and that the presence of a sibilant in many words for enchantment indicates a mimetic origin, are two noteworthy suggestions. A model of comprehensiveness and clearness is Professor Paterson's study of *Marriage*. An important contribution is that on *Money*, by Professor Kennedy. He rightly insists that, in computing the intrinsic value of the silver shekel, the important fact should not be overlooked that, where the gold standard prevails, silver is only money of account. He is convinced that Simon the Hasmonæan did not coin any silver

money, but that the famous shekels must be ascribed to the years 66–70 A. D. From this he concludes that the Jews never enjoyed, “as a constitutional and legal right, the privilege of coining money either in silver or gold,” and sees in this a deep significance. But what gave Rome any legal or constitutional right to coin money, or preventing other peoples from doing so? Nothing but the law of the stronger fist. When Israel’s fist was strongest, men did not coin money. A valuable contribution is that on Music, by Mr. Millar. The illustrations from Egyptian and Babylonian sources are helpful. Professor Bennett discusses Molech. The suggestion of Hommel might have been recorded that □ is nothing but the mimation. The article on Merodach is by Professor Ira M. Price. He states that Marduk was worshiped under the name of Bel by the Mandæans. I cannot recall any passage in Genza or Qolasta that indicates such worship. Dr. Eaton, of Glasgow, writes on Lawyer and Nazirite. Professor Swete discusses in a discriminating manner the Laying on of Hands. A learned and instructive article on Number comes from the hand of Professor Eduard König, the great grammarian. In the article on Oath, by Mr. Ferries, there should have been a reference to the ceremony described in Neh. 5:13. Professor Driver himself supplies a carefully written article on Offer, Offering, Oblation. The philosophical aspect will probably be treated under Sacrifice. What is known about Phylacteries is well set forth by Professor Kennedy.

NATHANIEL SCHMIDT.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

Language of the Old Testament.—Under this heading Professor D. S. Margoliouth gives a comprehensive survey of the origin, linguistic affinities, and historical development of the Hebrew language, and devotes a special section to biblical Aramaic. He regards Hebrew as the “daughter” of Arabic, and defends this view in an argument of considerable length. It can hardly be doubted that Arabia was the early home of the Semitic races, and that the several branches of this family of speech originated there; but to assert that Arabic, in the usual acceptance of the term, was the “mother” of Hebrew is hazardous, to say the least. Margoliouth’s argument is hardly convincing, and, in spite of the learning and research which he brings to the support of his theory, it is probable that the Canaanitic group will continue to be regarded as an independent branch of the Sémitic family.

The same writer discusses the mysterious words "Mene mene tekel upharsin" and the various explanations that have been offered, but reaches no very definite conclusion. The explanation given by Professor Haupt (*Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 58, p. 104), and later developed by Prince (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XV, pp. clxxxii ff.), he does not regard with favor, thinking it "incredible that this, if correct, could have escaped the author of Daniel, chap. 2; and for a death-warrant it is by no means dramatic." It is difficult to see the force of this objection. Margoliouth, indeed, does not seem to see that the paronomastic interpretation given in Dan. 5 : 26-28 by no means excludes the natural interpretation of the disputed words with the evident symbolism they convey.

Professor J. H. Thayer, of Harvard University, in his discussion of the difficult expression "maranatha," is inclined to adopt Bickell's view, according to which the second member of the phrase would be the imperative ܡܪܢܐ "come!"—"O Lord, come!" There would seem, however, to be no good reason why, as has long been taught by Professor Haupt in his classes, ܐܬܗܐ should not be an optative. In Arabic this use of the preterite is common, and it is certainly to be found in Syriac. See Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, §§ 259, 260; Duval, *Gram. Syr.*, § 329; Agrell, *Supp. Syntax. Syr.*, § 21, iv. The meaning "may our Lord come!" would certainly suit all passages. It would, in fact, involve an aposiopesis the application of which would be determined by the context. In a minatory sense, *e. g.*, it would mean "may our Lord come (and judge, or punish, him)!" A prayer for the coming of the Lord must have been in frequent use in the early church.

CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

The Old Latin Versions of the Bible.—The article on this subject (by H. A. A. Kennedy) appears almost simultaneously with P. Corsen's "Bericht über die lat. Bibelübersetzungen" in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschr. der class. Altertumsw.*, Bd. 101, pp. 1-83. The awakening interest on the part of scholars in the Old Latin Bible, to which the appearance of these monographs testifies, is not an unnatural one. These Latin versions are of first-rate importance in establishing the text of the Scriptures, because some of them antedate the earliest Greek MSS. Through the medium of the Latin Fathers they have exercised a marked influence on theological terminology, while the

philologist finds in them material of great value for the study of popular Latin and the Romance languages.

A mere list of the topics discussed in this article may give one an idea of its compass. These are as follows: the name to be given to the versions which existed before the time of Jerome; the question whether there was originally one version or several; the history of the attempts made to collect the fragments; the origin of the Latin Bible; the date of the earliest translation or translations; and the Greek texts underlying the Old Latin versions. Besides giving us an admirable discussion of these subjects, Dr. Kennedy has prepared a list of the extant MSS. containing the Old Latin versions, and another list of the Latin Fathers whose writings throw light on the subject. Furthermore, he has stated in some detail his own conclusions with reference to the relation which the translations of the Old Testament bear to one another. At the end of the article is a bibliography comprising works bearing on the Latinity of the Old Latin versions. The article is a model in so far as the arrangement of the material is concerned, in compactness and clearness of statement, in sanity of judgment; and it shows a thorough familiarity with the results of the latest investigations. The compass of this review will not allow even mention of the additions which Dr. Kennedy has made to our knowledge of the subject. We cannot help speaking, however, of the brilliant piece of reasoning (p. 54) by which he makes it seem highly probable that Syria was the home of the original Latin version. The conclusions also which he has reached (pp. 58 ff.) in attempting a classification of the Old Testament MSS. will help materially toward a settlement of that vexed question.

In discussing the earliest traces of an Old Latin version Dr. Kennedy is on safe ground when he affirms that one existed at least as early as the middle of the third century. Passages in the *Acta Martyrum Scilitanorum*, however, would put the date back into the second century with some probability. A careful examination of certain sections of the important list of MSS. given on pp. 49-52 has revealed very few omissions. Under Judith we do not find Cod. Paris. 161 nor Cod. Stutgard. 35. Thielmann's *Bericht* (see this JOURNAL, Vol. V, p. 132) may now be added to the works mentioned on p. 53, second column. On p. 47, by a slip of the pen, *dialectal* is written *dialectical*.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

Old Testament Introduction.—The articles on Introduction to the Old Testament books are of varying character, but, upon the whole, nothing strong is contributed. Lamentations, Leviticus, Malachi, Micah, Nahum, Numbers, Obadiah, and the Old Testament are the titles covered in this volume.

Selbie on Lamentations gives a well-deserved tribute of recognition to the elegiac measure (3 + 2) in which four of the five chapters are written, explaining for English readers the discovery of Budde. He treats the poems, not as spontaneous outbursts of grief, but rather as the "result of conscious effort and of not a little technical skill." The assonances (*u, nu, anu*, etc.) in chap. 5 are duly noted. Ewald's suggestion as to the progress of thought in the book (viz., chaps. 1, 2, bitter and hopeless; chap. 3, comfort; chap. 4, prayer and hope; chap. 5, only prayer and that hopeful) is thought to be entirely without basis; while Löhr's scheme of analysis is adopted without much modification. The "I" of chap. 3 is regarded as collective. The authorship is left unsettled, it being impossible to assign the book to Jeremiah. The critical evidence is taken as being conclusive against the unity of the book, notwithstanding W. Robertson Smith's presentation. For, in any case, chap. 3 must be taken as distinct from the other chapters. The writer presents various divisions of the book, but adopts no one of them. He leans toward an early authorship. The treatment is appreciative, but in no large sense suggestive.

Harford-Battersby treats Leviticus in an eminently critical and, at the same time, pietistic fashion. While this book is wholly priestly (*i. e.*, P) in its character, the task remains to describe and separate the various elements which enter into P. The four divisions (chaps. 1-7, sacrifice; chaps. 8-10, priesthood; chaps. 11-16, clean and unclean; chaps. 17-27, law of holiness) are each subjected to an analysis which distributes the material into (1) P^b, the oldest (chaps. 17-26), in which the holiness of Yahweh is especially emphasized; (2) P^s, a school of priestly canonists who formulated much of the priestly praxis of the temple; (3) P^g, a book of history and law of which little is found in Leviticus; (4) P^a, a long line of scribes whose work was to combine, revise, expand, and supplement until the work was finished. Leviticus, according to our author, is the great witness to the Christian doctrine of evolution and the authority of the church. It is the literary monument of the Hebrew priesthood. While P^b goes back to the earlier years of the monarchy, and P^s to the time of Josiah, the book as a whole is the mirror of the second temple and its system. The

religious value of the book is found in (1) the priestly doctrine of holiness, (2) the significance of sacrifice, (3) the responsibility of the priesthood, (4) the laws of hygiene. It is in the treatment of these latter points that the pietistic spirit prevails.

Adam C. Welch gives a philosophical and very suggestive (but not critical) treatment of Malachi. No definite conclusion is reached as between the three opinions, one of which makes Malachi a personal name, the second a title, and the third, which treats 1:1 as a later addition based on 3:1. These sermons, it is contended, were preached before Ezra's time and formed part of the preparation for Ezra's legislation. The book is based upon Deuteronomy and not on Leviticus (*cf.* 2:4, 8; 3:3, in which the priests are the sons of Levi). Malachi encourages the people to observe the ritual, because now (whatever may have been true in Hosea's day) the ritual embodies the most elevated religious ideas, for example, all that had been taught by the prophets. Malachi had nothing to add. It was his function to hold the people up to the truth as it had been revealed. His age was not a creative age; its work was rather that of preservation.

Nowack's treatment of Micah is entirely characteristic, and furnishes an excellent piece of critical work. Only chaps. 1-3 (except 2:12, 13) are certainly from Micah. In chaps. 4 and 5 views which are mutually exclusive are found (*e. g.*, 5:1-3 and 5:4, 5); the connection in many places is broken; ideas are found which were not current until later times (*e. g.*, 4:11-13; *cf.* Ezek., chaps. 38, 39). At the most 4:9, 10, 14 and 5:9-13 can be ascribed to Micah. Chaps. 6:1-7:6 seem to be too dramatic and too tender to have been written by Micah, while 7:7 ff. belong clearly to a much later time. Nowack ignores here as everywhere the artistic factor in the literary form of the prophets. He fails entirely to note the remarkable structure of these first chapters, especially chaps. 2 and 3. It is suggested that these sermons were first preached concerning Samaria, and later applied to Jerusalem. The writer places Micah in close sympathy with Amos, and in striking contrast with Isaiah.

Another good piece of critical work is seen in Kennedy's treatment of Nahum, although by far too much attention is given proportionately to the prophet's birthplace. Chaps. 1:2 to 2:1, 3 are a psalm, which originally was acrostic or alphabetical. In chaps. 2:1, 3-3:19 we have the original oracle of Nahum in two parts: first, a description of the events leading up to Nineveh's destruction (chap. 2), and, secondly, the addition of details, *e. g.*, a word-picture of the final attack,

and reasons for the overthrow. The author of the psalm (see above) lived in the post-exilic period. Nahum proper lived between 664 and 606 B. C. On the basis of chaps. 2 and 3, the time is "the moment between the actual invasion of Assyria by a hostile force and the commencement of the attack on its capital." Nahum, unlike other prophets, has nothing to say in the way of reproof of his own people. He rather expressed the common sentiment of his times against the inhumanity of a tyrant power.

Numbers may be omitted for lack of space, and because its treatment is virtually that of Leviticus (see above).

Selbie treats Obadiah quite minutely and with satisfaction. The comparative study of Obad., vss. 1-9, and Jer. 49:7-22 is instructive. His conclusion is that Obadiah has the more original form, but that both Obadiah and Jeremiah borrowed from a common source. This is in opposition to Wellhausen and Nowack, who make Obadiah the direct model of Jer. 49:7-22, but treat Jer., chaps. 46-51, as non-genuine and very late. While vss. 1-9 or 10 are thus early, vss. 11-21 are regarded as presupposing the capture of Jerusalem and the exile. The book, moreover, is history rather than prediction. A brief list of textual emendations is given.

E. L. Curtis' article on the Old Testament deserves fuller comment than can be given it here. He has given a good summary of the origin and growth of the Old Testament and of its use (we may add *and abuse*) in the Jewish church and in the Christian church. The statement follows in the main the conclusions of modern criticism, and, indeed, furnishes a brief résumé of that criticism. A good section (No. iv) will be found on "The Permanent Religious Value of the Old Testament." This was written before the publication of G. A. Smith's latest book, on *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament*.

WILLIAM R. HARPER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

Old Testament History.—Few subjects of the first rank in the department of Old Testament history fall within the alphabetic letters comprised by the third volume. The articles are therefore, for the most part, brief summaries of fact exhibited in the full light of modern critical research.

Four of them (Medes, Melchizedek, Merodach-baladan, and Nebuchadrezzar) are written by Professor Sayce and illustrate well the

prevailing tone of his recent work. Even the briefest of them shows a fine acquaintance with the inscription material and with every little turn of the Græco-Roman literature which has a bearing upon it, and, on the other hand, displays a fixed determination to resist the modern stream of tendency in matters of literary criticism of Old Testament sources. In illustration of the former quality one might instance the admirable articles Medes and Nebuchadrezzar, and as proof of the latter the article Melchizedek. It is difficult to see what bearing, even for illustrative purposes, the letter of Abd-hiba has on the life of Melchizedek five hundred years, or more, earlier, and, as some will make deductions from it that were perhaps not originally intended, it were better omitted altogether. Professor Sayce locates the embassy of Merodach-baladan in 711 B. C., and in a footnote seems to object to the location about 704 B. C. that it would fall at "a time when he was *not* king of Babylonia"—a difficulty which does not appear if we place it about 702 B. C. (See Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*.)

The articles Naaman, by McClymont, and Mesha, by Price, the former conservative in tone, fulfil well the primary purpose of a Bible dictionary, while Pharaoh, by Griffith, is exactly what was to be expected from one of the most learned of modern Egyptologists. It is cautious, conservative, and critical. The article Patriarchs, by Taylor, is restricted to the "antediluvian patriarchs, and those who are placed between the flood and the birth of Abraham." It is devoted almost entirely to a discussion of the question of the great age ascribed to them. In two tables, devoted respectively to Genesis, chaps. 5 and 11, the great differences between the Massoretic, the Samaritan, and the Septuagint texts are displayed, and the view is enforced in the accompanying explanations that the "discrepancies are not due to accident," but that these "extraordinary figures are due to the document P."

The articles Laban, Lot, Lot's Wife, Machir, and Manasseh (tribe) are by Driver. They have every excellency which one has come regularly to expect from the cautious, reverent, accurate scholar who wrote them. Few, indeed, of modern critics take such pains as he to help men who feel the great difficulties which the church daily meets. The last paragraph in the little article on Lot's Wife, with its allusion to our Lord's use of the narrative, is characteristic evidence of this.

The article on the Philistines contains an excellent survey of recent literature upon an intensely interesting subject. It does not definitely settle upon the original home of the Philistines, but says that "the evidence, however, amounts to a strong probability in favor of the

more general fact that the Philistines were originally Aryan pirates, whether from Crete or Cyprus or elsewhere;" and one wonders whether Professor Beecher would have changed the emphasis in any way if he had been able to see W. Max Müller's *Die Urheimat der Philister* before his article was printed.

Professor Batten's article on Nehemiah indicates a complete mastery of every scrap of recent literature, and maintains considerable reserve in respect of the more advanced forms of recent historical and literary criticism. It rather whets the appetite for his promised commentary on the book.

In this brief comment and characterization we have reserved to the last the longest and weightiest article in the whole series, and the one to which most readers will probably turn first. Professor W. H. Bennett had a great, but very delicate, opportunity in the invitation to write the article on Moses. It is subdivided as follows: A, Name; B, Moses in the Old Testament: i, The Documents; ii, The Narrative in J; iii, The Narrative in E; iv, The Narrative in P; v, Moses in D, etc.; vi, Moses in the Old Testament outside the Pentateuch; vii, Reconstruction of the History; C, Moses in the New Testament; D, Moses in Tradition; Literature. The general conclusions of the article may here be briefly sketched. The derivation of "Moses" from the Egyptian *mes* or *mesu* is supported. The documentary system, as now held by the majority of the modern critical school, is generally adhered to, though in a few minor points Bacon is followed as against the rest of the field. In the subdivision on the Reconstruction of the History the conclusions are thus stated:

We can take as our starting-point certain facts as to which the ancient sources and most modern critics agree: (*a*) that Moses was the leader under whom Israel was delivered from bondage in Egypt and from peril of annihilation by the Red Sea, and was governed during its sojourn in the wilderness; (*b*) that through him Israel received a revelation which was a new departure in the national religion, and the foundation of Judaism and Christianity; and (*c*)—practically another aspect of the last point—that he originated or formulated many customs and institutions from which the later national system was developed; that thus (*d*) Israel owed to Moses its existence as a nation; and (*e*) Moses is a unique personality of supreme importance in Old Testament history.

This irenic statement of Professor Bennett's own view is followed by brief quotations from Stade, Renan, Ewald, Wellhausen, Robertson Smith, Smend, Kittel, and Cornill, in which their expressions of reconstructive opinion are quoted, concluding with Cornill's ringing

words: "Among the greatest mortals who ever walked this earth Moses will always remain one of the greatest." However men may differ concerning the details of critical methods and results, and however sensitive they may be about views which seem to them to imperil the foundations of their faith, it is difficult to resist the feeling that there would be less fear of criticism in the churches generally today, if such statements as these we have quoted had been kept more in the foreground of discussion. The entire article is written in the same tone. It is critical indeed, and there is a good deal of anatomy in it, but the throb of life is in it also, and the proportions are unusually well maintained.

While holding reserve in some points covered by these articles, we have no hesitation in expressing the opinion that they are fully up to the high standard set in the former volumes, and that they meet a distinct need in this time. They will further a wise acceptance of the more assured results of literary and historical criticism.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

Old Testament Geography.—The articles on this subject are not quite so numerous in this volume as those in Vol. II. The general remarks made by the present writer in this JOURNAL with regard to the latter are applicable also to those now before us. The editor is to be congratulated on the band of experts whom he has secured to write them, and who, except for the omissions noted below, have, as a whole, done justice to the details of their subjects. Some of the articles, notably Mr. Ewing's, have, besides, the vividness begotten of a long and lively observation of the country itself. There are, however, the same general defects as were noted on the previous volume. Different writers cover often the same points, and the cross-references are far too few. The spelling of modern place-names is not always uniform: *e. g.*, Lejja and Lejjâh. The only map is one to illustrate Paul's travels; it would have been an advantage to have detailed maps of Moab, Philistia, and Phœnicia on a larger scale than the general map of Israel in Vol. I.

The principal article is that on Palestine as a whole, by Colonel Conder. It extends to thirty-one columns, and consists of sections on the geology, natural features, climate and natural products, races, geography, and antiquities; on all of which the author is one of our leading experts. It abounds in information, and contains among its

more interesting elements some valuable notes on the date of the geographical data in the book of Joshua. A large portion of the article deals with these data, and in particular with the boundaries of the tribes. The fault of the plan of the article is the detailed topography, which is already treated in the dictionary under the various place-names. But there are faults in more than the plan. Colonel Conder gives the identifications, many of which are associated with his name, and have the authority with which his acquaintance with the country endows them. But a number are very questionable; and in many cases in which a majority of experts are opposed to him he does not even hint at the possibility of an alternative. For example, he adheres to his opinion of the site of Megiddo at Mujedda' in the Jordan valley; says that in the reign of Ramses II. it is "noticed as if near Jordan;" but does not add that W. Max Müller has shown how unreliable this evidence is. He places the Aphek of 1 Sam. 29: 1 at Shunem, without mentioning that most authorities are now inclined to place it on Sharon,* upon evidence both biblical and geographical (see article Aphek in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*). He persists in the traditional opinion that Solomon's Tadmor is Palmyra, and is silent as to the argument that En-gedi is intended. To "Jordan" he assigns the doubtful meaning "the descender." Now, on these and other points he may be right, but his silence as to opposing views, often held by a majority of scholars, makes his article more an account of his own opinions than—what one expects in a Bible dictionary—a summary of the science of the time. In any case, the editor should have supplied indications that views differing from those of Colonel Conder appear in (for instance) the articles Aphek and Megiddo. It is to be hoped that the articles Tamar and Tadmor in Vol. IV will give some notice of how improbable it is that Solomon fortified the Tadmor which afterward became Palmyra. Again, the detailed topography of this article has crowded out the consideration of questions which it was surely necessary to treat in a general article on the land. There is no history of the name "Palestine." We are only told that "the word as used in the Old Testament is more correctly rendered Philistia," and that "from an early Christian period it has been used to mean the Holy Land." There is a very brief and inadequate account of the highways. The only part of the important history of the frontier between Israel and Judah which is given is that "the earlier boundary seems to have been near the Michmash valley." Nothing is

* The same omission is in COLONEL CONDER's article Lashsharon.

said of the division between Upper and Lower Galilee, or of the difficult question whether the name "Galilee" extended round the eastern coast of the lake. The settlement of veterans of Alexander's army east of Jordan is omitted; we are told that "about the same time [*i. e.*, the third century B. C.] the Greeks began to form a new element of the population," and that "Greek influence began to affect Palestine after the conquest of Alexander." One notes with interest the statement that the Shephelah is the name for "the foot hills in the south-west," and, by inference, the author's adhesion to the opinion that the name did not extend to the Philistine plain. Colonel Conder also believes that there is no reason to suppose that the climate and productions of the country now differ much from those of the earliest times. On this last point interesting, though not quite convincing, papers have recently appeared in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (for 1899) by Zumoffen (S. J.). In the list of "works necessary for the student" Colonel Conder omits the standard geography of ancient Palestine by Professor Buhl.

In two other general articles, by Professor W. H. Bennett and Mr. Thatcher, upon Moab and Phœnicia respectively, brief but admirable summaries are given of the geography of these two countries.

The smaller articles are, as a rule, thoroughly done by a large number of geographical and biblical experts. Taking them in alphabetical order, I have the following remarks to make: The *Ḳirs* and *Ḳiriaths* are well treated by Colonel Conder and Messrs. Johns, Selbie, and Welch.—In Mr. Ewing's graphic article on Kishon one fallacy, still too often entertained, is exposed: the stream draws none of its water from Tabor, whose flanks, with those of the Nazareth hills, eastward of a line drawn from Iksal to Nain, drain down the Wādy esh-Sherrār to Jordan.—Than Mr. Bliss no one more familiar with the subject could have treated Lachish.—Mr. Ewing, after a study of the locality together with the statement of Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, II, x: 2, is convinced that the name "Ladder of Tyre" was not applied to either Râs-el-Abyaḍ or Râs-en-Naḳûrah, by itself; but "could apply only to the lofty ridge north of the plain, measuring some eight miles across, which throws off three distinct headlands terminating abruptly on the shore," Râs-el-Musheirifeh and the two just mentioned.—There is a valuable article by Mr. Bliss on Lebanon, but without discussion of the important question whether in the Old Testament Lebanon does not usually stand for Anti-Lebanon or Hermon, which alone dominates the scenery of Palestine.—Lidebir or Lodebar (Selbie; *cf.* Mackie,

Stenning): it seems to me probable that this name survives in El-Ibdir on the ridge to the east of Gadara; the position is suitable.—To the non-biblical references to Lod, Lydda (Mackie) there should be added the notice of it in the lists of Thothmes III., and, among the relevant literature, Clermont-Ganneau's contributions in Vol. II of PEF memoirs.—In the article Lot Driver expresses his adherence to the opinion that the "cities of the plain" lay at the *south* end of the Dead Sea, and that Zoar is the Zughar of the Arab geographers, on the south-east of the sea.—Under Machpelah Sir Charles Warren contributes a very full account of the literature on the subject and of the present condition of the Haram at Hebron.—The article Mahanaim (Stenning), besides giving all that is known about the site, adds a useful note on the dual termination in this and so many other place-names.—Mamre and Manasseh are from the very competent hands of Driver.—The question whether Mareshah and Moresheth-Gath are one and the same place is discussed, not at all by Conder under the former, and with insufficient detail by Beecher under the latter; nor does either mention the theory that Beit-Gibrin is the successor of Mareshah on another site.—On Medeba we have a full article from Chapman.—Sir Charles Wilson treats Megiddo exhaustively, and decides for the site of Lejjun.—With regard to the identification of Lake Huleh with the Waters of Merom, I should express much more doubt than Ewing has done under Merom. "Waters" signifies springs or streams rather than a lake; and Lake Huleh does not suit the data in Josh. 11:8, unless "eastward" be a mistake for "westward." Welch has overlooked this in supporting the theory that "Misrephoth-Maim" is the same as the modern 'Ain Meserfi. Winckler's recently published theory that Huleh is the "salt sea" of Gen., chap. 14, is improbable: the water of Huleh is quite fresh.—Under Meroz Ewing suggests identification with el-Murussus, about five miles northwest of Beisân; holding that Sisera's flight must have been down the vale of Jezreel, and that it was the assistance of him by Meroz which drew down on the inhabitants the curse of Deborah.—Under Mesaloth Conder ignores all identifications (see article Arbela in the *Encyc. Bib.*) except that which refers the name to the steps of the plateau near Arbela, west of the Sea of Galilee.—Michmash and Migdal-el are fully treated by Warren.—Under Millo Stenning adheres to the growing belief that the ancient Jebussite city taken by David lay on the eastern of the two hills of Jerusalem; but seems to assert that the city extended across the Tyropœon in David's reign. The evidence quoted from Josephus is very

doubtful.—Under Mizar it has been overlooked that there are at present three place-names in the neighborhood of Bania which are possible echoes of Mizar. See the large Palestine Exploration Fund map.—Mizpah and Mizpeh are treated by Driver; Modin, by Ewing; Moriah, by Driver.—To the place-names derived from plants (Names, Proper, by G. B. Gray) 'Aro'er (dwarf juniper) ought probably to be added, and it might have been stated that Beth in place-names does not always mean that the places held temples.—Nazareth is fully described, and the historical significance of the site characterized by Thatcher.—Welch describes the Negeb.—Under Nimrim, which he identifies with Wādy Nimeirah at the south end of the Dead Sea, Warren also places Zoar there.—One notices the omission of an article on the sides of the north.—Warren contributes a very detailed account of the Mount of Olives; and under Ophel takes the name to mean an artificial mound, and places Zion (in opposition to his former opinion, which is now held almost only by Conder among experts) on the eastern hill of Jerusalem.—Ophra is treated fully by W. B. Stevenson; Peniel, by Merrill; Peræa, by Ewing.—Pharpar is identified by Ewing with el-A'waj (following Thomson) rather than with Wādy Barbar; the latter seems to inherit the name, which, however, may have shifted in the course of the centuries, as names in that part of the world have always had the habit of doing.—In the article Philistines, by Beecher, I do not understand the following sentence: "So far as appears, it was only in later times that they engaged largely in commerce." The times of Saul and David can hardly be called "later," yet we find then the military policy of the Philistines directed to the mastery of two of the great trade routes to the east of Jordan (by Michmash and by Jezreel), while on a third, that which crossed the range of western Palestine between Ebal and Gerizim, there was a Beth-dagon. Moreover, their own cities lay on the busiest line of commerce in Palestine.—Driver contributes a valuable account of the Hebrew words rendered by "plain" in A. V.

Finally, there are a number of articles on biblical geography beyond the Holy Land. Of these Professor Ramsay contributes at least fifteen on Asia Minor (Laodicea, Lycaonia, Lycia, Miletus, Mynus, Pamphylia, Perga, etc.), and on Nicopolis in Epirus; many of them long articles, and all characterized by the author's famous erudition and expertness. W. Max Müller, F. D. Griffith, Sayce, and Selbie contribute on Egyptian subjects; A. T. Chapman, on names in the Wilderness of the Wandering; S. R. Driver, on Pethor and

Massah ; G. A. Cooke, on Maon ; D. S. Margoliouth, on Arabian names ; Ira M. Price, on Ophir, which he places in southeast Arabia ; Sayce, on Nineveh ; C. H. W. Johns, on Lud and Ludim ; A. E. Suffrin, on Nod ; J. L. Myres, on Paphos ; F. C. Conybeare, on Patmos ; C. H. Turner, on Philippi ; and the late Professor W. P. Dickson, on Neapolis, the seaport of Philippi.

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Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.—The works belonging to this class of biblical literature treated in the present volume are the Book of Noah, the Assumption of Moses, the Prayer of Manasseh, the Gospel of Nicodemus, and the Books of Maccabees. It is worthy of note, as indicating the fulness and scope of this dictionary, that two and a half columns are given to the book of Noah, which has no separate and independent existence, but has been, according to R. H. Charles, incorporated partly in the book of Enoch, and also in part in the book of Jubilees, both of which pseudepigraphic books have received due attention in the preceding volume. The opinion of Charles is based upon the contents of the portions thus assigned, and especially upon the statement of Jubilees (chap. 10) that Noah by the help of angels wrote a book concerning all kinds of medicines and committed it to the keeping of his son Shem. The article on the Assumption of Moses, contributed by F. C. Burkitt, occupies about four columns, assigns the date between 3 B. C. and 30 A. D., and supplies a good summary of information touching the origin, contents, Latin text, and aim of the book. F. C. Porter furnishes the article on the Prayer of Manasseh, thinks that the date cannot be determined, and favors the view of Fritzsche and Ball that the Greek text is not a translation from a Hebrew original, but a late Hellenistic composition. Fully three pages are given to the gospel of Nicodemus, the contents of which are amply stated, and all questions of manuscripts, versions, date, sources, scope, and composition are fairly presented. The five books of Maccabees receive, as they deserve, the fullest treatment, and, along with the article on the Maccabees by the same writer, W. Fairweather, fill about fifteen double-column pages. Published separately these two articles would make a volume of considerable size and of sterling value. The first book of Maccabees ranks much higher than any one of the other books of this name, and the Greek text is without doubt a translation from a Hebrew original, which was probably written in the

first or second decade of the first century before Christ. All articles on books of this kind thus far noticed show admirable scholarship, and supply with satisfactory fulness what one has a right to expect in a biblical cyclopædia of this magnitude.

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New Testament Introduction.—It will be gratifying to American scholars to find a subject requiring such minute and careful scholarship as the languages of the New Testament assigned, as the fitness of things required, to our distinguished compatriot, author of the standard lexicon of New Testament Greek. The eight pages contributed by Professor Thayer to this subject are divided into a discussion of: i, The Later, or "Common" Spoken Greek; ii, The Hebrew, or Spoken Aramaic; iii, the Latin and other Foreign Tongues; iv, The Religious or Distinctively Christian Element; to which is subjoined v, A Summary View of the Peculiarities of Individual Writers; vi, Some of the Linguistic Problems in the New Testament; and vii, A Bibliography. The thoroughness and soundness of the treatment are better guaranteed by the author's name than by any commendation from the reviewer.

The Lord's Prayer is discussed by Professor Plummer, from whom careful work in exegesis and textual criticism may always be expected. We cannot but dissent, however, from some of his positions in the field of higher criticism. The minuter questions are well treated. The view that the longer form of the prayer (Matt. 6: 9-13) is the more original can only be rescued, as the writer admits (p. 142), on the improbable theory "that Christ himself on one occasion gave this shorter form to some disciples." This is carrying the harmonistic device of duplicate occasions too far.

Principal Bebb divides his treatment of the Gospel of Luke into a discussion of (1) Authorship and Canonicity (*sic*); (2) Date and Place of Writing; (3) Transmission of Text; (4) Sources; (5)-(7) Relation of St. Luke to St. Paul, Josephus, and Marcion; (8) Style; (9) The Preface; (10) Purpose and Arrangement; (11) General Characteristics. Of these (3) and (4) are particularly well handled. The Blassian theory is shown to be precipitate, the textual variations not being attributable to the author, even if the complications of the supposed "Western" edition did not destroy its balance. For the treatment of the Lucan sources it is a pity the author could not have availed himself of Wernle's

epoch-marking *Synoptische Frage* (1899). Under (10) J. Weiss' *Absicht u. Charakter der Apostelgeschichte* would have been of great service. The internal evidence for a late date (2) seems to make very slight impression on Mr. Bebb. Nevertheless he reaches substantially the same result (80 A. D.) as those who lay stress upon it.

Professor Salmond's article on the Gospel of Mark, which by most critics is regarded as underlying our Matthew and Luke, is undeniably scholarly and thorough; but there is an apparent ignoring of this fundamental fact in its history. The opinion "very generally held that our second gospel . . . forms the basis of the first and third gospels" seems, indeed, to be included in the "conclusion" which Professor Salmond accepts as probable (p. 259*b*), but no evidence is adduced, and we are left to conjecture. One result of this curious omission is that the "historical attestation" appears exceptionally weak, though in reality the reverse. Another is that the non-appearance of Matt. 14:29; Luke 22:32, etc., in Mark is referred to as "omissions by Mark," or even "cases of suppression." It is also surprising to find no reference to Mark 14:28 and 16:7 as bearing on the question of the original ending.

Mr. Bartlet's article on the Gospel of Matthew is a model, without exception the most instructive and thorough treatment accessible in the same compass. The early dates for Papias, *Didache*, and for the gospel itself are unconvincing, especially when it is conceded that 22:6*b*, 7*b* may be later than the gospel as a whole. If so, why not 28:19? Why not the Petrine additions 14:28-33; 16:17-19; 17:24-27; 18:21, and the peculiar legendary element generally? None will deny that features which cannot have originated later than 69 A. D. have in many cases remained unaltered in Matthew, even where the Lukan and even Markan parallels have been modified. The question is: Are there not *some* passages where the reverse is true? But if we withhold assent from some of Mr. Bartlet's conclusions, it is not in detraction from the admiration above expressed.

That the article on the New Testament had to be general did not necessarily involve a treatment so utterly commonplace, and certainly not misstatements of fact, as under III, 1 (p. 527*a* middle) and 4 (*a*) (beginning).

Professor Stanton's discussion of the New Testament Canon is a judicious and well-ordered review of the facts as generally understood. The divergence of his dates for Barnabas, Papias, *et al.*, from Mr. Bartlet's is striking.

The First and Second Epistles of Peter are discussed in two thorough articles by Principal Chase, especially strong, the former in the treatment of the historical situation, the latter in the review of external evidence. The rejection of 2 Peter unquestionably strengthens the argument for the authenticity of 1 Peter.

The article on the Epistle to Philemon, by Rev. Dr. J. H. Bernard, and that on the Epistle to the Philippians, by Professor Gibb, are of very unequal value. In the former the critical question of principal present-day importance (Roman *vs.* Cæsarean captivity of Paul) is said to depend mainly on tradition, and the principal argument for Dr. Bernard's (correct) position, viz., Paul's plans (*vs.* 22), is passed over entirely. The contrast between Philem. 22 and Phil. 2 : 24 should be exactly reversed. The prospect is brighter in the former. The assumption of Paul's release weakens the argument.

Professor Gibb's treatment of Philippians is more adequate, but scarcely reaches the level of some already discussed.

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New Testament History.—The most important articles dealing with this field are those of Mayor upon Mary, and Findlay upon Paul. The first is an exhaustive treatment, covering not merely the identification of the eight Marys mentioned in the gospels, but also the matter of the infancy sections in Matthew and Luke, and the rise of the worship of Mary in the church. It is a model of careful study, and has overlooked no scriptural material. Incidentally the paper contains an interesting attempt to harmonize the various accounts of the anointing of Jesus by recourse to editorial reworking and additions. The article of Professor Findlay is elaborate, and in many ways admirable. It naturally falls into two parts, the biography and the teaching of the apostle. The treatment of the first part seems on the whole less satisfactory than that of the second, although such comparisons are likely to be of little value from the fact that the treatment in each division is extensive rather than intensive. Professor Findlay does not accept the South Galatian hypothesis, nor does he attempt any serious criticism of the sources with which he is dealing. On the whole he is, like so many English scholars, still loyal to the school of Lightfoot. The pastoral epistles he apparently judges to be genuine. Of the other articles dealing with New Testament history perhaps only

that upon Peter deserves special attention, and even this is overshadowed by Professor Chase's treatment of the epistles of Peter. Professor Fairweather's article on the Maccabees is a good summary of an important period, but, perhaps because of the restrictions in the matter of space, can hardly be said to be more than a sketch, which seems to have missed the real significance of certain men, like Alexander Jannæus. In the same way one feels that the article of Professor Purves upon Pilate fails occasionally to appreciate the real significance of the procurator through a too unquestioning acceptance of the judgment of Josephus. One wonders whether the executive head of a modern city would judge the gathering of hundreds of armed men, as in the case of the Samaritans, as harmless as the author regards it. Taken as a whole, the articles are marked by high scholarship, and are happily free from those ingenious conjectures which theologians are apt to make when moving in the realm of history.

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New Testament Geography.—The articles under this head deal with few matters on which there is serious controversy, and call for little comment. Those on the cities and districts of Asia Minor (Laodicea, Lycaonia, Lydia, Lycia, Miletus, Myra, Mysia, Philadelphia, and Phrygia) as well as that on Phœnix are by Professor Ramsay. Those which refer to Palestinian sites (Machærus, Magadan, Nain, Nazareth, Mount of Olives) and those on Macedonia, Melita, and Philippi are distributed among various authors. The most important articles are perhaps the Mount of Olives by Sir Charles Warren, Melita by A. Robertson, Philippi by C. H. Turner, and Phœnix and Phrygia by Professor Ramsay. As a whole, they are characterized by thorough acquaintance with the subject and felicitous presentation of the facts, and afford the reviewer little occasion for anything but commendation. In his article on Philippi, Turner advocates with Blass *et al.* the emendation of Acts 16:12 to read *πρώτης μερίδος Μακεδονίας πολις κολωνία* instead of *πρώτη τῆς*, etc. The interpretation which takes *πρώτη τῆς*, etc., in the sense "an important, a chief city" he entirely ignores; though it would seem entitled at least to consideration. Ramsay's discussion of *τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν*, Acts 18:23, which he interprets as referring to the Galatian district (of Lycaonia), as against the Antiochian portion, and the Phrygian (district), *i. e.*, the Galatian portion of Phrygia, needs to be supplemented by what he has said in his previous

proposal of it (*Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 90-93, 481 ff.), yet even then leaves something to be desired. On Phoenix Ramsay favors the accepted site Loutro, and, though discussing the difficulty created by βλέποντα κατὰ Δίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον, has no satisfactory solution to offer.

The most serious defect of the volume, as respects New Testament geography, is the lack of good maps. The present volume contains but one map, that of St. Paul's journeys, which, as respects Asia Minor, wholly fails to represent the proper political boundaries of the first Christian century, and, as respects the rest of the territory covered by it, furnishes no details to illustrate the articles in the volume. In this respect this dictionary is distinctly inferior to its rival, the Cheyne-Black *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

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Biblical Religion and Theology.—A. Plummer contributes the articles on Lazarus and Dives, and the Lord's Supper. The latter is full and discriminating, but some statements are unwarranted. Does the Old Testament contain either "types" or "partial anticipations" of the Lord's Supper? There are types in the Old of facts in the New that are connected with human redemption, but not of *institutions* that arose in consequence of Jesus' redemptive work. The doctrine of the Supper is clearly and compactly stated.

W. Adams Brown gives a satisfactory list of biblical texts on which doctrines of the millennium are based, and cites passages to show the eschatological speculations of pre-Christian Jewish writers. He collects data, but does not construct a doctrine. J. Denney writes on Knowledge and Law (in the New Testament). The negative and positive relations of Jesus to the Old Testament revelation are sanely stated. The discussion of Paul's relation to the law is lucid, suggestive, and at times brilliant. In recent literature there is no better treatment of the word Law as found in Pauline theology. With few words J. Laidlaw gives the biblical use and meaning of the noun Mind; and whoever reads the article on Michael by R. H. Charles will learn all that anyone knows of that archangel.

To mention the fact that S. R. Driver contributes articles on Law (in the Old Testament) and Lord of Hosts is to guarantee the method and quality of work. The student of biblical theology may well wish that he had given more attention to the effect of the law on religious and

moral life. M. R. James gives a good summary of passages in the New Testament and in Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature bearing on the Man of Sin and Antichrist, but he fails to give a constructive interpretation. In this he doubtless shows his qualification to write the article. G. T. Purves writes on Pentecost and Logos. Both are excellent specimens of articles suitable for a Bible dictionary. They are brief, yet give all essential information clearly and accurately.

N. J. D. White's treatment of the Lord's Day is so good that it might have been better. The writer sees the fact that "the realization of the fulfilment of the sabbath in the Lord's day does not find expression in the New Testament," yet he tries to bring the two days into relation. To justify the attempt he sets the opinion of the church subsequent to the fifth century over against its opinion prior to that century, and accepts the former, because it was formed under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Such procedure puts an end to historical inquiry. Again, did the church lack divine guidance during the centuries it formed the literature we now study? In other respects the article is all that can be desired.

W. J. Moulton's discussion of the Passover takes results of the best recent literary and archæological investigations. Its chief value for theology lies in the endeavor to give the origin and primitive significance of the feast and its modifications in the course of Israel's history. Some of the generalizations seem self-contradictory, either because they are not clearly stated or are misinterpretations of the facts. V. H. Stanton's article Messiah is a fine specimen of constructive interpretation. From many years' study of this topic he is familiar with the sources, and knows how to interpret them cautiously and positively. Some statements seem wide of the mark, but this may be due to brevity of treatment. J. H. Bernard contributes an elaborate and exhaustive discussion of Miracles. In view of modern thought concerning miracles, it may be questioned whether he might not have used to better advantage the space devoted to a refutation of Spinoza, John Stuart Mill, and Hume. In our day it is the probability, rather than the possibility, of miracles that needs investigation. The article would have been more useful for modern readers if it had dealt at greater length with the evidential value of miracles, and had investigated the biblical miracles singly with the purpose of finding out the motive of each. There can be no serious objection to the writer's reasoning, but to the manner of treatment. It is a contribution worthy of the dictionary.

The editor made a happy choice in selecting J. Orr to write on Love. The treatment is so well balanced, and the relation of attributes, especially that of love to righteousness, so clearly defined, that it may seem hypercritical to dispute the assertion, "every other attribute stands in relation and subordination to this [love]." Certainly John does not affirm this when he says that "God is love," for the same apostle says also that "God is light"—an affirmation of God's moral purity or holiness. Neither is a definition, and it cannot be said dogmatically which one was fundamental in John's thought. It is impossible to have too lofty an idea of God's love, but it is possible to make assertions about it that may give wrong views of his character. The question of the primacy among the divine attributes will always be an open one, but there will be greater caution in using proof-texts.

W. F. Adeney writes on Man and Mediator. The article on Mediator is an ideal one for a dictionary. It gives all the facts, with just enough interpretation to make the facts intelligible. An analysis shows the method of treatment, and suggests its value. He discusses the meaning and use of the term "mediator;" the idea of mediation in religion: (1) in paganism, savage and civilized; (2) in the Old Testament; (3) in the New Testament; Christ as mediator; teaching of Jesus on mediation, in the synoptics and in John; apostolic teaching, speeches in the Acts, Paul and Peter, epistle to the Hebrews, John's gospel and epistles, and the Apocalypse.

Minor but important contributions are: Minister and Ministry, by J. Massie; Life and Death, by G. C. Martin; and Light, by F. H. Woods.

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CRITICAL NOTES.

SOME IMPLICATES OF THEISM.

All things consist¹ in God, is the brief statement of theism. That is, they are grounded in him. They exist because he subsists as their root. The brief statement of pantheism inverts this: *God consists in all things*; is their sum, not their ground; exists because they exist. Theism and pantheism agree that God is in all things, the immanent and universal Energy. But theism affirms more; pantheism, no more. Pantheism holds that this energy first becomes conscious when conscious beings like man proceed from it. That is, consciousness is a product of evolution. Theism reverses this. It holds that evolution is a product of consciousness; that the energy immanent in all things is also a transcendent energy, consciously originating and sustaining all, but exceeding all that proceeds from it. This affirmation is the distinctive mark of the theist, who is sometimes ignorantly criticised as a pantheist by those who hold a deistic conception of God as a Maker extraneous to his works. No pantheist could affirm this more positively than the apostle Paul (Acts 17:28; 1 Cor. 12:6; 15:28; Eph. 4:6; Phil. 2:13). But Paul was no pantheist.

Leaving pantheism here, one asks how theism more precisely understands God's immanence and God's transcendence.

Under the term *immanence* the theist expands the popular idea of the divine omnipresence, as an all-seeing eye, into the thought of God's all-energizing intelligence, as ever active, not only throughout all space and time, but also within all visible forms of existence, giving birth to all being, maintaining all motion, efficient in the activity of all life, never interfering with the orderly workings of nature or of mind, while ever absolutely controlling them. This statement by no means rules out the possibility of miracle in the legitimate sense of the word, denoting, as it does, what is preterhuman, not in an absolute, but in a relative sense; relatively, that is, to the existing range of human knowledge and power. But the chief problem of theism is to reconcile the conception of the immanent divine control of all things with other conceptions which at first glance it seemingly contradicts, viz., (1) the

¹ For this use of the word see Col. 1:17 (R. V., margin).

freedom and responsibility of human action under this absolute control, and (2) the benevolence of God notwithstanding the evil of the world.

The solution of this problem may be briefly stated thus:

I. As to the evil will, as in a sinful man, the theist affirms the divine energy as immanent therein, but that the sinner's will is none the less responsible, because free. This for the following reasons: (1) Nothing that exists can be in any way external to the Infinite Being. "In him we live" is true of all that lives, of devils as of saints, though in very different ways. (2) The impulses even of tigers and vipers are included in the complex of executive forces by which the world-process is carried on, a collective term for which is *the will of God*. So are the tigerish or viperish impulses in the men whom the higher ethical impulses fail to control. (3) These lower impulses, being a part of God's work in nature, are not evil in themselves, but evil only when antagonizing the higher, or willed in preference to the higher. Appetite and passion, like fire, are good servants, bad masters. (4) Will, whether divine or human, is self-directive power. The Infinite Self being inclusive of all finite selves, the Infinite Will must be inclusive of all finite wills. But these, though thus included, are none the less self-directive, or, as we say, "free." We virtually admit this whenever exhorting a bad man to become a better man. Were he not free to do as exhorted, exhorting him would be foolish. The consciousness of such freedom is an ultimate fact and irrefutable. (6) Full scope for such free self-direction of the finite will within the Infinite Will appears in the indefinite variety of ways in which it must be conceived possible for the divine purpose to realize itself in an effective but non-interfering control. (7) The sinner's self-misdirecting will is therefore his own in enough of freedom to incur responsibility. The sinner virtually admits this in every self-reproach for not having done what he tells himself he could and ought. (8) His self-misdirecting will, therefore, included but free within the Infinite Will, is included only to be triumphed over in just condemnation for the misdirection, as guilty as free.

The foregoing considerations may be stated otherwise, and more briefly, thus: (1) But for the continual supply of divine energy our life could not sustain itself. (2) In a sinful act the sin is the freely perverted use of this divine energy. (3) This perverted use is the act of a self-misdirecting or sinful will. (4) God is immanent in such a will simply as immanent in the man. The man's will is simply the

man willing. His self-directive power in willing is of God. God is in it as power and control, not as direction to evil. (5) Hence, while the power is God's, the self-direction is the man's own. Hence his responsibility for it, his guilt in self-misdirection. Conscience affirms this as an ultimate fact. Beyond this —

"This main-miracle, that thou art thou,
With power on thine own act and on the world,"

no analysis can go.

II. As to the other half of the theistic problem, the vindication of the divine benevolence, notwithstanding the seeming contradiction of it by the evil in the world, the practical solution is in a comparison of the alternative beliefs, that the Infinite Being is (1) malevolent, or (2) indifferent.

The decisive considerations are these: (1) A belief to which great contradictions appear must be accepted, if still greater contradictions appear to the alternative belief. (2) To determine the line of least contradiction, the apparent dynamic tendency of the whole course of things thus far must be taken into view, not the static condition of a given time or fragment of it. (3) In such a view there is manifest a steady, though slow, process of eliminating the evils of the world; a slow, but continuous, growth of a benevolent spirit in the world; a faith gradually spreading and increasing, in the face of all the suffering of the world, that God is good; an intense conviction of many of the greatest sufferers in the sovereignty of the divine goodness as controlling even the evil for benevolent ends. (4) On the principle that the whole is greater than a part, reason must accept this testimony of the general course of things — a testimony fatal to the alternatives of malevolence or indifference. Reason is therefore bound to hold that benevolence controls the evolutionary process, notwithstanding the seeming indications of isolated facts to the contrary.

† From these problems involved in the immanence of God we pass to those involved in his *transcendence*. This is usually conceived as implying that God exists above and beyond a universe supposed to have limits. We must, indeed, conceive of any universe consisting of material forms as limited. We cannot conceive of formless space as limited, or less than infinite. But infinite space must be pervaded throughout by the same universal forces as any finite part of it in which they pass into various forms. Similar conclusions hold as to duration infinite. God's transcendence, therefore, cannot be conceived as spatial or durational. It does not connote *quantity* of being, either

as extraneous to the outermost star, or as out-measuring immeasurable space or time. Its true import is *quality* of being. It is illustrated in the fact that a Shakespeare is greater than any or all of his works. In affirming, with a scientist like the late Professor Cope, that evolution is the product of consciousness, theism both affirms and interprets the transcendence of God. It is the essential quality of the constant Producer as distinct from that of the transient product; of limitless thought as distinct from limited things; of the perfectly conscious as distinct from the partly conscious or non-conscious; of Self-Existence as distinct from derived existence; of Life Infinite as distinct from life in finite forms. Only in the spatial and mechanical conception, thus ruled out, can God's transcendence seem detached from his immanence, as if an outsideness of God, either to the universe of space and time, or to his immanence in it. His immanence filling all space and duration, there is no space or duration reserved for any transcendence that can be quantitatively conceived. Only quantitatively is it rationally conceivable. It is dynamic, spiritual, vital, belonging to the very idea of an immanent conscious life that is self-existent and eternal. Consequently, any supposed distribution of functions between God transcendent and God immanent—for instance, the one as hearing and answering prayer, the other as energizing nature—is wholly illusory. The transcendent is involved in the immanent, the vital in the mechanical, the "supernatural" or spiritual in the natural, the infinite in the finite, the sacred in the secular. "Nature is spirit," said Principal Fairbairn. Only as immanent the transcendent Spirit, as St. Paul said, "worketh all in all." The forces by which God makes a plant grow and a religion grow differ as the forces which we exert in mechanical work and in moral work. The ultimate force is spiritual. Its modes of energizing differ only as its ends differ.

The Infinite and Eternal Energy whence all things proceed is identical, as Herbert Spencer declared, with that which wells up within us under the form of consciousness. The astronomer Herschel compared the force of gravitation to the pressure of a Universal Will. The ripe theologian goes farther: "All cosmic power is will," says Dr. James Martineau. This has been notably reaffirmed by a great scientist. "The whole universe," says A. R. Wallace, "is not merely dependent on, but actually is, the will of higher intelligences or of one supreme intelligence." This is in striking accord with Augustine's saying, if not Augustine's philosophy: "*Dei voluntas est rerum natura.*"

To think of the Divine Will as an energy outside of the evolutionary process of nature, and occasionally breaking into it with interference or cataclysm, is grossly anthropomorphic. To conceive of the Will of God as extraneous to the forces resident in nature, and to divide and separate these from it, as the unconscious from the conscious, the material from the spiritual, is fallacious. The evolution, being the product of consciousness, must be the product of conscious Will, and the ultimate "resident force" is therefore spiritual and moral. Either God is not at all in the resident forces which carry on the evolutionary process, or he is consciously and actively in them as immanent Will. The drama of history, no less than the process of nature, exhibits that "toil coöperant to an end" which evinces control by *Executive Mind*—a term identical with Will. Its mode of working defies analysis. We can affirm only that it is ever from within outward, from the center; but "God's center is everywhere, his circumference nowhere." One who thinks of the Divine Will as working in innumerable separate acts of volition—one for every raindrop, etc.—needs to reflect that our own will, whenever we walk, does not put forth a separate volition for every step, but depends on the automatic operation of the lower nerve-centers, which it both sets in motion and keeps to their work.

Furthermore: from the theistic statement that the evolution is the product of consciousness it follows that it is not reasonable to think of the highest products of human consciousness, as ethics and religion, as any more outside of the evolutionary process than the lowest forms of nature, organic or inorganic. From the lowest to the highest, in the social organization of ants and the mechanic art of beavers, and no less in the constructions of statesmen and churchmen, executive mind, that is, conscious will, is found working with other resident forces, termed "lower" because of the lower nature of their product, to all which it is related as generic force to specific. Only as one Universal Will underlies all particular wills is there a basis of concord for all these as coöperant in a common purpose. But the higher we ascend through the grades of organized life, the more we find of conscious will in a free adaptation of means and ends. In man a range of self-directive power is reached which obtains for his will, as contrasted with that of beavers, ants, etc., the name of "free." Yet is his will only a larger artery than theirs for the controlling current of the Universal Will, whose time-long evolutionary flow constitutes the Self-Revelation of the Eternal One.

Here in this fact of the *imperium in imperio* of man in God, a conditioned independence that is wholly dependent, we reach the cloud-line of the mountain. To the ultimate question of psychology, *What am I?* no conclusive answer, says Lotze, can be returned. Only from the standpoint of the Absolute, says Professor Seth, can we be absolutely intelligible to ourselves. We must rest in the confession :

"Our wills are ours, we know not how ;
Our wills are ours to make them Thine."

Finally, the universe of things and wills is a living Universe because rooted in one self-existent Life, in whom all being subsists. There is a phenomenal duality of life, as derived and underived ; no real duality, as divine and undivine. The life of the insect may seem undivine, because so dim and rudimentary. Life in its highest range and full development is seen to be divine, as in the Christ. Yet even to the humblest form of life, the flower in the crannied wall, the poet truly said :

" . . . if I could understand
What you are, root and all, and all in all,
I should know what God and man is."

Nothing finite is only finite. Not only is it in the infinite, but the infinite, at once immanent and transcendent, is in it :

"Intra cuncta, non inclusus,
Extra cuncta, non exclusus."

And this infinite is an infinite Life. It is infinite, not as if indeterminate, but rather, says Dr. E. Caird, as being inexhaustible. It is infinite, not as if extended outside of limits known as finite, but rather, says Dr. Caird again, as without any limits except those which it imposes on itself. The true infinite, then, is not the unlimited, but the self-limiting. That *kenosis*, or self-limitation of the divine, which St. Paul saw in Jesus, is the universal characteristic of the infinite Life which we name *God*. Its *kenosis*, a humbling of the highest to the lowest, is seen, as Dr. Samuel Harris says, in all the forms of finite existence that variously manifest the infinite life in which all finite life subsists. Thus all life is in its essential unity divine. The life transcendent is ever becoming life immanent. Life immanent is at the same time ever one with life transcendent. The temporal thus included in the eternal, in consciousness of what it is, may say : "Before Abraham was, I am."

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THE SERVANT OF JEHOVAH.

THE treatment which any commentary gives the conception of the "Servant of Jehovah" is of peculiar interest at the present time. Dr. Marti¹ rightly insists on the close kinship of the four passages 42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-9; 52:13-53:12. He also insists that the phrase "Servant of Jehovah" means the actual Israel throughout. This requires the position, which he holds, that 53:1-11a is the language of the astonished גֵּרִים of 52:15. Here we must think a merely external accident has been mistaken for the true course of thought. In harmony with this explanation, Dr. Marti changes לַפְּנֵי of 53:2 to לַפְּנֵים, and מִפְּסַע עַבְדִּי of 53:8 to מִפְּסַעֵינוּ or מִפְּסַע עַבְדֵּם.

It seems to us that this theory takes too little account of the mastering passion of Deutero-Isaiah. No portion of the Bible shows more plainly the marks of the literature of power than these four passages which culminate in Isa., chap. 53. Here the passion of the writer kindles an imagination second to none in the race of Israel, to its most daring flight.

In general there are two theories of Isa., chap. 53, which must be considered. The Servant is either collective or individual. If collective, he is either the race Israel, the truly devout part of the race, or the ideal Israel. If individual, he is either a person definite to the mind of the prophet or an ideal person.

The strong point of the collective theory in any of its forms is the fact that it finds support in 42:1-4, and in the representation of life after death in 53:10-12. The weak points of the collective theory of the race of Israel are that it must override the natural meaning of 49:5, 6; that it is not in accord with the historical facts shadowed forth in 50:4-7; that it compels the assignment of 53:1-11a to the גֵּרִים, and is then compelled without authority from the versions to emend the text in harmony with this theory. When a conservative scholar does such things it is called unscientific.

The theory that the devout Israel is meant is well supported by the passages in chaps. 49, 50, but it is heavily burdened by chap. 53. Taking this chapter by itself, who would think for a second that it had any collective significance? In truth, one has to be trained against the natural literary interpretation to adopt the collective interpretation. The personifications of "the daughter of Zion" and the like differ from

¹ In the *Kurze Hand-Kommentar*, Lieferung 10. See pp. 338-40 of this JOURNAL.

this, if it be a personification, in the fact that they do not mislead. Those personifications are transparent. If Isa., chap. 53, has a collective significance, its personification is far from transparent.

The conception of the ideal Israel has much the same strength and weakness as that of the devout Israel.

Does the writer of Isa., chap. 53, have a definite individual in his mind? This is to be doubted. No known historical events contemporary with Deutero-Isaiah correspond with what is shadowed forth in this chapter. The perpetuation of life after death, the glory and success which follow, are the weak points of an explanation which gives a definite historical personage. It is this weakness which is the strong point for a collective theory.

All these facts impel to seek another explanation. Is there any which shall do justice to all four passages with their contexts, which shall be in harmony with Old Testament literature and thought? There is an explanation, sometimes recognized, which meets these requirements.

It is commonly assumed that the Servant of Jehovah stands for the same conception in all passages. This assumption is open to question. It cannot be maintained without violence to at least one passage, whichever theory be adopted. In Job, Psalms, and Proverbs, if not Ecclesiastes, conceptions are seen to mature under the stress of thought and emotion. Why not here?

The study of literature in general shows that literature which has power in human life and over it is the product of life. It originates with the impulse to self-expression or the desire of spiritual intercourse; it has power largely from the value of the life which it expresses, and from the intensity of the life in which it originated. Such literature is personal in its nature, it has personal power, and when read it seems a personal message. This literature deals preëminently with the themes of men's characters, joys and sorrows, hopes and fears, past history and future destiny. Properly uttered this literature cannot fail to reach the hearts of men and influence them in proportion as it is true to the realities of life, and in proportion as it is close to the permanent needs of the human soul.

When we examine those writings which have made themselves felt as literature of power in the history of the world, we find that they are truthful products of the lives of the writers; they concern experiences or interests universal to man, and relate to permanent elements of his life; and, not least, they are full of insight into human life. These

characteristics of literature of power gathered from the study of literature outside of the Bible constitute a proper background for the consideration of the passages in question. In their effect upon the human race these passages, and preëminently chap. 53, are literature of power. There is the throb of truth in every syllable; there is something for the universal human race in its permanent interests; there is evidence of profound insight into the meaning of life; it is charged through and through with imagination.

Literature so filled with energy is the product of thought and feeling alike at white heat. Literature so instinct with life could have originated only when the tides of emotion were mighty and when insight into human life was at its best. The spiritual life of the author was at its acme of energy when this literature came into existence. What were the conditions which made such literature possible?

At the outset the prophet sets forth the ideal of his race, Israel, 42:1-4, but he is at once compelled to tell his people that they fall far short of that ideal. In truth, he discerns that the destiny of Israel lies in the character of the race. Cyrus might conquer Babylon and give Israel the deliverance for which they longed. All this was but a temporary relief. The outward circumstances of Israel might be changed by a Cyrus, but changes were needed within Israel before permanent benefit should come.

"Beggars mounted run their horse to death." Exiled Israel, released, unreformed, and granted any measure of prosperity would speedily rush to a state of humiliation as much lower than they then knew as their prosperity might give them momentum.

The question which haunts the prophet was: How is Israel to be transformed? What power is sufficient for this work? In chaps. 49, 50 the conception of the Servant is fluid. In Israel is to arise an agency for the transformation of the race and realization of its ideal. Indeed, such powers are already in operation. His mind continues its struggle with the problem. At the point he has reached in his thought by 52:13 his thought has crystallized. It is through a leader in whom the ideal of Israel is first of all realized. All the greatness in the history of Israel had been brought to pass through the agency of God-sent leaders who had gained power for Israel and molded the race. Two such leaders had marked the great epochs of Israel's history, Moses and David. They had passed through periods of humiliation on the way to their positions of preëminence and power. Moses rejected, exiled forty years, on returning had to persuade Israel agains

themselves to follow him when he would lead them forth from their Egyptian bondage. David, the darling of Israel, hated and persecuted by Saul, unregarded through seven years of kingship at Hebron, was at length accepted by the nation as its chosen king. These two men had been the epoch-makers of Israel's external history. They had aroused national spirit, unified and concentrated it, and so modified the race ideals that they were regarded as the two epoch-makers of the race.

The work of each had involved religious elements. From the first had come the recognition that Jehovah, the God of Israel, was righteous and must be served by a righteous life. From the second had come the mastery of Canaanite worship by the worship of Jehovah. These were not the only men who had come into power through tribulation. Joseph, Elijah and many another prophet were in the list.

The work of the new leader needed was to be a greater work than had yet been known. There must be an inner transformation of Israel, more profound, more comprehensive, than had yet been seen. Jeremiah and Ezekiel, with their teachings about a new covenant and a new heart, had shown where the change was to be effected. How was this profound radical transformation to be brought about?

Power greater than ever Moses or David had known is needed. Reformations like those of Hezekiah and Josiah were useless. In fact, a power somewhat different from that of a political or external leader is essential in order to do the work which must be done. The agents for effecting religious transformation had been chiefly the prophets. Elijah had turned the tide against Phœnician Baal-worship, but he had secured no profound change in the inner life of Israel. In fact, no prophet seems to have wrought deeply in the life of Israel during his own generation. On the other hand, while Amos and Hosea had failed in Israel, their teachings had great influence on Isaiah and others. These three prophets and Micah did not so influence Judah as to prevent a bloody reaction of heathenism under Manasseh. Long after their death their influence appeared in the reform of Josiah. To the company of these four great prophets must be added Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The exile had authenticated the teachings of them all. The people had begun to do them due reverence, as is evident from the words of Zechariah less than twenty years after the return from exile.

The prophets had received reproach and abuse from the race which they wished to benefit. However much they were dishonored during their lifetime, God had authenticated them by history, so that after their death they attained the power and honor of which they

were worthy during their life. An earnest mind inspired to true insight would probably not fail to see that the vicarious element in life is an essential condition to deep and permanent power over men, and that the power sought for the transformation of Israel must come in this way.

Here a question arises : Was there any person in whom this experience was being realized? Was there anyone in whom the prophet was centering his hopes? It may be that popular hopes were directed toward Zerubbabel or Joshua the highpriest. Here, however, the Servant has neither royal nor priestly office, but his function is prophetic. Neither Zerubbabel nor Joshua realized this feature of the Servant's personality. Could it be that the prophet thought that he or any other prophet was filling out his description of the Servant? There is no proof that he believed this possible. This author, while working for the end which was the longing of his heart, looks also for an ideal prophet who should be set apart for the great work from before birth, as Jeremiah had been, but who should accomplish such a transformation as never yet had been seen, and gather in nations to the service of Jehovah as nobody had ever tried to do.

Ezekiel had sketched the ideal commonwealth of Israel in chaps. 40-48 of his book, gathering features from the entire past history of Israel and modeling them for his purpose. With a somewhat similar selective method Deutero-Isaiah brings together such features of experience in life and service as had proved to be elements of power in preceding prophets, and forms from them a picture of the work and career of the prophet who shall be able completely to accomplish the great work on which our prophet had set his heart.

The picture may well remind one of Plato's ideally righteous man. It goes beyond that. This author carries the experience of his ideal righteous man to the hard and bitter end which had already been experienced by more than one prophet, and he brings into the ideal the satisfaction of that yearning which every soul has to enter into the fruits of his labors. The death which closes the task and secures its success shall not end his presence with the scene of his toils and sufferings. Rather he shall enter into the complete enjoyment of perfect success and all its results.

Just here is the crucial point with a theory of the individual Servant. What is the life after death, the sharing of spoil with the great ones of earth? May it be explained as such glory and influence as came to Moses, David, to Elijah, Isaiah, and those other prophets whose

honor and power increased with the centuries? This is worthy of consideration. It seems hardly sufficient. May it be that the prophet rose to such faith as the author of Ps. 16, and felt, for a brief time at least, that the man who should accomplish the work which he represents in vss. 1-11 as accomplished by the Servant could not be permitted to pass into ignorance of the results of his work and suffer the loss of rewards which were suitable to the great benefactors of the race; and so he attained to the faith that such a Servant might overcome the shock of death and attain the greatest honors and prizes of the world?

It certainly seems to us that this explanation is harmonious with all the elements of the problem and presents the least difficulty, while that presented by Dr. Marti presents the greatest difficulties of any theory.

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RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

THE WORLD AND THE INDIVIDUAL. Gifford Lectures, delivered at the University of Aberdeen. By JOSIAH ROYCE. First Series: *The Four Historical Conceptions of Being*. New York: Macmillan, 1899. Pp. xvi + 588. \$3, net.

THIS volume bears as subtitle "The Four Historical Conceptions of Being." These, as here stated, are realism, mysticism, critical rationalism, and idealism as held by Professor Royce—"that concrete conception of being which to my mind constitutes idealism." The author, speaking of this arrangement, says: "I believe this aspect of these lectures to be in many respects a novelty in discussion." Well, we have no objection to it on the ground of novelty, but, taken on its merits, from a real philosophical point of view it seems somewhat superficial and arbitrary. For instance, take the case of Plato; while he is usually regarded as the first great idealist, Professor Royce classes him as a realist, but "history shows that the rigid world of Platonic ideas, when viewed by later speculation, began ere long to glow like sunset clouds, with the light of the divine presence, and Neoplatonism already called the ideas the thoughts of God" (p. 262). And again: "Plato's conception of being, while technically realistic, contains tendencies that inevitably lead to the differentiation of other ontological conceptions, and so our present third conception of being is in part due to Plato" (p. 228). We do not in the meantime discuss these statements or ask whether the world of Plato's ideas was as "rigid" as the term "realist" implies, but we hold that such divisions must not be pressed too far. In fact, it is difficult to fix any of the great representative thinkers into the conventional compartments which such a classification creates. Take the case of Spinoza. Surely he was in a very real sense a rationalist; here we meet him first among the realists, and later he appears in the glorious company of mystics. Kant is a realist in virtue of "the things in themselves" (p. 63), but he is a critical rationalist in virtue of other elements in his system (p. 233). Perhaps this does not show that the classification is useless, but it certainly proves that it is abstract and needs careful handling. Professor Royce handles it effectively for his own purpose, which is to show that the first three conceptions are unsatisfactory, and that whatever

element of truth there is in them is gathered up into his own higher theory. Severe critics might contend that much of the effect is rhetorical rather than logical. Each of the three systems receives sentence and dismissal. (1) "The realistic definition of being, simply and rigidly applied, destroys its own entire realm, denies its own presuppositions, and shows us as its one unquestionable domain the meaningless wilderness of absolute nothingness." (2) Mysticism is sympathetically treated; it has more affinity with Professor Royce's own views, and the average reader will probably find the chapter on "The Unity of Being" the most interesting and stimulating. It illustrates very fully the statement that "mysticism as a mere doctrine of edification is indeed not philosophy. Yet a philosophy has been based upon it." This, however, is the conclusion reached: "If mysticism is to escape from its own finitude and really is to mean by its absolute being anything but a mere nothing, its account of being must be so amended as to involve the assertion that our ideas are not merely false, and that we are already, even as finite, in touch with reality." (3) Critical rationalism is condemned because "in defining possibilities of experience it tells you only mere abstract universals. But a mere universal is so far a bare *what*. One wants to make more explicit the *that*, to find something individual." After all this we are told that "for us the road must still prove long." We cannot follow all the windings of the path or do more than ask the question: Does Professor Royce's form of idealism bring us to the end of the road or within sight of the end? We know that many students of philosophy will be dissatisfied with the treatment that Kant receives in this volume from one whose business it is to deal with the history of philosophy. The chief task of criticism, however, when it examines our author's discussion of "The Internal and External Meaning of Ideas," will be to decide whether, besides emphasizing in many poetic and suggestive passages the concreteness of experience and the elements of will and aspiration in mental life, he has really solved his problem. It is true, as he insists, that our knowledge is never perfect and our ideals never completely realized, but are we therefore doomed to seek for reality in a "beyond"? Does not the rational principle involved in present experience link us to reality? Sometimes he seems to assert this in highly rhetorical style (p. 356), but on the whole he appears to base his demonstration of the Absolute on the limitations and incompleteness of human experience (pp. 297, 298, etc.), and many will find it hard to reach the Absolute through Mr. Royce's "finite ideas."

However, we have said sufficient to show that this is a vigorous contribution to philosophical discussion which raises in a fresh form many old problems, and demands, as it will no doubt receive, fair criticism from those whose special vocation it is to deal with such questions. If there is a growing interest in these questions, it is a healthy sign. It is not given to many to make a permanent contribution in the highest realms of thought, but the man who quickens our thinking powers and gives us a wider outlook renders real service; for the value of such discussions is not to be measured by information imparted or formal solutions attained, but by the increase of energy and hopefulness in men who feel that there is no escape from these great problems. "For in the victorious warfare with finitude consists the perfection of the spirit" (p. 382).

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ALLGEMEINE GESCHICHTE DER PHILOSOPHIE MIT BESONDERER
BERÜCKSICHTIGUNG DER RELIGIONEN. Von PAUL DEUSSEN.
Erster Band, erste Abteilung: Allgemeine Einleitung und
Philosophie des Veda bis auf die Upanishads; zweite Abtei-
lung: Die Philosophie der Upanishads. Leipzig: Brock-
haus, 1894, 1899. Pp. xvi + 336; xii + 368. M. 16.

THE introduction to Professor Deussen's work indicates how generously he proposes to interpret the word "allgemeine." Most historians of philosophy slip very rapidly over the oriental field in order seriously to begin their exposition with the Greek thinkers. Not so Deussen. He divides his subject into five main sections: Indian philosophy, Greek philosophy, philosophy of the Bible, mediæval philosophy, modern philosophy. In connection with the first part he proposes to discuss Chinese philosophy. Under the third come the religion and philosophy of Egypt and the Iranian *Weltanschauung*, along with Mosaism, Judaism, and Christianity. How fully these usually neglected sections are likely to be treated is illustrated by these two parts of the first volume filling more than 600 pages, in which but two out of three divisions of Indian philosophy alone are expounded. It is true that the author is primarily an Indianist, which fact may lead him to dwell more fully on the Indian ideas. Moreover, there can be no doubt on the part of any reader that he is profoundly impressed with their unusual value in the philosophical realm.

Professor Deussen's point of view is suggested in the following words, with which concludes his preliminary survey of the course of philosophic thinking: "Im Gegensatze zu ihnen (d. h. Fichte, Hegel, Herbart) ist Schopenhauer zunächst bestrebt, Kant völlig zu verstehen, und das eigentliche Fundament seiner Lehre von der Überwucherung durch missverstandene Traditionen zu befreien; dann aber führt er von diesem Fundamente aus Kants Gedanken in der von diesem selbst angedeuteten Richtung weiter und zu Ende, der Art, dass Kant der Begründer, Schopenhauer der Vollender eines einheitlichen, durchaus auf der Erfahrung gegründeten, durchaus mit sich selbst übereinstimmenden metaphysischen Lehrsystemes ist, welches in seinem praktischen Teile als ein seiner ganzen Tiefe nach auf wissenschaftlicher Grundlage erneutes Christentum erscheint und für absehbare Zeiten die Grundlage alles wissenschaftlichen und religiösen Denkens der Menschheit werden und bleiben wird" (I, i, p. 23).

In the two parts of his first volume the author has furnished an analysis and exposition of the early thought of India which in thoroughness, breadth, historical insight, and sympathetic appreciation has never been approached. He begins with the Vedas as his first period, finding in the later hymns the germs of philosophic ideas which afterward flourished and were fruitful in his second period, the time of the Brahmanas, reaching its height and conclusion in the Upanishads. Of course, many scholars have handled the different parts here brought under review, in some cases with greater fulness, and one cannot point to a large amount of new material now for the first time presented, but nowhere has the whole been put together as here and treated in its historical development. And even in its several divisions, particularly in the analysis of the teaching of the Brahmanas and the historical organization of the doctrines of the Upanishads, a work has been done which is of the highest value. A perfect flood of quotations is spread over the pages; in the case of many of the hymns poetical translations are given; many of these are translated here for the first time; and scarcely a passage of importance is missing. Certainly the volumes contain the most available conspectus of materials bearing on Indian religions and philosophies down to and including the Upanishads that can be found in a modern European language. No student of the subject can afford to neglect this treatise, and in possession of it he will have what will enable him to dispense with a library of superficial discussions and will prepare him for the profitable use of more detailed works on the special sections.

GEORGE S. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

EVOLUTION. By FRANK B. JEVONS, M.A., D.LITT. London: Methuen, 1900. Pp. 301. 3s. 6d.

THE title of this book is misleading, for there is little in it that concerns the theory of science that passes under the name of "evolution." Instead we have presented a discussion of how the thoughts and actions of a man will be modified who, accepting the theory of evolution, "wishes to do his best in the world." The book is therefore not one of science, but rather of philosophy, with a leaning toward the practical discussion of man's attitude and conduct through life.

The exposition of the theory of evolution is fairly accurate; indeed, it is founded chiefly upon the essays of Huxley, and consequently could hardly fail in this respect. The author is greatly troubled over the stoicism characteristic of many great scientific minds; a stoicism founded on the scientist's unflinching confidence in the uniformity of nature. It is difficult to understand why this confidence should be called faith, and faith of the same character as that which leads to the acceptance of a religious creed or certain principles of conduct. The confidence of the scientist is based on all the evidence that can be gathered; it has been strengthened with every year's advance; it would cease if a single exception were found to the established laws. This confidence has little or nothing in common, as a psychological process, with faith in a divine purpose, and Mr. Jevons is not convincing in his attempt to place the mental attitudes in the same class.

If it is one of the chief purposes of the book to establish an agreement between the "ethical process" and the "cosmic process," the conclusion is not completely satisfactory. But it is important to note how little a theory of conduct is affected by such a discussion. The attitude of optimism or pessimism rests with the individual's temperament rather than with a line of argument.

It must be confessed that the book seems very long for the conclusions summarized in the last chapter.

B. M. DAVIS.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

ETHICS AND RELIGION. A Collection of Essays by SIR JOHN SEELEY, DR. FELIX ADLER, MR. W. A. SALTER, PROFESSOR HENRY SIDGWICK, PROFESSOR G. VON GIZYCKI, DR. BERNARD BOSANQUET, MR. LESLIE STEPHEN, DR. STANTON COIT, AND PROFESSOR J. H. MUIRHEAD. Edited by the Society of Ethical Propagandists. London: Sonnenschein, 1900. Pp. 324. 5s.

WE have in this book twelve essays by nine men. The preface states that "the majority of these essays were written ten years ago;

they then gave character and direction to the 'ethical movement.'" It also calls attention to "their remarkable unity and striking reinforcement of one another." The names of the authors are a sufficient guarantee of the ability of the discussions, while the title of the book suggests its importance and in a measure its special aim. That aim is not primarily to establish a theory of religion or ethics, but rather to contribute to the right direction and greater efficiency of the so-called "ethical movement" or "Ethical Society." This "movement" or "society," constituting a general ethical organization and comprising local organizations, is intended to have the care and cure of the moral life of the race, just so fast and far as the race can be brought within its sphere of influence. This gospel of the moral life is to be kept utterly distinct from the gospel of the religious life. It will know nothing of God or of gods. Its members may believe in God, but, as members, they must not confess him or commend a religious life. The purely ethical element of Christianity and of every other religion is to be incorporated in the ethical gospel, provided it rests exclusively on moral intuitions. Such intuitions are the ultimate revelation, not only as to principles, but also as to their application to life. The light of the world is simply the light of ethical intuition. It is not necessary that all members of the ethical church should distinctly see and say this. To insist upon this would shut out many Christian men whose moral ideas and life are good and whose coöperation is desirable; and, as Felix Adler says, "coöperation for moral ends is the aim of the societies."

Most of the essays lay special emphasis upon those moral ends which are immediately practical, appearing in conduct and character. Some of them, however, recognize more distinctly the significance of such moral ends as are theoretical and as include right views of the ultimate nature of moral life and its principles. These strenuously urge the independence of morality, the necessity of disowning its religious basis. They maintain rightly that, if the "ethical movement" is by itself adequate for the perfection of man, it must be ultimate and can exert its transforming power to the full only as its independence is recognized and emphasized both practically and theoretically. Thus, while Seeley, Adler, and Salter, in a measure Sidgwick also, in both matter and manner keep clear of a polemic attitude toward that faith and practice which make God the ultimate, and which find no hope in ethical principles alone apart from the eternal God in whose nature is their eternal home, some of the others, perhaps more logically, assail

such faith and practice. Stanton Coit says: "We set righteousness up as an object of worship." He admits that "he who sets up God or Christ as an object of worship thereby implicitly enthrones righteousness," but he thus makes the worship of the being of no account and urges that it shall not be an element in "the bond of religious union." Leslie Stephen suggests that "a respectable society of today" would be "more likely to send for the police," if the best representative of "the ideas of the early Christians" were to appear, than to worship Christ if he should appear. The book is full of thought and will inspire thought. It cannot fail to be helpful, especially to those who are the farthest removed from agreement with its distinctive claims.

GEO. D. B. PEPPER.

WATERVILLE, ME.

BUDDHA AND BUDDHISM. By ARTHUR LILLIE. ("The World's Epoch-Makers.") New York: Scribner, 1900. Pp. ix + 223. \$1.25.

THE DHAMMA OF GOTAMA THE BUDDHA AND THE GOSPEL OF JESUS THE CHRIST. A Critical Inquiry into the Alleged Relations of Buddhism with Primitive Christianity. By CHARLES FRANCIS AIKEN, S.T.D. Boston: Marlier & Co., 1900. Pp. xvii + 348. \$2.

It is seldom that the poison and the antidote are found in so close proximity as in the case of these two volumes on Buddhism. That a life of Buddha and an exposition of his relation to the religion he founded should find a place in a series of volumes on the "World's Epoch-Makers" is thoroughly proper. That in such a volume the influence of Buddha's system upon the world should be described is equally appropriate. But what has Mr. Lillie done to meet these most desirable, nay even indispensable, requirements? In very truth, less than nothing. A jumble of incoherent observations based on late and untrustworthy authorities, a mass of inferences and assumptions with no basis at all, an absurd and irrational series of comparisons with Christianity, presented in language unwarrantably borrowing New Testament phrases and leaving utterly false impressions—this is what Mr. Lillie has brought forth in *Buddha and Buddhism*—a libel equally on Buddhism and on Christianity. It is enough to state the two main positions of the book: (1) primitive Buddhism was theistic, and the atheistic element was deliberately interpolated in the earlier theistic literature; (2) Christianity is Buddhism sifted through Jewish Essenism.

Nothing could be farther from ascertained and scientifically verified facts on the subject. One can hardly find terms in which to characterize the procedure which puts these things forth positively and dogmatically in a work intended for popular reading.

Dr. Aiken, evidently without any idea of traversing the views of Mr. Lillie in this his latest volume, has really furnished a complete and overwhelming refutation of it. He has done more, for his exposition of Buddhism is one of the best pieces of work on the subject in moderate compass that is available anywhere. He has studied the sources; he has worked with the masters; he has put his results in admirable order, and clothed them in clear English. This exposition of Buddhism fills 169 pages of his book. The remaining 150 pages are occupied with an examination of "the alleged relations of Buddhism with Christianity." In it he is not satisfied with controverting the broad and baseless generalizations and allegations of such writers as Mr. Lillie; he has hunted down their quotations, studied the contexts, and made his comparisons at first hand. In some cases he has found these quotations garbled; others have been misinterpreted; in others the context alters the significance. All this work he has done more thoroughly than any of his predecessors. It is to be hoped that he has done it once for all. But we have a secret fear that Mr. Lillie cannot be reached by rational argument, and will serenely continue to make other books out of the same flimsy material as before. At any rate, Dr. Aiken has performed a much-needed task so neatly and solidly as to put every lover of truth and fact in his debt. One must not fail to notice the twenty pages of bibliography at the end of the book—an invaluable list.

GEORGE S. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

ARARAT UND MASIS. Studien zur armenischen Altertumskunde und Litteratur. Von FRIEDRICH MURAD. Heidelberg: Winter, 1900. Pp. 104. M. 7.

THIS book, written soberly and with learning, explores the origin and literary history of that part of the Noachian legend which relates to Mount Ararat. Incidentally is given a good résumé of all we know both from the cuneiform inscriptions and from ancient writers of the earliest history of the Armenian race.

The following are some of the points which the writer, with clearness and complete mastery of the old Armenian literature, enforces:

(1) Ararat is the name, not of a mountain, but of a region or canton of old Armenia, which extended along the river Araxes. In the cuneiform texts it was the land of Urartu, the Alarodii of Herodotus, iii, 94, and vii, 79. (2) The original reading of the LXX in Gen. 8:4 was to the effect that the ark rested on the mountains of Ararat: ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη τοῦ Ἀραράτ (not τὰ Ἀραράτ); for so the old Armenian version renders it, and so Jerome understood it. To anyone acquainted with Armenia, to speak of Ararat as a mountain is as if you spoke of Wales as such. The Armenian name for the double peak called in Europe Ararat, the greater and the lesser, has ever been Masikh or Masis, the first of these two forms being a plural. (3) The Armenians had their own native legend of a flood and of an ark which rested on Masis—this at least as early as the first century of our era, long centuries before they adopted Christianity. Their neighbors equated this Armenian legend with the biblical one, and Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, I, 90 ff. (1, 3, 5) even asserts that the Armenians themselves called the place where the navigator of their ark—whom he identifies with Noah—stepped out by the name ἀποβατήριον, a true rendering of Nachidschewan, Ptolemy's Ναξονάνα, which lies southeast of Masis, about sixty miles from the summit. Jewish influence cannot possibly have led the Armenians at so remote a date to invent such a place-name, and give such an interpretation of it. (4) The Syrians of the east Tigris had floating among them, independently of the Jewish legend, a native story of a flood and of an ark which rested on the Djûdi mountain in the land of Kardû. Under the influence of this Syrian form of the legend, especially in the second and later centuries, Armenia and Ararat, Djûdi and the land of Kardû (*i. e.*, Gordyene), were all confused together; and this confusion is met with in Josephus, in Berosus (as cited in the Armenian form of Eusebius' *Chronicon*), and in the Jewish Aramaic Targums. The confusion, however, is relatively late, and does not represent the earlier form of the biblical myth, which clearly centered around a peak in Ararat and not in Gordyene, which lies far away to the southeast. (5) The Armenians themselves never identified the mountain on which the ark of Noah rested with their own Masis before the eleventh century. They located it instead, no doubt under Syrian influence, in Gordyene. In their fifth-century writers we have many descriptions of the province of Ararat, but no allusion to Noah and his ark. A passage of Faustus, the historian (about 450 A. D.), relating that the ark rested on the mountain of Ararat in the land of Kardû, is an interpolation.

Murad denies that the biblical form of the myth directly flowed from

the forms in which the cuneiform inscriptions and Berosus give it, but admits that it is derived from an older form, from which those also were ultimately derived. As to why the Jews connected the ark of Noah with the mountains of Ararat or Urartu — a country with which they were, it is clear from the references in 2 Kings 19 : 37 and Jer. 51 : 27, quite well acquainted — Murad pronounces no definite opinion. Nor does he suggest a reason which appears to me to be plausible why the Armenians, after they had been Christianized, abstained from the identification, hinted at in Josephus and accepted by Jerome, of Noah's mountain with their own Masis. Their reason, I believe, was this, that Masis was already the scene of a similar and native Armenian legend, with which on religious grounds they scrupled to identify the story they now read in the Scriptures. Masis was anyhow a center and focus of pagan myths and cults, which the author enumerates; and it was only in the eleventh century, after these had vanished from the popular mind, that the Armenian theologians ventured to locate on its eternal snows the resting-place of Noah's ark.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES. By REV. FRANCIS E. GIGOT. New York: Benziger, 1900. Pp. 606. \$2 net.

THIS is the first of a series of three volumes projected by the same author on biblical introduction. The volume in hand is divided into three parts: (1) "Biblical Canonics," (2) "Biblical Textual Criticism," and (3) "Biblical Hermeneutics;" to these are added an appendix on "Biblical Inspiration," and also nineteen plates, taken chiefly from Kenyon's *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*. The point of view of the author is that of a Roman Catholic. He starts out with the premises and the methods of one who believes in the authority and inspiration of the church with as much tenacity as he does in these elements of the Bible. On the basis of these premises he examines the so-called Protestant positions, especially those advocated by the biblical criticism of the day. With commendable fairness he shows from his point of view the weakness of the Protestant position and the strength of his own. The work contains no new material. The author has as a rule made use of the latest French, German, and English works touching his theme, and presents his material in an orderly and systematic manner, suitable for class-room and text-book methods. It is to be regretted that

a work of such proportions and of so large general value should be marred by so many errors, mainly typographical. We have noted errors in the breathings and accent of Greek words on pp. 11, 17, 26, 51, 96, 101, 127 (five of them), 220, 223-5, 267. The writing and pointing of Hebrew words are too often incorrect, as for instance on pp. 27, 268, note 1. Leipzig is spelled with an *s*. The reference under ³ at bottom of p. 48 should be, not "Kirkpatrick," but "Ryle," *The Canon of the Old Testament*. In his discussion of the Old Testament in the church we find no reference to Diestel, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche*, one of the most useful works of the last century on this theme.

IRA M. PRICE.

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DAS BUCH JESAIA. Erklärt von KARL MARTI. (= "Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament," Lieferung 10.) Tübingen: Mohr, 1900. Pp. xxvi + 428. Subscriptionspreis, M. 5.40; Einzelpreis, M. 7.

A CURSORY examination of this volume brings to light an elaborate analysis of the book of Isaiah occupying 4 pages, 11 pages of introductory discussion, a running commentary filling 414 pages, and an index 14 pages in length. The analysis at the beginning of the volume and the index at the end are full, and decidedly better than the average.

The introduction presents the critical view already made familiar to us by Duhm and Cheyne. The position set forth is that Isaiah, whose prophetic activity began as early as 740 B. C., accomplished his mission, as other prophets had done, by oral utterance, which was, in some measure, put on record and circulated among disciples, and thus disseminated among them, but never compiled by him. These utterances, thus put into circulation, constitute the kernel of the book of Isaiah. This kernel is found in various portions of chaps. 1-31, and is assigned to the period beginning shortly prior to 734 B. C. and extending to 701. In comparing the list of verses assigned to this kernel with that in Cheyne, it will be seen that, while Cheyne gives 273 verses, or parts of verses, to Isaiah, Marti diminishes the number to not over 240.

It is said that the section chaps. 1-27 was completed scarcely before 100 B. C., and the section chaps. 28-35 can be little older. The demerits of this particular position have been fairly stated by Professor G. A. Smith in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II, pp. 487, 488.

Deutero-Isaiah, chaps. 40-55, with the exception of a few additions, is declared a unit, out of which neither the Ebed-Yahweh songs nor chaps. 49-55 are to be cut. The date assigned is about 540, when the power of Cyrus was in the ascendant. Trito-Isaiah, chaps. 56-66, is dated between 458 and 445 B. C.

The mechanical execution of the body of the commentary is a model. The omission of a translation allows the exposition to be printed in large clear type, while summaries of sections and discussions, aside from the direct exposition of the verses, are put in smaller type. There are occasional translations of poetical passages in the earlier chapters. The chief value of the book is for the study of words or phrases. Its nearest kinship to other commentaries is probably to that of Duhm, which it excels, though it is not to be preferred to the "*Kurzgefasste exegetische Handbuch*," whether the fifth edition by Dillmann or the sixth by Kittel.

The exposition of phrases is often happy, as in 40:31, יַעֲלוּ אֲבִירִים, "they put forth pinion feathers like eagles;" yet there are exceptions, as in the case of לֹא־מֵת, 42:3. According to the testimony of the concordances, this phrase does not occur elsewhere, and the context must determine the specific meaning of the phrase. "According to truth," objectively, "with truth," *i. e.*, "with reality," is rejected "because the contrast with error is foreign to the context," and it is defined subjectively, "faithfully." A moment's reflection makes it evident that there is no contrast with unfaithfulness in the context, and, since there is no other ground for the interpretation given, it is unproven. The possibilities of the context have not been exhausted. מִשְׁפָּט in vss. 1 and 4 is an emphatic word. הוֹצִיא מִשְׁפָּט, vs. 3, is likewise emphatic; after the denial that the Servant will deal harshly with the feeble and despairing, it affirms that he will bestow justice with truth; *i. e.*, real justice, and not the harsh substitute for it often given.

Precisely here is a deficiency sometimes apparent in this commentary as well as in many another in greater degree. It is not a question of scholarship, or of criticism in the ordinary sense. It is a failure properly to recognize the operations of the constructive imagination in the writings under consideration. One learns that he cannot trust them to enter into the moods and sentiments of the author which are behind his words, and which are often deeper than his conscious thoughts even, with the consequence that the deeper meaning of the context is overlooked, and its superficial aspect rules the exegesis. Perhaps this

is a penalty for the attainment of a skill which can determine the exact amount of the kernel of Isaiah.¹

F. B. DENIO.

THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
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DAS BUCH EZECHIEL. Uebersetzt und erklärt. Von RICHARD KRAETZSCHMAR. (= "Handkommentar zum Alten Testament," III. Abtheilung, "Die prophetischen Bücher," 3. Band, 1. Theil.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900. Pp. xv + 302. M. 6.

STUDENTS of the Old Testament will gladly welcome another volume in this notable series of commentaries. While in some points, especially of textual technique, it does not surpass the series of the "Kurze Hand-Commentar" edited by Marti, its greater fulness of exposition, and its translation of the text, entirely lacking in Marti's series, give it first place among German commentaries on the Old Testament.

The introduction discusses (1) the name and person of Ezekiel, (2) the time of Ezekiel, (3) the book of Ezekiel, and (4) the literature on the book of Ezekiel. Of these four divisions the third is the only one requiring especial attention. After setting forth the usual divisions and subdivisions of the book, the author properly states that the material in the main is chronologically arranged. But in special cases it is sacrificed to meet the point of view on which like material was grouped. On the composition of the book of Ezekiel the author combats the view of Kuenen, that Ezekiel wrote his book entire, and even that of Cornill (*Einleitung*, p. 170), that Ezekiel put it in final shape in the twenty-fifth year (of his activity). He maintains that the compilation of the whole book could not have been done by Ezekiel. Evidences of this position are seen in the abrupt breaking off of the discourse in 3:15 and 10:7; in the expansion of the call-vision at 3:16b-21; the lack of order in chaps. 4 f., 44-46; the purposeless repetition of the cherubim account in 10:1, 8 ff.; the interpolation of 11:1-13 and 14-21 in the temple-vision (chaps. 8-11); the falling out of the date in 37:1; and the lack of order in chaps. 38 f. As an indirect confirmation of his position the author cites the tradition preserved in Baba Bathra (fol. 14b, 15a), that in the line of prophets Ezekiel follows Jeremiah, but precedes Isaiah and the Minor Prophets,

¹ Concerning Marti's treatment of the term "the Servant of Jehovah" see pp. 322-327 of this JOURNAL.

and that Ezekiel, as well as the twelve and Esther, was written by the men of the great synagogue. Another and still stronger argument, says the author, for the opinion set forth is the occurrence of duplicate passages, parallel texts, etc. Some of the most striking, as noted in the commentary, are: 1:1-3, 13 f.; 3:4-9; 4:9-17; 6:1 ff.; 7:1-9; 8:7 f.; 9:5-7; 10:1, 8 ff.; 12:21-27; 17:8-10, 16-20; 18:21-29; 23:40-44; 24:22-24; 25:3-7; 26:2-14, 19-21; 30:22-26; 35:3-15a; 38 f.; 43:18-27; 45:21 ff. One of the editions is preserved in a shorter form, and speaks of Ezekiel in the third person; it is perhaps a selection out of the more detailed material which Ezekiel uttered. Now, since it is impossible that Ezekiel should have compiled two differing texts into one whole, the only solution of the matter that remains is the assumption of the activity of a redactor. As to the date of the activity of this redactor, it can only be said that he did his work before the translation of the Septuagint.

A careful examination of the passages upon which the author bases his conclusions reveals the fact that he has minimized the importance of three essential facts: (1) that the book of Ezekiel is made up of scores of brief as well as of more extended discourses, so that the sudden breaking off of a narrative may point rather to the natural end of a short discourse than to an interruption of a narrative by an editor; (2) the oriental Semitic mind is fond of, and its language always abounds in, repetitions, both of thought and of form of speech; to eliminate such repetitions is to occidentalize and practically to wipe out one of the characteristic charms of oriental Semitic literature; (3) Ezekiel's reflective, detailed method of thought and discourse is not only not a method of pure repetition, but a careful balancing of thought on two sides of a question under consideration; such discourses, on no rules of literary criticism applicable to Semitic literature, can be classed as duplicates. To designate 18:21-25 and 26-29, or 24:24 and 22, 23, as duplicates is to fail to appreciate the finesse of the discourses of Ezekiel.

The translation and the textual and commentarial part of the work are the results of great industry, careful philological treatment, and due regard to the best literature touching the theme. These are seen especially in the discussions of the corrupt text of chaps. 40-46, as well as in such passages as 19:10; 28:13, and 31:3, and many other isolated passages.

IRA M. PRICE.

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DIE APOKRYPHEN UND PSEUDEPIGRAPHEN DES ALTEN TESTAMENTS. In Verbindung mit mehreren Fachgenossen übersetzt und herausgegeben von E. KAUTZSCH, Professor der Theologie in Halle. Tübingen: Mohr, 1900. M. 24.

I. Band: Die Apokryphen. Pp. xxxi + 507. II. Band: Die Pseudepigraphen. Pp. vii + 540.

THE general plan of this admirable work involves an introduction to each one of the various writings it considers, a careful translation from the best critical text, and footnotes intended to elucidate rather than discuss difficulties. Such a comprehensive treatment is possible only for a group of men, and Professor Kautzsch has been aided by a number of German scholars. He himself treats First and Third Maccabees, and the Hebrew Testament of Naphthali, and also furnishes the introduction to the entire work. The value of the work lies, first of all, in the fact that it brings into convenient form a literature hitherto scattered through a number of works, but much more in the conscientious scholarship displayed by each contributor. To examine the work in detail is obviously impossible in a review of reasonable length, but a few details may be specified. In his introduction to First Maccabees Professor Kautzsch favors deriving the name "Maccabees" from *maqabi*, "the hammerer," although admitting the force of the derivation of Professor Curtiss from *makhbi*. The sources of the book he believes it to be impossible to recover, although the author must have had written material at his command. Of the twelve letters and the one Jewish decree, quoted in the course of the book, about which so much debate has gathered, Professor Kautzsch favors the genuineness of a few, but is suspicious of the majority, at least in their present form. He favors Willrich's identification of 1 Macc. 15: 16 ff. with Josephus, *Ant.*, xiv, 8: 5, and regards it as referring to the time of Hyrcanus II. First Macc. 14: 27 ff. he regards as the addition of a later writer, and on the whole favors the view that the work originally stopped with 14: 15, and even suspects that 13: 30 is the most probable conclusion of the original work. The original portion of the book would then very possibly have been composed 135-105 B. C., or even earlier. In its present state it cannot possibly date later than the last years of Herod, and in any case not earlier than 63 B. C. In his exegetical notes Professor Kautzsch has given us information on precisely those points upon which it is demanded. These notes are seldom more than a line or two in length, but are examples of what should be contained in a commentary intended to exhibit results rather than processes.

This cautious criticism and economy of exegetical detail on the part of the editor mark the writers of the other contributions to the work. Professor Beer's introduction to Enoch, for example, though brief, is a valuable addition to the recent discussions upon the literary characteristics of the book. His analysis is in the main lines that of other editors, but he carries his critical division somewhat farther than Charles and Schürer. In his dating of the book, also, he propounds no radical theories. Its earliest part (chaps. 92; 93: 1-14; 91: 12-17) he holds was written before 167 B. C.; chaps. 85-90, about 135-105 B. C. The important section, chaps. 37-69, with practically all recent critics of first rank, he dates prior to 64 B. C. At the same time he refuses to accept Bousset's suggestion that the references to the Son of man are Christian interpolations. The Enoch literature was collected into the book, he holds, in northern Palestine between 60 and 70 B. C.

Of the other contributions to the work it is not possible to speak, but attention should perhaps be called to the notes of Professor Kittel upon the Psalms of Solomon as models of accuracy and condensation.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DAS PASSAH-MAZZOTH-FEST nach seinem Ursprunge, seiner Bedeutung und seiner innerpentateuchischen Entwicklung im Zusammenhange mit der israelitischen Kultusgeschichte. Von **RUDOLF SCHAEFER**. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1900. Pp. vii + 348. M. 5.60.

THE usual conclusions of higher criticism are assumed by the author as a working hypothesis, with the object, not only of writing a history of the passover in Old Testament times, but also of ascertaining to what extent this history confirms the conclusions assumed at the beginning. The passover, it is decided, originated at the exodus by changes in an ancient Semitic feast, of which traces have been found in Babylonian literature. In meaning it was a memorial of the exodus, a pilgrimage feast to be observed at the central sanctuary, and an expression of fellowship between Yahweh and his people. The modern view, that the later passover was a combination of two feasts, the passover, פסח, pre-Mosaic, and the feast of unleavened bread, מצות, borrowed from the Canaanites, is explicitly rejected. The development in the different documents is regarded as coming largely from the codification of the original directions of Moses. The final

result in reference to pentateuchal criticism is that the usual chronological succession of documents is accepted, but in most cases with earlier dates. A large part of the material is regarded as older than the literary form, much of it being actually Mosaic.

The book is comprehensive, thorough, and instructive. Occasionally it might have been improved by condensation and omissions, and sometimes the reasoning is rather strained. But ordinarily the argument is careful and discriminating, and the probabilities are usually in favor of the author's conclusions. The fact that, while the author uses the methods of higher criticism, he opposes some of the extreme views often associated with it, gives this book great value in reference to the pentateuchal problem.

GEORGE RICKER BERRY.

COLGATE UNIVERSITY.

A HISTORY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE DURING THE MACCABEAN AND ROMAN PERIODS (including New Testament Times). By JAMES STEVENSON RIGGS, D.D. ("Historical Series for Bible Students.") New York: Scribner, 1900. Pp. xxi + 317. \$1.25.

PROFESSOR RIGGS has given us a very readable and comprehensive account of the highly important period of which he treats. The volume falls into two parts, the Maccabean period and the Roman period, each of which is preceded by a brief sketch of the sources at the disposal of the historian. This sketch does not attempt much critical examination of the sources, however, and one is led occasionally to regret this lack in the author's treatment of those persons and movements our knowledge of which depends upon the testimony of ancient enemies. An illustration of this may very fairly be found in Professor Riggs' treatment of the reign of Alexander Jannæus. Practically all we know of this king comes to us through Josephus, who, as a Pharisee, has given us a very unfavorable picture. It is not difficult, however, to interpret the facts buried in his gossipy account in a way which, despite all allowance for one's own personal equation, makes Alexander's reign a period of the first importance in Jewish constitutional development. Perhaps a general criticism to be passed upon Professor Riggs' work is here suggested: while he has used sources as well as modern authorities, he seems to have handled them as an expositor rather than as a critical historian.

But when we have said this, we have said about all there is to be

said in criticism of the volume. Its scope and proportions are admirable, and it abounds in the sort of information the biblical student needs. If one should differ with the author in an occasional matter of historical interpretation—as, for instance, the general character of the reign of Herod I. and the procurators—it would be by no means certain that Professor Riggs would be the one at fault. It is always risky to get behind one's sources into the motives and prejudices of their authors. The author is to be commended, also, for including in his work chapters upon the inner life of the Jews during the period described.

SHAILER MATHEWS.

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DIE HERRLICHKEIT GOTTES. Eine biblisch-theologische Untersuchung ausgedehnt über das Alte Testament, die Targume, Apokryphen, Apokalypsen und das Neue Testament. Von LIC. DR. FREIHERRN VON GALL. Giessen: Ricker, 1900. Pp. 109. M. 3.20.

THIS essay opens with a linguistic investigation as to the meaning of the root כָּבֵד and its substantive and verbal derivatives. The result of this investigation is summed up in the conclusion that the primary significance of the root is that of weight or heaviness. From this meaning are developed the secondary senses of stateliness, honor, and glory; but in every case the derivatives bearing the secondary meaning are conceived in a purely outward manner. Following this philological portion of the essay comes the historical one as to the usage of the phrase כָּבֵד יְהוָה. This investigation is carried on in three distinct stages: (a) in the pre-exilic period, (b) in Ezekiel, and (c) in the later and post-exilic literature. The conclusion of this part of the investigation is that the phrases in question began as the designation of the purely external and physical light accompanying the thunderstorm, supposed to be a direct work of Yahweh. This was, of course, at that period of the history of the religion of Israel at which Yahweh was conceived of simply as the thunder-god, adopted from the Kenites as the tribal god of Israel during the sojourn in the wilderness. But with Ezekiel the identification of the glory with what we might call the light effects of the thunderstorm yields to a more complex conception. God has a halo of physical light about him, but this is for the most part hidden from human eyes, and is to be revealed in the rehabilitation of Israel and to take its place in the restored temple

(43:5). This the author considers the germ of the messianic conception of the glory. Henceforth the glory of God, without being less physical, is simply concealed for the present in order to be manifested in the messianic age. The conception thus developed is maintained through the post-exilic literature in the apocrypha, in the apocalypses, and in the targums. In the New Testament the same underlying external and physical element persists, as the author attempts to prove from the discourses of Jesus concerning his second advent, and, in fact, from all the references to the glory of God in the apostolic age.

The discussion is full of interest, and leads to some valuable results; but the main generalization of the author is, in our judgment, too broad. In the New Testament sphere especially the exegesis of some passages has to be forced in order to drive them into line with this generalization. Undoubtedly the physical element lies at the basis of the notion expressed in the word *δόξα*, but upon this physical basis is built the figurative moral and spiritual superstructure which predominates and excludes the mere external element in such passages as Rom. 3:7; 11:30; Phil. 1:11, etc. Moreover, the verbal form *δοξάζω* becomes practically meaningless from the point of view of the physical conception.

A. C. ZENOS.

THE MCCORMICK THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
Chicago, Ill.

INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW TESTAMENT. By F. GODET. Vol. II: The Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles; Division I, The Collection of the Four Gospels, and the Gospel of St. Matthew. Authorized Translation from the French by William Affleck. New York: Imported by Scribner, 1900. Pp. xii + 272. \$2.50.

OF the great work on New Testament introduction which the gifted Swiss theologian planned as the concluding task of his long life, the first volume, dealing with the Pauline epistles, appeared in French in 1893 and in an English translation in 1894. The second volume was to have dealt with the gospels and Acts, and the third with the catholic epistles and Revelation. The second volume was to have consisted of two divisions, the first dealing with the synoptic gospels, and containing five chapters, dealing respectively with the gospel collection, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and the relation of the synoptists.

The present work contains the first two of these chapters. The author's lamented death interrupted his work, and we have seen no intimation that it can be completed from the manuscripts which he left behind.

Chap. 1 deals with the question whether the church made the gospel collection for the purpose of using it as a weapon against Gnosticism and Montanism, or whether the unique position acquired by these books is due directly to the use of them in the public worship of the church, and this in turn to knowledge of their apostolic origin. Godet's discussion of the question is very full, but hardly as judicious as full. His decision for the second of the alternatives named, and his conclusion that at the end of the first century there existed a gospel collection containing our present four gospels and no others, seem neither sustained by the evidence advanced nor consistent with the whole body of facts.

Chap. 2 is a full and interesting discussion of the problems connected with the first gospel. Godet recognizes two strata in the book, and distinguishes the original apostolic gospel, written in Aramaic early in the sixth decade, from the present Greek gospel, edited at Matthew's suggestion by a disciple of the apostle and put forth 60-68 A. D. He defends the historical accuracy of the book in most respects, but admits a few errors due to the hand of the later editor. His discussion of the supernatural birth is one of the least admirable parts of the book, damaging a good cause with false assumptions and arguments which, to say the least, fail to appeal to men of this generation.

One lays down the volume with regret that an author so equipped with learning and insight and a most charming style, albeit he sometimes marred his work and weakened his case through insufficient apprehension of the strength of his opponents' position, was not spared to complete the work he had planned.

ERNEST D. BURTON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE HISTORY OF THE HIGHER CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By HENRY S. NASH. (= "New Testament Handbooks," edited by Shailer Mathews.) New York: Macmillan, 1900. Pp. xl + 192. \$0.75.

THIS little volume, though not formally so divided, falls naturally into two parts. The first five chapters, occupying 100 pages, may be called introductory to the remaining six chapters, occupying the other 89 pages of the book. In the introductory portion the author treats

of the following subjects: (1) the relations of criticism and interpretation; (2) the Bible definition of revelation and the ideal of Bible study that goes with it; (3) how criticism became necessary; (4) how the possibility of it was given; and (5) how it was realized. The remaining part of the book treats of (1) the preliminary work of criticism; (2) the turning-point in the course of criticism; (3) tendencies; (4) schools; (5) historic spirit; and (6) the inspiration of criticism.

The method of treatment is full of interest to the scholar who is more or less familiar with universal history and the history of the particular subject under treatment, but we can scarcely say that it is altogether satisfactory from the point of view of the purpose of the book, which, according to the author, is "to make clear to non-professional readers the nature of the higher criticism." It fails at two crucial points: first, in the selection and arrangement of the materials to be presented, and, secondly, in the style of presentation. As to the first, we would point to the disproportion between the general and introductory and the special parts of the work. More than half of the volume is taken up with a general survey of ecclesiastical and theological movements that have a very indirect bearing upon the specific theme of the treatise. As to the method of presentation, we have to say that the author nowhere gives a clear and scientific definition of the higher criticism. The nearest approach he makes to this is in the following, which, on the margin, he calls "*definition of criticism*" (p. 14): "Criticism is that mental process in modern Christianity whereby the historic character and true nature of divine revelation is appreciated and manifested." This may be a rhetorical description of the author's idea of what criticism has done, but it is not a definition, strictly speaking. Other approaches of the same kind to a definition lead to similar vague and illusive descriptions. For instance: "Criticism is not this or that opinion, neither is it this or that body of opinions. It is an intellectual temperament, a mental disposition" (pp. 84, 85); or: "The gist of criticism consists in the direct application of scientific methods to the sacred books" (p. 101). If Professor Nash had told us what these scientific methods are and how they are correctly applied, he might have approximated that clear conception which he has avowedly aimed to give to "the non-professional reader." In general, the author's style is not adapted to such scientific and historical work as he has undertaken to do in the present volume. It is too rhetorical, epigrammatic, and flashy, and therefore misleading. What is especially needed in this field is a concise, but clear and full,

statement of the historical facts as to the origin and progress of the higher criticism of the New Testament. As we have already said, this book does not adequately supply this need.

A. C. ZENOS.

THE MCCORMICK THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
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DER ABENDLÄNDISCHE TEXT DER APOSTELGESCHICHTE UND DIE
WIR-QUELLE. Von AUGUST POTT. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900.
Pp. 88. M. 3.

"It is interesting to observe," says Dr. J. Rendell Harris, "how, in questions of textual criticism, all roads lead to the origin of the much-debated Western readings." Certain it is that the majority of New Testament critics appear to be at present traversing this interesting thoroughfare. The novice is wont to conclude from the name "Western" that said readings are farthest removed, both in respect of locality and time of origin, from those which prevailed in the apostolic age. When, however, he finds that the Western text was first prevalent in the most eastern of all Christian communities, and that as early perhaps as the first half of the second century, he begins to understand the real reason for the enthusiasm of his masters over things unfortunately styled "Western." A vast amount of work is at present proceeding in the reëxamination and collation of minuscule texts, with particular reference to any added light they may bring to the solution of the problems connected with the original text of the Acts of the apostles.

August Pott, Adjunct im Königl. Domkandidatenstift zu Berlin, has undertaken this work, and, in particular in the English university libraries, in a spirit and method at once original and suggestive. In his *Studie* under review the long-esteemed thirteenth-century minuscule of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, known as Clarke 9 (Grk. Act. 58) is discussed in its relation to the Western type of readings recognized in Acts. As is abundantly manifest from the author's collation of the MS. with Tischendorf's text of Acts (eighth edition), the first twelve and the last six chapters reflect generally the ordinary type of text, whereas the intervening ten show exceptional bias toward the Western type.

Pott's collation and exhaustive description of the MS. which he designates as O are the indispensable and permanent features of his contribution, and show his recognition of the true method in such

discussion, which places beside the special pleading of the advocate all the data contained in the document under review.

Pott's particular contention is that the Western text of Acts, preserved in Codex Bezae, is inferior to and of later origin than that prevailing in the original sources to which O bears testimony. He finds O closely related to the emended form of the Philoxenian Syriac, as well as to Minuscule 137 of Milan, and cleverly presses the claims of his group-combination OMP^h as against D and its supporters, where they differ. This favorite group, moreover, is found to reflect, in its purest extant form, Luke's *Acta Pauli* based upon Luke's personal notes (*Wir-Bericht*), and which was afterward worked up, with additional matter, into our Acts of the apostles.

For originality and ingenuity, in his attempted solution of the intricate matters involved, Pott is worthy to be named in the same class with such masters of the craft as Spitta, Jüngst, and Wendt.

CHAS. F. SITTEKLY.

MADISON, N. J.

DIE QUELLE DER KANONISCHEN KINDHEITSGESCHICHTE JESUS'.
Von LUDWIG CONRADY. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck &
Ruprecht, 1900. Pp. x + 342. M. 8.

THIS book is not presented in the spirit of controversy nor to overthrow the theory of Resch's *Kindheitsevangeliem*. While the author deems Resch's theory inadequate, he nevertheless agrees with Resch in postulating a Hebrew original. The material is treated under four main divisions: (1) the tracing of a source in the canonical childhood story; (2) the source in its relation to the canonical story; (3) the justification of the choice of source; and (4) a study of the source by itself.

In the first division the author points out that Matthew merely refers to an already well-known infancy story, and, according to his custom, endeavors to legitimize the same by quoting Old Testament prophecy. Were Matthew the first-hand narrator of such important and startling facts, he would have had to amplify his narrative. That he has a Greek source is indicated by his explanation of such terms as "Jesus" and "Immanuel." His knowledge of the events of the first two years of Jesus' life is very poor, and his references to time and place are studiously vague to hide his ignorance and facilitate the introduction of Old Testament quotations.

Luke, like Matthew, is *tendenziös* in that he attempts to accomplish

the self-same task by "artistic composition" and a free use of the same source and of Matthew. Matthew and Luke are in essential harmony: *e. g.*, the mother's name, her virginity, conception by the Holy Spirit, the relation between Joseph and Mary, Christ's Davidic descent, the birthplace, and the fact of a real birth. The differences can be accounted for by Luke's pushing of Mary into the foreground, his attempt to make a more finished story, and one bearing some relation to his gospel, which last result was accomplished by his weaving in of the story of John the Baptist as a foil for that of Christ. Both accounts aim to discredit in a measure the original. They are anti-docetic, and attempt to convert their docetic source into material for the use and defense of orthodoxy.

In the second division the source is maintained to be the *protevangelium* of James (!); and this source, it is alleged, was used, lost, found, and condemned as apocryphal. The author's attempt to show the dependence of Matthew and Luke upon this source is as unsuccessful as it is painstaking, subjective, and ingenious.

The vindication of the choice of source by an appeal to the patristic and apocryphal literature is very imperfect. For, except in the case of Justin Martyr (and possibly Celsus), the author proves only that various early Christian writers from Ignatius to Epiphanius used the *protevangelium* of James or the canonical stories. From an examination of Justin Martyr the author passes over the evidence of two hundred years very lightly, devoting a paragraph to Irenæus, some three lines to Origen, and a little over a page to Clement of Alexandria; while Tertullian, Hippolytus, Novatian, Archelaus, Victorinus, Peter of Alexandria, and Alexander of Alexandria are quite overlooked. But all of these contribute to the study in hand, Irenæus having some thirty-five references to the virgin birth alone, of which eleven at least bear directly upon the problem; Tertullian forty-three, of which eight treat specifically of the topic in hand; Origen twenty-five, of which seven contribute to the source problem; and Hippolytus forty, of which three are relevant to the problem of the source, while each of the others has at least one significant reference. Why pass over these to come to Epiphanius? Conrady thinks that, with the exception of the gospel of Thomas, all other apocryphal New Testament writings are essentially harmonies of the canonical child history and the *protevangelium* of James, which is an original work.

Conrady denies the composite character of the *protevangelium*, and finds one hundred and thirty traces of false translations, and many

other characteristics which necessitate a Hebrew original. The book, written about the year 120 and translated soon after, is an Egyptian (probably Alexandrian) semi-Christian invention made from a certain knowledge of the Old Testament, a poor knowledge of Hebrew law and custom, and a better knowledge of Egyptian mythology. The author writes as a child of his time to the children of his time, and the book is an evidence of the infusion of Egyptian cult into the church.

Looking at Conrady's "scientific investigation" as a whole, one cannot fail to admire his scholarly, thorough, and often ingenious work, while at the same time one feels that the very minuteness and subjectiveness of the investigation nullify for the most part all of his important conclusions.

T. ALLAN HOBEN.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

CHRISTIANITY IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE. By GEORGE T. PURVES, D.D., LL.D. With Maps. New York: Scribner, 1900. Pp. xxii + 343. \$1.25.

TEN EPOCHS OF CHURCH HISTORY: *The Apostolic Age, its Life, Doctrine, Worship, and Polity*. By JAMES VERNON BARTLET, M.A. New York: Scribner, 1899. Pp. xlv + 542. \$2 net.

THE series to which the former of these two volumes belongs is said to have for its aim "to present in concise and attractive form the results of investigation and exploration in the broad fields of biblical history, literature, and teaching." In the view of the "critical scholarship" on which the contributions were to be based, the results of this kind attained during the last quarter-century have been unprecedented in amount and value. The literary enterprise itself indicates that editors and publishers to some extent share this belief. One rises, however, from a careful study of this volume with the impression that to the author's mind there are few results of any value, even after research and criticism have been humored in their irrational attempt to improve upon tradition. What the author writes in a brief defense of the authenticity of 2 Peter is characteristic: "We should be slow to believe that the churches, which rejected other works pretending to be his, were imposed on by so daring a forgery." It makes no difference that a large part of the churches at the time in question did *not* reject the forgeries, while all whose opinion was best informed *did* reject, or were at least suspicious of, 2 Peter. The judgment of unknown voters

in mediæval councils is preferred to that of modern scholars, even though John Calvin head the list.

Considering the author's standpoint, the work is meritorious. A review of the contents will show its nature. Each of the five parts is preceded by a sketch of the historical sources. Needless to say that all the books of our New Testament canon appear as just what the general opinion of fifty to one hundred years ago decreed them, and of the accepted dates unaffected by critical research. The synoptic gospels and Acts, for example, are all by the authors tradition assumes, and must be dated 60-70 A. D. If any explanation is desired of the phenomenon of apparent employment of one by another, or of common sources, it is sufficient to resort to Gieseler's theory of oral tradition (1818). On this assumption, especially in view of the character of these writings, no other historical sources are worthy of consideration. Hence the character and contents of this volume (pp. 9-261) are substantially a paraphrase of the book of Acts with ten intercalated pages (pp. 129-38) on "Judaic Christianity," wherein use is made of the epistle of James (dated 45-50 A. D.). Similar digressions report the contents of Paul's epistles. From the death of Paul to the end of the century, Acts no longer affording the required material, the story is correspondingly brief. The criticism of the historical sources occupies but ten pages, and the whole period of the Petrine and Johannine epistles, the synoptic and Johannine gospels, Jude and Revelation, the formative period of the gentile church, is dispatched in thirty-eight pages (pp. 265-312)!

With such limitations it might well seem difficult to produce a book of value. The marvel is that Dr. Purves has done so well. In spite of a conservatism so strong as to involve the most pessimistic attitude toward "the results of investigation and exploration," with exaggerated adherence to views and sources which, at least, lack the charm of novelty, he is able to restate the old almost as if it were new. He writes clearly and lucidly. Without command of critical method, his instinctive rejection of every novelty includes many instances of sound judgment, as in his rejection of recent attempts to deny the identity of the occasion on which, according to our two authorities Luke and Paul, the question of imposing the yoke of the law on gentile Christians was, once and for all, settled by a conference at Jerusalem between Paul and the "pillars." His own harmony of Gal., chap. 2, with Acts, chap. 15, breaks down indeed in the attempt to reconcile Peter's conduct at Antioch with a preceding settlement of the question

involved by the "Jerusalem decrees;" but conservatism is at least as well employed against special pleading in favor of the inerrancy of Luke as on the other side.

For those in search of a restatement of the old views in simple language, lucid and attractive style, with a guarantee that nothing shall appear that the most rigidly orthodox will not admit to be entirely "safe," Dr. Purves has provided the very thing.

The conservatism of Mr. Bartlet is of a different character—a result rather than a presupposition, a consequence of reasoning rather than of instinct. His conception of his task, accordingly, is a different one. His general results are but little more advanced than those of his American collaborer. Acts is Lucan, though as late as 75–80; 2 Peter is only partly genuine (chaps. 1 + 3: 8 (14) to end; about 62–63 A. D.); the pastoral epistles have "*at least a large* Pauline basis," though the theory of a second Roman captivity is abandoned; all the Johannine books are from the hand of the apostle; the synoptic gospels, originating "between 65 and 80 A. D.," are accounted for along the accepted modern lines of the current two-document theory. But instead of merely paraphrasing Acts, with the addition of a few supplementary data from the epistles, our author devotes only the first of his four "books" to "The First Generation: A. D. 29–62." Book II deals with "The Age of Transition: A. D. 62–70;" Book III, with "The Second Generation;" and Book IV, with "Church Life and Doctrine."

It is one of the excellent features of a work really intended to popularize some of the generally accepted results of scholarship in these fields that it discusses at length and with copious citations some of the sources for the history of early Christianity of which the average reader is either ignorant, or whose bearing on the problems of the age he is unable to apprehend. Thus Mr. Bartlet makes especially full use of the "Didache," applying the light derivable from it to solve the question, "What was the type of Christianity among the early churches of Syria?" Many of us will regard Mr. Bartlet's date for this work (65–66 A. D. for the first Christian redaction of the Jewish "Two Ways," 72–80 for our "Didache"), which he bases on the Christian section of the "Ascensio Isaiae," also assigned with great confidence to 64–68, as an extravagantly early one. The confident dating of Ps.-Barnabas ("the era 70–79 A. D., as that in which Barnabas was written, seems now finally assured," p. 521) is almost amazing. Harnack, as we know, dates Barnabas in 132 and the "Didache" in its

present form about 140, while Mr. Bartlet's dating of both "Visio Isaiae" and Barnabas rests on grounds which are far from convincing.

The effort to identify the visit of Paul to Jerusalem of Gal., chap. 2, with some visit unknown to Acts, and to place it before Acts, chap. 15, may be tempting to those who hold a retainer for the infallibility of Luke, but will scarcely appeal to many besides Professor Weber, of Würzburg, and Professor Ramsay. Acts 15:1-19 is impossible *after* Gal. 2:1-10. Gal. 2:11-21 is impossible if the question of "the pollutions of idols" had previously been settled by common consent, as represented in Acts 15:20-35. Equally impossible is Acts 16:3 *after* the writing of Gal. 5:2, all the more if Derbe, Lystra, and Iconium were among the churches principally addressed.

This and the statement that Matthew "betrays no consciousness of the actual issues of 70 A. D."—but see *s. v.* "Matthew, Gospel of" in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, for Mr. Bartlet's fuller statement, and *cf.* Matt. 22:7—seem to show an occasional lack of critical judgment. But the contrast of English conservatism with American, as shown in the volumes before us, is such as can hardly be viewed with complacency by American scholars. Many scholars will find Mr. Bartlet's conclusions too conservative for the facts; few, even of the best, and of those representing much more radical schools of opinion, will lay down his interesting, well-written volume without acknowledging that they have learned from it and been stimulated by it.

BENJ. W. BACON.

YALE DIVINITY SCHOOL.

DAS GESETZESFREIE EVANGELIUM DES PAULUS NACH SEINEM WERDEGANG DARGESTELLT. VON PAUL FEINE. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1899. Pp. 232. M. 5.

THIS book belongs to that class, of which happily there have been not a few in recent years, which attempt to understand the teaching of the apostle Paul by genetic study of it, following in the investigation as nearly as possible the path which the apostle followed in its development. The general position of Feine is that the evidence points to no appreciable Hellenistic influence upon Paul's pre-Christian thinking, and that his Christian thought, both respecting law and in general, is the product of his pharisaic views and of his revolutionary experience in conversion. The criticism of Holsten's views, particularly as concerns the flesh and the spirit, and the morally evil character of the former, is, in the main at least, admirable and just. The

discussion of the conversion of Paul, based upon a discriminating exegesis of the apostle's own statements concerning it, and setting forth with clearness its abrupt and revolutionary character, is almost equally so, though we believe it goes too far in denying that Paul felt any dissatisfaction with his life until the moment of his conversion.

On another point we are constrained to more emphatic dissent, viz., from Feine's contention that both before and after his conversion Paul looked upon the Mosaic law from a purely pharisaic and legalistic point of view, conceiving of it as excluding grace and mercy, the difference between his pre-Christian and Christian view being simply that, whereas before his conversion he conceived that men could fulfil the law's demands, he reached in that experience the firm conviction that such fulfilment was impossible. It follows that no salvation was possible before Christ came, and this judgment Feine expressly ascribes to Paul (p. 92). This interpretation of Paul's doctrine of law, defended in an acute and extended exposition of Rom. 1:18—3:20, is, we are persuaded, erroneous. It completely ignores the plain testimony of Rom. 3:31—4:25, of which Feine, by the way, takes practically no account, but in which Paul contends that faith is the doctrine of the Old Testament and was the basis of justification in Old Testament times even as later. It is true that Paul recognizes the strong legalistic element in the Old Testament (that element which for the Pharisee hid everything else from sight, but which even he was compelled to qualify by his doctrine of God's favoritism toward Israel) and often used the term "law" with reference to it alone; yet in his Christian view this was never for Paul the whole of the law, and we fall into serious error in interpreting him if we fail to distinguish between law in this strict legalistic, pharisaic sense and law as representing in the apostle's thought the true meaning of the Old Testament. That Paul has nowhere expressly stated this distinction is doubtless true, but where has he stated those distinctions which Feine himself is compelled to recognize, and where indeed has he ever turned lexicographer for his readers?

Of Feine's contention that the Greek notion of the flesh had no influence on Paul's pre-Christian thinking and the interpretation of Rom., chap. 7, by which he sustains it, we have no space to speak adequately. His interpretation of the "I" of vss. 7-11 as referring to the race as existing in Adam is interesting, but not likely to gain general acceptance. For his reference of the "I" of vss. 14-25 (in which the verbs are in the present tense instead of in the past as in vss. 7-13)

to the believer in Christ, conscious, however, that he is still in a measure subject to the power of the flesh by reason of the imperfection of his fellowship with Christ, there is possibly more to be said ; though even here the arguments by which Feine endeavors to exclude the possibility of these verses describing or including the experience of a man of high-minded moral earnestness seeking righteousness under law are characterized, as in his exposition of the term "law," by a rigidity of definition unjustified by usage.

But no dissent from Feine's view on the larger matters of which we have spoken, or from his interpretation of specific passages, in many of which he seems to us to be more acute than judicious, can prevent our recognizing in the volume as a whole the work of an able expositor and a valuable contribution to Paul's theology. Only through the adoption of the genetic method which this book well illustrates is biblical theology to accomplish its important task.

ERNEST D. BURTON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DIE PREDIGT JESU VOM REICHE GOTTES. Von JOHANNES WEISS. Zweite Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900. Pp. viii + 214. M. 5.

THIS second edition reaffirms the positions taken in the pamphlet that constituted the first edition (1892 ; pp. 67), but presents a much more complete statement of the grounds for them.

The author's main contention is that Jesus' conception of the kingdom of God was exclusively eschatological. He supposed that the kingdom would in no sense begin before the occurrence of the messianic judgment.

Weiss recognizes that the synoptic gospels in their present form contain some passages that represent Jesus as teaching that the kingdom had in a certain sense already begun, and was passing through a period of development that would culminate in the messianic judgment. Some of these passages, for example the parable of the tares, Weiss excinds, regarding them as erroneously ascribed to Jesus by the compilers of the gospels. Others he so interprets as to eliminate from them the teaching they have ordinarily been supposed to contain. Still others he explains as hyperbolical utterances in which Jesus, in moments of special spiritual exhilaration, spoke of future occurrences as though already present.

Weiss maintains that Jesus' ethical teachings were greatly influenced

by his all-absorbing interest in the approaching messianic judgment, and discusses them at some length from this standpoint. He argues that Jesus did not give them in a form adapted to a long and peacefully developing civilization. The injunctions to sell all, to deny one's self, to give to him that asks, to love one's enemies, are all injunctions that can be obeyed only under the pressure of some great and unusual motive like the consciousness of an impending messianic judgment, and it was only because Jesus thought the messianic judgment was impending that he gave them. He had the making of a great ethical teacher in him, and might have founded a great system of ethics had he not heard the messianic call in the Jordan valley (p. 145).

Whatever be one's opinion of the author's main contention, he will find in the book many valuable exegetical suggestions and a wholesome emphasis of the reality of Jesus' religious experience.

There are five notes appended, of which one on the "Son of man" and another on the "righteousness of God" are of special interest.

EDWARD I. BOSWORTH.

OBERLIN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

EIN NEUES EVANGELIUMFRAGMENT. Von ADOLF JACOBY. Mit vier Tafeln in Lichtdruck. Strassburg: Trübner, 1900. Pp. 55. M. 4.

TEXT and translation of two early Christian documents appear for the first time in this little book, and to this extent its contents possess the interest and importance of novelty. The first of these consists of a series of Coptic gospel fragments, unfortunately much mutilated. Excellent facsimile reproductions of these fragments are appended to the volume. Of the value of this work upon the Coptic side, Coptic scholars have already pronounced rather unfavorably. The second document is a prayer to Christ in Greek, preserved almost complete in a single Gizeh Museum papyrus, No. 10263. The editor publishes this interesting piece from a transcription made by Reitzenstein, supplemented by some notes contributed by B. P. Grenfell. While in Cairo a year ago I made a somewhat careful transcript of the same papyrus, a peculiarly difficult one of the fourth or fifth century. After *ὁ σταυρωθείς* I should read *ἐπὶ τοῦ παναγ[ίου ξύ]λου* for Jacoby's lacuna at the beginning of l. 4, and in l. 8 for his *ἐν τοῖς πύφνοις τῶν ἀνέμων* I have *ἐν τοῖς πτέρποις τῶν ἀνέμων*. The editor seems unaware of Mr.

Grenfell's suggestion¹ that the prayer was buried with a mummy—a hint that throws a flood of life upon the closing lines—and he gives no description of the papyrus.

The connecting link between these two documents the editor finds in their common reference to Christ as having broken the claw of death (χάρων). Understanding the Oxyrhynchus Logia and the gospel quotations in 2 Clement to represent the Gospel according to the Egyptians, he assigns the Coptic fragments to that gospel. Further, since the fourth-century prayer connects itself with the Coptic fragments in the reference to the claw of death, it may be taken as reflecting the Gospel according to the Egyptians, and its sketch of the life and death of Jesus thus takes on the importance of an epitome of that gospel.

Ingenious as this is, the links which bind the Greek prayer to the Coptic fragments, and the Coptic fragments to the Gospel according to the Egyptians, are hardly strong enough for the strain put upon them, while Harnack's assignment of the Oxyrhynchus Logia to the Gospel according to the Egyptians is by no means certain enough to build upon. Jacoby's little book is thus a plexus of conjectures, and, from the critical point of view, disappointing.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DER ERSTE CLEMENSBRIEF. Untersucht und herausgegeben von RUDOLF KNOPF. (= "Texte und Untersuchungen," Neue Folge, V, 1.) Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1899. Pp. iv + 194. M. 6.

THE only reason for reëditing 1 Clement after Lightfoot is that we now have a witness to the text unknown to that master of early Christian literature. Knopf has availed himself of the Latin version, made accessible in Dom Morin's *Anecdota Maredsolana*, II (1894), and, comparing this with the Codex Alexandrinus, preferred by Lightfoot, the Constantinopolitanus of Bryennios, and the Cambridge Syriac manuscript, he has reconstructed the Greek text with a completeness

¹ The description of the papyrus in MESSRS. GRENFELL AND HUNT's *Inventory of Greek Papyri in the Gisch Museum* runs: "10263. Prayer. Fourth or fifth century A. D. Apparently had been buried with a mummy. 1 *seis*. 18.7 × 33 cm. Fibers horizontal. Script good-sized semi-uncial. Contents: Christian prayer addressing Christ under various titles. *Inc. επικαλοῦμαι σε θεὸν τῶν οὐρανῶν*. Nearly complete; 18 lines." While this *Inventory* is still unpublished, it must have been accessible to Reitzenstein at Gizeh, being part of the official catalogue of the museum.

not hitherto attained. The Old Latin version proves to be a very important witness. It was made in all probability between 150 and 230 A. D., and the eleventh-century codex, used by Morin, while not preserving the original Latin in its integrity, still gives us a valuable link in the chain which reaches back to that early date. It is especially valuable for chaps. 57-64, which are lacking in the Codex Alexandrinus. Here Knopf is able to show that several of Lightfoot's conjectural readings were at fault.

Besides the finely printed text, with full critical apparatus and extensive prolegomena, all of high value, our editor gives us a discussion of the literary character of the epistle. This is one of the best things in the book. It shows clearly how little information the letter contains as to the actual state of affairs in Corinth. We learn that there was controversy in that church, and that certain presbyters had been deposed by a faction, but that is about all. (Knopf does not follow Wrede in holding that it was a dispute between *Amt* and *Geist*, though he acknowledges his indebtedness to him in other ways.) In the reviewer's opinion Knopf's conclusion is sound: 1 Clement is a sort of homily, belonging to the "Erbauungslitteratur" of the post-apostolic age. It was designed for public reading, and, in whole or in part, was probably so read in Rome as well as in Corinth. There are several other writings, dating from the latter part of the first or early in the second century, which our editor puts into the same general class. Such are Hebrews, James, 1 Peter, Barnabas, and, a little later perhaps, 2 Clement. It is a satisfaction to find one who must needs busy himself with the *minutiae* of text-criticism also endowed with that delicate literary sense which enables him to enter into the consideration of problems of a wholly different kind, and to do this, not only with pleasure to himself, but also with profit to his readers.

JOHN WINTHROP PLATNER.

HARVARD DIVINITY SCHOOL.

TATIANS SOGENANNTA APOLOGIE. Exegetisch-chronologische Studie. Von R. C. KUKULA. Leipzig: Teubner, 1900. Pp. 67. M. 2.40.

"ALTERSBEWEIS" UND "KÜNSTLERKATALOG" IN TATIANS REDE AN DIE GRIECHEN. Von R. C. KUKULA. Wien: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1900. Pp. 28.

MUCH of the first of these pamphlets is devoted to the emendation and interpretation of various difficult passages in Tatian's *Address to*

the Greeks, but its chief object is to present a view as to the date, place, and occasion of the composition of that work, which is, as a whole, new. The author maintains that the work, instead of being an apology, is an inaugural address delivered by Tatian soon after his escape from Rome about the time of Justin's martyrdom, at the opening of a school in Asia Minor, probably the heretical *διδασκαλεῖον* mentioned by Irenæus. Its composition would thus fall between the death of Justin, 165 A. D., and Tatian's final break with the Catholic church in 172 A. D., of which event the heretical tendencies already discernible in this writing give the first premonition.

In the second pamphlet the same author undertakes to defend the second part of the *Address*, that devoted to the proofs of the antiquity and superior moral worth of Christianity, against the charges of obscurity and incoherence which have long been urged against it. Kukula's emended Greek text of the sections under discussion, chaps. 31-41, is printed in full, and followed by an analysis of their contents, in which the author finds an exemplification of the principle for the arrangement of arguments advanced by Cicero and Quintilian, viz., first the strong, then the weak, and last the strongest. The arrangement and the whole progress of thought in the *Address* he thus finds admirable from every point of view. While Kukula's attitude is hardly judicial, and often suggests the advocate, he has clearly done a service to the interpretation of Tatian which further students of that Father may not overlook.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DIE AUTHENTISCHE AUSGABE DER EVANGELIEN-HOMILIEN GREGORS
D. GR. Ein erster Beitrag zur Geschichte ihrer Überlieferung.
Von GEORG PFEILSCHIFTER. München: Lentnersche Buchh.,
1900. Pp. xxi + 122. M. 3.

THIS preliminary study is not text-critical, but it prepares a method for a text-critical study. Pfeilschifter distinguishes two editions of the "Homilies": one published in 592 without the sanction of Gregory, which won a large circulation before Gregory in 593, or late in 592, prepared a second "authentic" edition by which other copies could be corrected. He distinguishes various criteria of form, division, and sequence by which to prepare the way for grouping the many manuscripts by distinguishing between the original edition and the authentic edition. Incidentally and in this connection the essay is of particular

value as illustrating the great pest of textual critics, the fact that the author himself is often responsible for variations and again responsible for causing other manuscripts to have a part of their readings corrected by this variant text. The object of text criticism is not always, therefore, the original text. If manuscripts were never "corrected," the task of the text critic would be a science clean-cut, definite, and final, instead of as now an art painful and inconclusive.

The essay is capital work, and it is not a surprise to find, coming as it does from the well-equipped seminary of church history in Munich, that the work was undertaken at the instigation and carried on with the kind coöperation of Dr. Weyman.

This essay is the earnest that the future text will be grounded in a completely scientific method, and the text itself will be looked for with great interest.

ERNEST C. RICHARDSON.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

THE AMHERST PAPYRI. Being an Account of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of the Right Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney, F.S.A., at Didlington Hall, Norfolk. By **BERNARD P. GRENFELL** AND **ARTHUR S. HUNT**. Part I: *The Ascension of Isaiah, and Other Theological Fragments*. With nine Plates. London: Frowde, 1900. Pp. 48. 15s., net.

THE editors of this new volume of Greek papyri are known to the theological world chiefly through their discovery of the Logia fragment at Oxyrhynchus in 1896-7. Their subsequent excavations have been hardly less successful, and the rapidity and accuracy with which they edit the papyri they unearth are the astonishment of all workers in their field.

The papyri here published are not the trophies of the editors' excavations, however. They were obtained by purchases made by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt for Lord Amherst, whose collection of Greek papyri is said to be the most important private collection yet made. The classical texts found in it are reserved for a second volume, and the present volume is devoted wholly to theological pieces. The first and most important of these is a considerable fragment of what is probably the original Greek of the Ascension of Isaiah. For the complete form of this early Jewish and Christian apocryph we are dependent upon the Ethiopic, while Latin and Slavonic versions of parts of it and a very late and free Greek recension of it exist. The recovery of one-sixth

of the early Greek form of the Ascension in a papyrus of the fifth or sixth century thus promises to help much toward the solution of some of its textual problems. Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt devote half of their volume to the Ascension, printing an introduction, the text, a translation, and a commentary, and then reproducing the whole manuscript in a series of seven beautiful facsimiles.

The second papyrus of the book is, from a different point of view, quite as interesting as the first. It is an early Christian hymn, resembling in form the "Ad Virgines Exhortatio" of Gregory of Nazianzos, with which the editors are disposed to connect it in date. In structure the hymn is peculiar, being at once alphabetic, metrical, and to some extent accentual, and thus belongs to the transition period between metrical and accentual verse. The third papyrus, a Christian letter written from Rome about 250-85 A. D., is the earliest in the volume, which thus consists almost entirely of pieces from the Byzantine period. The same papyrus preserves the Greek of Heb. 1:1, and of Gen. 1:1-5 in the versions of the Septuagint and of Aquila.

With the exception of two seventh- or eighth-century liturgical papyri, used, the editors suggest, as choir slips, the remaining pieces of the volume are from the Greek Bible, Job, chaps. 1 and 2; Pss. 5, 58, 59, 108, 118, 135, 138-140; and Acts, chap. 2, being represented. Of the biblical pieces the earliest is the one preserving Heb. 1:1 and Gen. 1:1-5, which was written about 300 A. D. The rest are of the fifth and seventh centuries. The largest papyrus is the one containing Pss. 108, 118, 135, 138-140. In form all the pieces in the volume, except the hymn, the letter, and the choir slips, are leaf books, not rolls. The fragments of Pss. 58, 59, and Acts, chap. 2, are on parchment.

It will be seen that the Oxford editors have made a considerable and varied contribution to textual apparatus as well as to early Christian literature. The whole is done with that especial concern for the reader's convenience which distinguishes the editions of Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt. Full introductions, intelligible transcriptions, critical notes, occasional translations, and complete indices give all the help the student of these texts could ask. As the indices refer to the papyri by number, and a single papyrus sometimes covers a score or more of pages, the search for references in this, as in other volumes by the same editors, would be much facilitated by printing at the top of every page the number of the papyrus under discussion.

One observes with some surprise that the editors print Ἱερουσαλήμ, preserving the traditional rough breathing against the distinguished authority of Dr. Hort. In the hymn, χαλῶν makes a tempting restoration after τὰ δὲ σκιρτήματα [- -], l. 19, despite its accentual unfit-ness. In l. 15, p. 31, κς seems a misprint for κς = καί.

In nothing is American scholarship so unfortunate as in its lack of manuscript material. In the case of Greek papyri this lack is most conspicuous. If there are Greek papyri owned in America, their pos-sessors have not brought them to the attention of students of manu-scripts, and their possible contributions to literature and history are as yet unmade. But it is safe to say that there are none, or next to none, and one longs for the time when American travelers and collectors will see and seize the opportunity, suggested by the Lord Amherst volume, of doing a novel and patriotic service to American scholar-ship by placing within its reach some of the papyrus treasures now being distributed by the dealers of Cairo.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

AUS DEN GRIECHISCHEN PAPYRUSURKUNDEN. Ein Vortrag. Von LUDWIG MITTEIS. Leipzig: Teubner, 1900. Pp. 50. M. 1.

As was to be expected of the author of *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, the interests of Mitteis are chiefly with those papyri which throw light upon matters of ancient administration and law, and in this brief address he deals, for the most part, with themes like the imperial four-teen-year census cycle, the fifteen-year indiction period, the application of the Augustan corrected calendar to Egypt, where the current civil year was uniformly six hours short, Greek and Roman law in Egypt, and espe-cially the system of land tenure. On these matters the author's views will be heard with respect by all papyrographers. Nothing like a cata-logue of published papyri, either literary or documentary, is here under-taken, nor are any continuous texts presented. Passing reference is, indeed, made by way of introduction to some of the most conspicuous literary finds of recent years, *e. g.*, the Oxyrhynchus Logia and the Coptic Acts of Paul. The presence of the latter in an address professedly con-cerned with Greek papyri may occasion surprise, the more especially as no hint of their Coptic character is given, and the uninitiated reader is left to suppose them Greek. As to the Logia, by a singular perversion, the position of Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt as to their origin has been identified with that of Harnack, as against that of Heinrici

(*Anmerkungen*^a). As a matter of fact, Harnack's theory of relationship with the Gospel according to the Egyptians has never been accepted by the Oxford editors, who have from the first opposed the derivation of the Logia from any narrative gospel, the Gospel according to the Egyptians in particular, and interpreted the fragment as part of an original collection of sayings of Jesus. In this view Heinrici concurs, and it is with him, not against him, that the editors stand.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

CYCLOPEDIA OF CLASSIFIED DATES. With an Exhaustive Index.
By CHARLES E. LITTLE, Compiler of *Biblical Lights*, and
Historical Lights and Side-Lights. New York: Funk &
Wagnalls, 1900. Pp. vii + I + 1454 + 33. \$10.

THIS book is the result of a vast expenditure of labor. From two to five persons have given it their exclusive and continuous attention for nine years. It embraces all the leading countries of the world, and gives the principal facts connected with their special characteristics. These facts are grouped under such rubrics as Army, Navy, Art, Science, Nature, Births, Deaths, Church, Letters, Society, and Miscellanies.

The work is not only very comprehensive, but it goes far into details, and, so far as we have tested it, the accuracy is trustworthy.

The compiler has stated the purpose of the book in the first sentence of his introduction: "This book is designed for general use, as it possesses the essential features of a universal history, a biographical dictionary, a geographical gazetteer, and, besides these specific uses, a general utility fitting it to become a companion to the dictionary, both in the library of the scholar, and in the homes and schools where young people are pursuing their studies."

To make it still more complete, about three hundred pages have been devoted to an index of condensed references. By means of this index any fact in the book can be found in the shortest possible time. Then comes the perfect calendar for every year of the Christian era. To this is added a brief history of the calendar.

Reference-books of this kind have now become a necessity, not only for the general reader, but also for the special student. No memory should try to retain all, even of the most important, facts of

general history. But these facts should be easy of access when they are wanted. This volume will, we believe, prove a great desideratum.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE SEVEN ECUMENICAL COUNCILS OF THE UNDIVIDED CHURCH. Their Canons and Dogmatic Decrees, together with the Canons of all the Local Synods which have received Ecumenical Acceptance. Edited, with Notes gathered from the Writings of the Greatest Scholars, by HENRY R. PERCIVAL, M.A., D.D.

(Vol. XIV of "A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church." Second Series. Translated into English, with Prolegomena and Explanatory Notes. Under the editorial supervision of Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, in connection with a number of patristic scholars of Europe and America.)

New York: Scribner, 1900. Pp. xxxv + 671. \$4

THE reader will find in this volume, in English translation, the creeds and canons of the seven ecumenical councils, and also the canons of local synods that received the indorsement of the ecumenical bodies. This constitutes only a small fraction of the volume. Its great value lies in its historical introductions, notes, epitomes, excursions, etc., gathered in part from the writings of the most illustrious and profound students of conciliar literature, and composed in part by Dr. Percival himself, whose illuminating comments and editorial judgment have given us a volume the value of which it would be hard to overestimate. The creeds, canons, and acts of the several councils are preceded in each instance by historical introductions and elucidated by voluminous notes. Important words, customs, laws, doctrines, and events are treated in extended excursions. The sources whence the material in the text is derived are indicated. Indexes of authors, names, words, places, and subjects are appended.

ERI B. HULBERT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

ÉTUDE SUR LES GESTA MARTYRUM ROMAINS. Par ALBERT DUFOURCQ. Paris: Fontemoing, 1900. Pp. viii + 441. Fr. 12.50.

M. DUFOURCQ has not exceeded the bounds of modesty in dedicating this book to Bosio, Tillemont, and De Rossi, and in associating

with it the name of the abbé Duchesne—its eminently critical and epoch-making chapters breathe the spirit and confess the method of these illustrious masters. In the first part M. Dufourcq establishes the non-authenticity, in general, of the Roman "Gesta Martyrum" (GMR). It is not even interpolated, but entirely apocryphal. No definite scientific edition of the original texts exists. By the use of proper extrinsic and intrinsic criteria, and by comparison with authentic *acta* of the martyrs, it seems clear that, in part at least, the GMR was extant as a collection by the end of the sixth century. Of the seventy-seven texts that he examines M. Dufourcq would refer forty-five to this collection. He thinks it is the very one referred to by Gregory I. in his letter (598) to Eulogius of Alexandria (*pauca quaedam in unius codicis volumine collecta*). This little book, so slightly mentioned by the pope, M. Dufourcq is inclined to identify with a tenth-century manuscript passionary in the Vatican archives (Cod. Pal. Vindob. lat. 357). In the second part M. Dufourcq maintains an absolute historical independence of the GMR from the "Martyrologium Hieronymianum" and from all martyrological writings current under the name or authority of Eusebius of Cæsarea. This he proves by an extremely detailed examination of all the local Roman traditions, whereby he reveals the facts of the local origin of very many of the "Gesta," as well as the gradual disfigurement of the primitive conception. These pages (101–264) are the very heart of the book—only a disciple of Duchesne, broken in by that master of the local ecclesiastical topography of Rome, could move with the method and security that are here visible. In the third part the author fixes as his "termini" for the compilation of the GMR the years 395 and 595, more particularly the end of the fifth and first quarter of the sixth century. Thus, *e. g.*, the "Gesta" of Saint Cecilia belongs to 486–525, those of SS. John and Paul to 498–514. The historical worth of the GMR is considerable for the period of its composition, very slight for the epoch of actual martyrdom. The minor clerics of Rome are responsible for its compilation, moved by anti-Neomanichæan influences and yielding to a literary pressure of Byzantine origin and character. In four concluding chapters M. Dufourcq depicts, in a manner both novel and instructive, the more or less of influence exercised by the GMR on the worship, art, and literature of the Latin West in the thousand years that followed its appearance.

THOS. J. SHAHAN.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA.

EINE BIBLIOTHEK DER SYMBOLE UND THEOLOGISCHER TRACTATE ZUR BEKÄMPFUNG DES PRISCILLIANISMUS UND WESTGOTHISCHEN ARIANISMUS AUS DEM IV. JAHRHUNDERT. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der theologischen Litteratur in Spanien. Von KARL KÜNSTLE. Mainz: Kirchheim, 1900. Pp. x + 181. M. 5.

It is not easy to glean after a man like Caspari; but that is what Künstle does here. In the court library of Karlsruhe is a manuscript, once explored by Caspari, called Codex Augiensis XVIII, of ninety pages, and assigned to the ninth century. That great scholar called it "a rich collection of symbols, etc.," and edited from it the "Exhort. S. Ambrosii," but does not seem to have prepared to publish the rest. It contains: (1) the Nicaenum, (2) the Constantinopolitanum, (3) Fides S. Augustini, (4) Confessio Faustini, (5) Sententiae sanctorum patrum de fide S. trinitatis, (6) Explanatio symboli cuiusdam, (7) Interrogatio de fide Catholica, (8) Similitudines, and (9) Diligentia beatorum monachorum Armenii et Honorii. Künstle makes it probable that the collection in this manuscript, with slight exceptions, was made by the well-known librarian Reginbertus, 784-806, and that most of it belongs to the sixth century. He carefully describes the manuscript, estimates its several documents, discusses the collection as a whole, and then (pp. 146-78) gives us the text itself. Besides the texts given *in extenso*, the manuscript contains a corpus of explanations on the Lord's Prayer, explanations of the symbols, and a fragment of the twenty-four books of Irish canons, so well treated by Wasserscheben. Among the materials which seem to refer this collection to Spain by way of France are a *regula fidei* of a council in Toledo, a *regula fidei* of Isidore of Seville, "decisions of Spanish synods" against Priscillian (of 447, 589, 563), and "Nonnullae excerptae sententiae de Synodicis constitutionibus Spanensis" against heresy. By a long discussion of details and internal evidence Künstle makes it probable that we have here an "Early Christian Library of Symbols," which arose in opposition to the Sabellianism of the Priscillianists and the Arianism of the Goths in Spain; but the proof is not everywhere convincing. Quite apart, however, from this historic question of local origin, the book is of no small value to all students of confessions. It gives a peculiar division of the Apostolicum, independent versions of the creeds of Nicæa and Constantinople, and publishes for the first time an early Pseudo-Augustinian "Confessio," a comprehensive trinitarian anthology, drawn from Athanasius, Cyrill, Gregory of Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Jerome,

Augustine, Eucherius, and especially from the treatise "De Trinitate," ascribed to Vigilius Tapsensis; finally it contains hitherto unknown similitudes setting forth the doctrine of the Trinity. Künstle has produced an instructive work on a part of church history quite aside from the ordinary field of study.

H. M. SCOTT.

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

DIE ORIGENISTISCHEN STREITIGKEITEN IM SECHSTEN JAHRHUNDERT UND DAS FÜNFTE ALLGEMEINE CONCIL. Von DR. FRANZ DIEKAMP. Münster: Aschendorff, 1900. Pp. iv + 142. M. 3.50.

THE author of this monograph is a young Catholic scholar, who had already distinguished himself by at least two larger works in the patristic sphere. The point at issue seems not to be one of the first importance, and it is not easy to understand why so much painstaking labor should have been devoted to it by our author and his predecessors. In 543 the emperor Justinian, with the concurrence of nearly all the bishops of the East, issued an edict against the Origenists, who were somewhat aggressive at that time. In the eleventh of a series of anathemas agreed upon at the eighth session of the council of Constantinople (553) Origen is condemned along with Arius, Eunomius, and a number of early heretics. Baronius (1588), followed by a long list of scholars, of whom the most recent and best-known are Möller, Loofs, and Harnack, reached the conclusion that the council of Constantinople gave special consideration to the Origenistic heresies and deliberately and definitely anathematized them. Baronius was disposed to attribute the somewhat confused and inconclusive character of the acts of the council to efforts of the Origenists to cover up the evidence of their definite condemnation. Hallois (1648) made an earnest effort to prove that the Origenists were not definitely condemned by this council, and resented with warmth Baronius' imputation, as dishonoring to the great Alexandrian. He was inclined to call in question even the general condemnation of Origen, along with other heretics, and to impute it to malice inspired by "the father of lies." Hallois has had a number of followers, some of whom have surpassed him in their zeal for Origen and their determination to resent the very suggestion of his condemnation by an ecumenical council. Most modern scholars have followed Valesius (1673) in holding that the council of 553 simply acted upon the investigation of Origenism by the bishops in 543 and did not

go into the matter anew in any detailed way; but yet expressly condemned Origen along with other heretics and meant to condemn *ipso facto* his contemporary followers. Hefele has been the most important modern advocate of this view. Diekamp has investigated the matter anew, with access to considerably more material than was available to any of his predecessors. With marvelous industry he has brought together a great array of facts bearing upon the question. He has gathered and scientifically arranged much valuable material relating to the Origenistic controversy during the reign of Justinian, and has been able to fix a number of important dates and relations. His chronological table appended to the work will be found useful. His conclusion as regards the question at issue does not differ materially from that of Hefele. He admits that in 543 Pope Vigilius joined in the anathematization of the Origenists; but he does not think that this fact or the general condemnation of Origen by the ecumenical council of 553 gives to this condemnation the stamp of infallibility or necessarily constitutes Origen a heretic. The difficulty involved in holding to the infallibility of pope and council, and at the same time refusing to allow that Origen was a heretic, doubtless suggests the chief motif in these researches.

ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN.

McMASTER UNIVERSITY.

DIE LEHRE VON DER GEMEINSCHAFT DER HEILIGEN IM CHRISTLICHEN ALTERTHUM. Eine dogmengeschichtliche Studie. Von J. P. KIRSCH. Mainz: Kirchheim, 1900. Pp. vi+230. M. 7.

THIS book forms the beginning of a new series of studies in church history, the object of which is to explore the bypaths and record the results, so that those who are concerned with the main highway may know what material there is available for their purpose. The subject chosen to begin the series is important and interesting, for it is nothing less than the place which the communion of the saints held in the thinking of Christians down to the end of the fifth century. The author assumes that the writers of the New Testament held that "the saints on earth and all the dead but one communion make," and, starting from this, he endeavors to show how the idea was developed and what elements it introduced into Christian thinking. It is recognized that "the foundation of the doctrine of the communion of the saints is the view held regarding the kingdom of God, the church, or,

as it is called in the gospels, the kingdom of heaven." Within this sphere the idea of communion among its members grew up, and that idea found its expression in ancient times, as well as in our own day, "in intercession for one another on the part of believers still living, in prayers to God for the souls of deceased believers, and in supplications to the departed members of the kingdom of God for their prayers in the presence of God, either on behalf of Christians still on the earth or on behalf of believing souls who had already departed this life." Hence came the place given to "saints" in the technical sense, to martyrs, and to guardian angels.

The first task of the author is to show how the sphere of these ideas enlarged by sweeping the boundaries of the kingdom forward till they embraced the departed who had died in Christ, and backward till they embraced all those servants of God whose day fell before the coming of Christ. Then it came to pass that the ideas of brotherhood and comradeship, expressed and emphasized at the Lord's Supper, proceeded in their own way to cover this enlarged sphere of the kingdom. The earliest documentary evidence found for the existence of prayers for the dead is, according to our author, an inscription found in the catacombs of Saint Priscilla, and belonging to the time when Justin lived and taught in Rome. The history of the development of this wide range of ideas is divided into two parts, one ending with the beginning of the fourth century, and the other with the close of the fifth century, at which time the doctrines prevalent during the Middle Ages in this sphere had become fixed. In the first period the most potent influence was that exerted by Origen, and in the second that exerted by Augustine.

J. L. GILMOUR.

HAMILTON, CANADA.

PSEUDO-DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITA IN SEINEN BEZIEHUNGEN ZUM NEUPLATONISMUS UND MYSTERIENWESEN. Eine litterarhistorische Untersuchung. Von HUGO KOCH. Mainz: Kirchheim, 1900. Pp. xii + 276. M. 7.

THE fact is well established that the Dionysian writings were not written by Dionysius the Areopagite; also that they resemble the writing of the new Platonists, especially Proclus. Some writers, however, still ascribe these writings to a Dionysius, living about the middle of the fourteenth century, which leaves the question open whether Pseudo-Dionysius borrowed from Proclus or *vice versa*, or both from

common sources. Dr. Koch, therefore, who wrote two theses on the subject in 1895, now reinforces them by this careful and detailed comparison of the two bodies of writings. The net result of the essay is a clear demonstration that Pseudo-Dionysius used Proclus, and that to the extent of borrowing much material bodily from him. That the operation could not have been *vice versa* is shown from the consistency of Proclus' material, and an irregularity in that of Pseudo-Dionysius which is so great that the meaning can be understood at times only by reference to the text of Proclus. He finds also in Pseudo-Dionysius traces of Philo and the Hermetic writings.

The time of composition is the beginning of the sixth century; the place of composition, Syria. The hypothesis of a second redaction is rejected.

The bulk of the work is taken up by the detailed comparison of the various writings, often in the effective double column. While in no sense a popular work, it is a most important contribution to the history of mysticism, in that it establishes the point at which the variant elements of Platonism, Hermeticism, and Christianity were united into the new system which we call Christian mysticism, and of which Pseudo-Dionysius is the "father" in a fuller and stricter sense than ever before.

Koch takes those critics who still stand for a date before Proclus a little more seriously than an English Protestant would, but the value of this essay lies, not in the matter of date, but in the fact that it shows the direct connection of Proclus with modern Christian mysticism. The book is indispensable to the student of this subject.

ERNEST C. RICHARDSON.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

DIE KIRCHENRECHTSQUELLEN DES PATRIARCHATS ALEXANDRIEN.
Zusammengestellt und zum Teil übersetzt. Von WILHELM
RIEDEL. Leipzig: Deichert, 1900. Pp. iv + 311. M. 10.

It has long been known that an Arabic-Christian literature of considerable scope and value was awaiting exploitation at the hands of European and American scholars. The similar literature in the Syriac, Ethiopic, and Coptic languages had received considerable attention, and it was time that so capable and so enterprising a scholar as Riedel should not only make a thorough inventory of the Arabic-Christian documents and their depositories, but should also give to students of church history some account of their contents and importance. The author accounts for the comparative neglect of this body of literature

by reference to the fact that the Syriac, Ethiopic, and Coptic literatures are purely Christian, and church historians have recognized their fundamental importance. Those who have mastered these languages have done so for the very purpose of exploiting the Christian literatures written in them; whereas Arabic has been studied chiefly by those whose ulterior object was the study of the Koran and Mohammedanism.

The principal European depositories of Arabic-Christian manuscripts are the Vatican Library and the National Library of Paris; but the British Museum, the Royal Library of Berlin, and other libraries contain many important documents. This literature had its rise chiefly in Egypt, where Christianity maintained considerable vigor long after the Saracen conquest, which soon made the Arabic the principal language of literature even for the Christians. The present work, as the title implies, does not attempt to cover the entire field of Arabic-Christian literature, but restricts its purview to the sphere of church law. The first work whose contents are indicated is the theological encyclopædia of Sams al Ri'asah Abu 'l Barakat Ibn Kibr, who died *ca.* 1079 A. D. It contains discussions on all the leading Greek theological expressions that had been involved in the early christological controversies, and refutations of a large number of heresies, including many of the well-known systems of the earlier time. The Thirty Traditions of the Apostles, the Seventy-one Canons of the Apostles, the Fifty-six Canons of the Apostles, the Didaskalia (Teaching of the Twelve Apostles), the Canons of the Synods of Ancyra, Neocæsarea, Antioch, Carthage, Nicæa, etc., the Canons of Hippolytus, Basil, Chrysostom, Cyrill, Athanasius, a large body of Clementina, and many canons bearing unfamiliar Arabic names, will suggest the richness of this literature. In cases where documents are well known in other versions or in originals the author has carefully collated the Arabic text with the other forms and has put us in possession of the distinctive features of the former. In a number of cases he has given us what seem to be trustworthy translations of important writings otherwise unknown.

ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN.

McMASTER UNIVERSITY.

JULIAN VON SPEYER. *Forschungen zur Franziskus- und Antoniuskritik, zur Geschichte der Reimoffizien und des Chorals.* Von J. E. WEIS. München: Lentner, 1900. Pp. viii + 154. M. 3.60.

JULIAN VON SPEYER (born about 1200, died 1285) has never had the honor that is his due. He was born in Speier, but early went

to Paris, where, because of his ability as a musician, he was made choir-master in the royal chapel of Louis VIII. About the year 1227, or a little earlier, he joined the order of St. Francis. He spent the most of his life in Paris in the Franciscan House, the foundation of which was given to the order by St. Louis, in 1230. Although it has been known that he wrote a "Life of St. Francis," no one had ever been able to discover it. Weis has identified this "Life" by Julian with the anonymous "Life" published by the Bollandists in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Vol. II, for October, pp. 548 f. To the same pen he traces the "Office of St. Francis" in rhyme, which is printed in the Franciscan breviaries and still sung by the order on St. Francis' day. For this and other "Offices" Julian also composed beautiful music, much of which is still preserved and will soon be published. For St. Anthony of Padua Julian performed the same service, writing his life, and an "Office" in rhyme, for which he composed the music. Julian's great importance is apparent only when we read his poetry and see his mastery of rhyme, meter, and rhythm. He had a fine poetical and musical sense, which enabled him to write "Offices" which were not only of greater beauty, but also of freer poetical construction. His meter is quite varied, and his lines are musical. His poetical "Offices" are far superior to anything that had gone before. In music he marks the change from monody to harmony, inasmuch as he seems to have been one of the first to compose "Offices" for two and even three voices. Both his poems and his music had great influence on the development of poetry and music.

O. J. THATCHER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

LUTHER AND THE GERMAN REFORMATION. By THOMAS M. LINDSAY, D.D., Professor of Church History, Free Church College, Glasgow. New York: Scribner, 1900. Pp. xi + 300. \$1.25.

DURING the last twenty years a multitude of biographies of Luther have been published, most of them poor, but a few of them excellent. I am inclined to place this small volume in the latter class, notwithstanding some minor defects. Dr. Lindsay was already well known as the author of a condensed history of the Reformation throughout Europe, in which he showed unusual ability to seize and mark the salient features of the epoch. The present book, a somewhat more ambitious piece of work, is characterized by the same good judgment. Dr.

Lindsay recognizes the Lutheran Reformation as only a part of a world-wide movement, differing in this from many of his predecessors, who speak of it as the cause of the transition from mediæval to modern history; as if the appearing of the grass and flowers caused the breaking up of winter and the introduction of spring. He is intimately acquainted with the social and political conditions which influenced Luther, so that we might well call his book, if it were not so limited in size, by the more ambitious title of "The Life and Times of Luther." He has a keen perception of character and motives, and the principal persons of the history stand forth in his pages with unusual distinctness and act with unusual dramatic propriety. To this enumeration of virtues I will add that he avoids the tone of stilted eulogy with which many of the German writers on Luther afflict us, and the affected fine literary style which many of them attempt.

Dr. Lindsay is not always accurate in small details. The statement that Luther during the year of his novitiate "was invisible to the world beyond the convent gate" ignores the fact that one of his regular occupations was begging food for the convent through the city. The statement that Luther "bent over the font to sprinkle little children" ignores the fact that he strongly recommended the immersion of infants, and probably practiced what he recommended, and that, in any case, the alternative which he allowed was pouring, and not sprinkling. The statement that Luther defended his ninety-five theses in the disputation at Heidelberg in 1518 is a mistake; the subjects debated there pertained chiefly to sin, redemption, and grace. The statement that Frederic the Wise, "though living continually in the same town" with Luther, corresponding with him, and frequently hearing him preach, "never had any personal intercourse" with him, is incredible in itself, and is disproved by existing records of several interviews with him. There are other small slips. Dr. Lindsay trusts to his memory too much, and it sometimes fails him. He should revise his book for the purpose of testing the details. It is worthy of more minute care than he has given it.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

LUTHERS RELIGIÖSES INTERESSE AN SEINER LEHRE VON DER REALPRÄSENZ. Eine historisch-dogmatische Studie. Von KARL JÄGER. Giessen: Ricker, 1900. Pp. 92. M. 2.

THIS book is an attempt to account for the passionate tenacity with which Luther held fast to the doctrine of the real bodily presence of

Christ in the eucharist, while he denounced with frightful maledictions those who denied it. Herr Jäger maintains that we cannot explain his attitude by referring it to his early education, to the requirements of his doctrinal system in general, or to his obstinacy, native and acquired. We can explain it only by observing that he identified the doctrine with the very existence of religion, and consequently identified the view of Zwingli with an irreligious tendency, or even with irreligion itself. He supposed that the power of the sacrament to nourish the soul and minister to our holy confidence is derived from the fact that it presents to us the real body and blood of the Redeemer, and that where this is not perceived no good can be accomplished by the service. Jäger proves all this by a careful study of the passages in which Luther expresses himself on the subject. He shows a thorough appreciation of Luther, and attributes the utmost sincerity to him; while he defends the Zwinglian doctrine, and seeks to show that it secures a better religious result than that of the Lutheran doctrine, and, indeed, gives us all that Luther supposed it would take away.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DES KURSÄCHSISCHEN RATHES HANS VON DER PLANITZ BERICHTE AUS DEM REICHSREGIMENT IN NÜRNBERG 1521-1523. Gesammelt von ERNST WUELCKER, nebst ergänzenden Aktenstücken bearbeitet von HANS VIRCK. Leipzig: Teubner, 1899. Pp. cxlix + 688. M. 26.

ONE of the most interesting figures of secondary importance in the time of the Reformation was Hans von der Planitz. As a trusted official of the ducal house of Saxony (Ernestine line), and a devoted follower of Luther, he served the cause of the Reformation with rare skill, fidelity, and efficiency. He came of a rich and noble family of Saxony. Their large estates, which lay in the neighborhood of Zwickau, had recently become more important because of the discovery of rich mines on them. The duke of Saxony, however, by virtue of the so-called "Bergrecht," profited from the mines even more than did the von Planitz family.

Hans was born about 1474. For the purpose of studying law he went, when about seventeen years old, to the university of Leipzig, where he remained till 1497. After a few months in Ingolstadt, presumably in study, he went to Bologna, where he remained from 1498 to 1501, and perhaps longer. He was made *Dr. utriusque juris* in

1499, and held the office of rector in the university for two years. These were eventful years in Italy, and the trial and execution of Savonarola and the career of Cæsar Borgia must have made a deep impression on him.

After his return to his home in 1503 he immersed himself in the duties of his position, guarding and defending the interests of his family against encroachments from many quarters. In the development of the mines on their estates disputes had arisen between his family and the elector, Duke Friedrich. While defending his family's rights he came into contact with the elector, who soon discovered his great ability. The elector took him into his diplomatic service (1513-16), and sent him on various embassies, among others to the court of Denmark. In 1516 the elector made him *Amtmann* of the city of Grimma, the manifold duties of which office he fulfilled till his resignation in 1533. In 1517, in company with several noblemen, he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

We learn nothing of his attitude to Luther till in 1519, when he was sent as the elector's representative to the disputation at Leipzig to protect Luther and to secure fair treatment for him. After the disputation Luther went to Grimma with him. From this time Planitz was an ardent follower of Luther, and he devoted his great legal knowledge and wide experience to resisting the attempts of the Catholics to crush the young movement. He was especially serviceable to the elector, never failing to discover good technical grounds for refusing to enforce papal bulls and decrees against Luther. He was very successful in putting many of the Catholic princes under personal obligations to the elector or to himself, and thus cleverly blocked all decisive legislation which was aimed to silence Luther and stop the Reformation.

In 1519 Charles V. had, in response to the complaints of the German princes, promised to establish a commission (*Reichsregiment*), which should work out a large number of reforms in the government of the empire, in the administration of justice, in commerce, in coinage, in the system of weights and measures, etc. The elector chose for his representative in this commission the man who of all his subjects was best fitted for the place, Hans von der Planitz. The commission came together in the autumn of 1521 and continued in existence till 1524. Planitz was present during a large part of this time. He made frequent reports to the elector of all that took place in and around the commission. The complete correspondence between

the elector and Planitz is here published for the first time. There are, in all, about two hundred and seventy-five letters. Von Ranke and others have already made good use of them as manuscript material, without, however, exhausting them. They reveal the political intricacies of the period with rare clearness. Their publication will be very acceptable to all students of the German Reformation.

O. J. THATCHER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THOMAS CRANMER. By ARTHUR JAMES MASON. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1898. Pp. 203. \$1.

CRANMER AND THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. By ARTHUR D. INNES. New York: Scribner, 1900. Pp. xix + 199. \$1.25.

THE field of Reformation history is being ransacked to find "Leaders," "Heroes," and "Epoch-Makers," who may play the leading rôle in biographical studies; and so we have a host of new books, not only on Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Beza—true leaders and heroes—but on Erasmus and Cranmer—far less entitled to canonization for heroism. Among these recent biographies are two of Cranmer, "the most mysterious personage of the British Reformation." Cambridge furnishes a careful and accurate study of the life of her distinguished alumnus, by Dr. Arthur J. Mason. The author gracefully depreciates his labor by alleging that the book is "little else than a putting together of various parts of Dixon's *Church of England*;" but his clear, helpful, and independent interpretation of his subject demands for himself the gratitude he bestows on another. He has adhered faithfully to his own principle stated in the preface: "Among historical figures, as among those of actual life, the fewest mistakes are made by him who, while exercising a just criticism, exercises it with a charitable resolve to put the best construction which facts will allow upon actions and motives."

The series on the "World's Epoch-Makers" (Oliphant Smeaton, editor), proposed by the Scribners, includes twenty-eight titles representative of "the most remarkable movements that have taken place in theology, philosophy, and the history of intellectual development from Buddha to the present day." These titles include Socrates, Origen, Mahomet, the Medici, Luther, Pascal, Kent, and Newman. The first published volume is that on Cranmer by Mr. Innes, of Oxford. As the title indicates and as the series requires, this work is more

comprehensive than the volume previously under review. Cranmer is used as the lay figure about which to fashion the history of the Reformation in England, from its beginnings in the Italian Renaissance to the Settlement under Elizabeth. The book is, in fact, a good brief history of the English Reformation. The influence of Cranmer upon its doctrinal and liturgical standards is made prominent. Through his influence the Anglican church was saved from reverting to Rome or from becoming Calvinist, and instead "became deliberately comprehensive." "The peculiar achievement of Cranmer lay in his framing a *modus vivendi* so effectively inclusive in its scope that Laud could rule the same church whose children in later generations were brought up on the *Pilgrim's Progress*; that church which a few years since included among her sons Lord Shaftsbury, Dr. Pusey, and Dean Stanley."

A feature deserving especial commendation is the list of excellent and complete chronological tables covering the entire period. They increase greatly the value of a valuable book.

GEO. E. BURLINGAME.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DIE STELLUNG DER JESUITEN IN DEN DEUTSCHEN HEXENPROZESSEN.
VON BERNHARD DUHR. Köln: Bachem, 1900. Pp. 96.
M. 1.80.

THIS book is published under the auspices of the "Görres-Gesellschaft zur Pflege der Wissenschaft im katholischen Deutschland." The author, a Jesuit, succeeds in the main in his purpose to give a fair account of the attitude which the Jesuits assumed toward the trial and punishment of witches in Germany in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many Protestant writers accuse the Jesuits of having taken a leading part in the terrible business. Some Jesuit writers go to the opposite extreme, and maintain that their order opposed it and sought to mitigate the punishments of the victims. The author shows clearly that the Jesuits as an order took no official ground concerning witchcraft, and that many Jesuits entered zealously into the search for witches, while some deplored it; in short, that the Jesuits were affected by the prevailing delusion precisely as other men were. Incidentally he gives us many interesting facts in reference to the epidemic of superstition and terror which swept over Europe and sent thousands of innocent persons to the stake. He writes with a certain degree of freedom from ecclesiastical fetters. He admits that some of the popes were mistaken about witchcraft, and thinks that the bull of Innocent

VIII. and the briefs of Leo X., Adrian VI., and Gregory XV. concerning it do not come into the category of official infallible decisions in the sphere of faith and morals. He acknowledges that Innocent VIII. "was badly informed by a credulous and uncritical inquisition, and gave an advantage to injustice, because he enabled the witch-burners to appeal to the authority of a papal bull."

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE CONTEST FOR LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE IN ENGLAND.
(="Divinity Studies," No. I.) By WALLACE ST. JOHN,
PH.D. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1900.
Pp. 155. \$0.75.

THIS study of the memorable contest for liberty of conscience in England was undertaken in connection with a course of study in the department of church history in the University of Chicago. It is mainly historical, and deals with the original sources. The writer, after examining the pamphlets that were accessible in the library of the university, spent some months in London, and made use of the very large number of documents in the British Museum.

The first chapter relates to the beginnings of the contest for liberty of conscience before the time of James I. The second relates to the period of the earlier Stuart kings. The third traces the discussion during the time of the Commonwealth (1649-60). The fourth carries the discussion through the reigns of Charles II. and James II. The last chapter is entitled the "Period of Political Agitation," and carries the discussion to the time of John Stuart Mill.

This book is very rich in citations from original authorities. Beginning with the *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More, and the writings of the early Anabaptists, who taught "that no man ought to be compelled to faith and to religion," the author discusses the writings of Robert Browne and of John Robinson. He does not agree with Dr. Dexter in the statement that "Robert Browne was the first English writer to set forth the true relation of the magistrate to the church." In 1614 Leonard Busher, an Anabaptist, published a "Plea for Liberty of Conscience." The next year appeared "A Dialogue," which proved "that no man ought to be persecuted for his religion." Almost every year a new pamphlet on that side of the question was printed. The authors were, almost all of them, Baptists or Quakers. Many of the early Puritans are quoted as on the side of a state church. "The Bloody

Tenent of Persecution," written by Roger Williams, is referred to because it was published and circulated in England, but the author does not enter into the questions relating to liberty of conscience in New England.

The treatise exhibits the exact position in the contest for religious liberty of such leaders of English thought as Knox, Cartwright, the Westminster divines, Cromwell, Milton, Taylor, Owen, Locke, and Mill.

This outline of the book of Mr. St. John indicates the richness of its materials. The subject is presented very clearly and fairly. Some readers will question the correctness of some of his statements, especially those that relate to Robert Browne and John Robinson; but very few, at this day, will question the general correctness of his conclusions.

EZRA H. BYINGTON.

NEWTON, MASS.

JOSEPH GLANVILL: A STUDY IN ENGLISH THOUGHT AND LETTERS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By FERRIS GREENSLET, PH.D., Fellow in English in Columbia University. New York: The Columbia University Press; The Macmillan Co., Agents, 1900. Pp. xi+235. \$1.50.

JOSEPH GLANVILL, recalled more often in modern days as the author of a famous book in defense of the belief in witchcraft and allied psychic phenomena, and known, by name at least, to the readers of Poe and of Matthew Arnold's *Scholar Gypsy*, was quite as famous in his own time as Anglican preacher, member of the newly founded Royal Society, and philosopher at large. This monograph is a study of his career and writings, and an attempt to vindicate for Glanvill a substantial place in the history of seventeenth-century English philosophy and theology. Incidentally the Cambridge Platonists, with which group Glanvill was closely allied, are studied in some detail, the history of the contemporary belief in witchcraft and of Glanvill's contributions to it is sketched, and a study of Glanvill's position in the history of English prose style is appended.

The volume is a creditable monograph on a subject very little worked, and will prove useful to the students of the thought of this period. Some day doubtless we shall have the much-needed full history of English thought in the seventeenth century, corresponding to Leslie Stephen's *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, and when that is written the only philosophers included will not

be Bacon, Hobbes, and Locke. This work is a descriptive and expository essay, rather than an attempt at original criticism, and we are treated rather to scraps of philosophy than a full feast. The essay is well planned, but not always absolutely coherent in its minor parts. It is doubtful whether one ought to undertake a study of this sort without seeing all of the material, as Dr. Greenslet very honestly confesses he has not been able to do. We think that the author's account (p. 148) of the "universal" Elizabethan belief in witchcraft is a trifle exaggerated. At p. 22, l. 14, should we not read "monuments" for "movements"? An obvious misprint occurs also at p. 178.

F. I. CARPENTER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE PURITAN IN ENGLAND AND NEW ENGLAND. By EZRA HOYT BYINGTON. Fourth Edition. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1900. Pp. xlii + 457. \$2.

THE PURITAN AS A COLONIST AND A REFORMER. By EZRA HOYT BYINGTON. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1900. Pp. xxvi + 375. \$2.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM BRADFORD AND HIS SON, MAJOR WILLIAM BRADFORD. By JAMES SHEPARD. New Britain, Conn.: James Shepard, 1900. Pp. 96. \$2.

PURITAN PREACHING IN ENGLAND: A Study of Past and Present. By JOHN BROWN. New York: Scribner, 1900. Pp. 290. \$1.50.

THE PURITAN REPUBLIC OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY IN NEW ENGLAND. By DANIEL WAIT HOWE. Indianapolis: Bowen-Merrill Co., 1899. Pp. xxxviii + 422. \$3.

THE remarkable literary activity of the Puritan fathers and the vital relation of their work to later history have made the Puritan period of New England history both resourceful and fascinating to students. The number of essays, monographs, and histories, which constantly increases, testifies to the general interest in the affairs of those early days.

Of the two books first referred to above, one—*The Puritan in England and New England*—is the fourth edition, apparently little changed (except as hereafter noted), of the original edition of 1896. It takes the form of nine essays, each complete in itself, the whole forming an excellent picture of Puritan life and setting forth the principles and practices that made up its character. Of special value is

the very clear chapter discussing the relation of the Puritans and the Pilgrims to each other and to future history. The result of a comparison of the two colonies is thus summarized: "It may be fairly claimed that the influence of the Puritans upon New England has been greater in some respects than that of the Pilgrims. The energy, the enterprise, the political sagacity, the genius for creating new types of government—these are the inheritance of New England from the Puritan fathers. . . . But the Pilgrims had been purified by the fires of a fiercer persecution. They had learned lessons of patience and of gentleness in the hard school of adversity. Their 'gentleness had made them great.' . . . The beauty, the poetry of New England have come in great part from those who landed on Plymouth Rock. They have taught the world a larger tolerance, gentler manners, purer laws" (pp. 112, 113). In comparing the laws of the two colonies the author has followed Dr. Goodwin in a statement for which there seems to be no warrant in the Plymouth records to which he refers: "The laws of Plymouth against the Quakers were as severe as those of Massachusetts" (p. 109). The fact is that there can be no comparison between the cruel and inhuman laws of the Bay colony and the mild (for that age) resources which the Plymouth colony employed to suppress Quakerism. Mr. Palfrey, the Puritan apologist, asserts (Vol. II, p. 485) that among the New England colonies Massachusetts has the unhappy distinction of having been "the only one in which Quakers who refused to absent themselves where condemned to die."

The chief new feature of the book is the addition of a chapter (fifty pages) on "Witchcraft in New England," a clear and comprehensive survey of that painful episode in New England history.

Uniform with the book just discussed, and a companion volume, is *The Puritan as a Colonist and Reformer*, by the same author. It also employs the essay form, but there are more of unity and interdependence in the first four chapters, which discuss "The Pilgrim as a Colonist," "The Puritan as a Colonist," "John Eliot," and "Jonathan Edwards and the Great Awakening." More attention is given than in the former volume to the external history, and the salient features of Pilgrim and Puritan history are presented with clearness and in attractive literary form. The author deals kindly with the Pilgrims, as they deserve, and remarks their spirit of tolerance toward those who differed from them. There never was among them, as among the Puritans, a religious test of citizenship; some of their most influential men, *e. g.*, Myles Standish, were never members of Plymouth church. The influence of the

Pilgrims upon later history is the more remarkable when it is considered that less than three hundred of those who peopled the Plymouth territory were of the true Pilgrim stock from the Scrooby-Leyden company. It is doubtful if a more delightful and lucid survey of the Puritans has been written than the chapter on "The Puritan as a Colonist." The author has assimilated his sources thoroughly and gives the reader the result in a concise form and charming style. The missionary spirit of the colonists is fully considered, with John Eliot as the typical expression of that spirit. When he began his work among the Indians, there was not a Protestant missionary society in the world. Through his appeals and influence a society was incorporated by act of Parliament, to support his growing work among the aborigines. "This society was the pioneer of the great number of foreign missionary societies which have been formed and supported by English and American Christians." The general distrust of Puritan character among the colonists somewhat retarded the gathering of the converted Indians in the churches, but at the outbreak of King Philip's war, in 1675, there were eleven hundred "praying Indians" to bear witness to the devotion of Eliot. The great body of these remained faithful to the English, and several hundred of them enlisted in the English army. The work of Eliot was irreparably injured by this ruinous war of 1675-6. The chapter on "The Great Awakening" shows the deplorable conditions in New England antecedent to the revival, the influence of Edwards and Whitefield in securing the awakening, and the wide and permanent results that have followed it. The finished essay on "Shakespeare and the Puritans" has only a remote relation to the other chapters of the book. It discusses in an interesting way Shakespeare's attitude toward Puritanism, and the moral and religious elements in his writings.

One who has in his library these two books of Dr. Byington is well furnished in the realm of early Pilgrim and Puritan history. They are to be warmly commended.

Mr. Shepard's *Bradford* is a collection of material, including contemporary documents and references, and also the remarks of later writers, all of which is brought together in order to show what sort of man Governor Bradford was. The compiler is a descendant of the governor, and the book will be of chief interest to the posterity of the Pilgrim father, and to those especially interested in a study of his life and character.

The volume entitled "Puritan Preaching in England" is composed

of the "Yale Lectures on Preaching" for 1899. It is the work of a gifted English preacher, and is a contribution at once to homiletics, the history of preaching, and biography. The author's forty-five years in the ministry, of which thirty-five have been as pastor of John Bunyan's Bedford church, are a strong warrant for his qualification to treat of that type of preachers whom he terms Puritan. This descriptive term is used in a broad sense, "as meaning thereby those preachers who have laid more stress upon the Scripture than upon ecclesiastical institutions." With the Puritan preachers thus defined, it is proper to embrace not only the Nonconformists of the post-Reformation period, but also such men as the Dominican and Franciscan friars (in the early career of those orders), Wyclif and the Lollards, John Colet, and the martyrs Bradford and Latimer. The chapter on the Cambridge Puritans is of especial interest in connection with the history of New England. Lawrence Chatterton, lecturing for fifty years to crowds of hearers, produced through his disciples Culverwell and Perkins a profound influence on Winthrop and Cotton and Robinson, who were the founders and directors of the colonizing movement toward Plymouth and Boston. John Bunyan is presented as "A Life Study for Preachers," with the *Pilgrim's Progress* as a guide to Bunyan's ideals concerning the ministry. The story of the marvelous work of Richard Baxter at Kidderminster searches the heart of the young preacher and inspires him with hope and with lofty purpose "to preach as a dying man to dying men." As representative preachers of modern Puritanism there are presented Thomas Binney, of London; Charles Spurgeon, R. W. Dale, of Birmingham, and Alexander Maclaren.

This book, clear in style, sympathetic, searching, and invigorating, is to be strongly commended throughout.

Fields of historical research so well covered as that of Puritan Massachusetts compel the selection of special problems by writers of new books in reference to them. Such a selection has been made by Mr. Howe in *The Puritan Republic*. A lawyer by profession, of Puritan ancestry, he has addressed himself largely to the legal aspects of the history of the Puritan colony. The task defined in the preface as his purpose has been well done: "What I have aimed to do is to bring together in a volume of moderate size some of the features in the history of the government and people of the Massachusetts Puritan commonwealth, that I thought would be most interesting to the people of today, and especially to those who are descendants of the early Puritans. I have attempted to describe the public and the private life of the early

Puritans, their customs, their characteristics, their struggles. . . . I have essayed the still more difficult task of tracing the evolution of a commonwealth from a colony, of a constitution from a charter, of a republic from a corporation. No inconsiderable part . . . has been devoted to an attempt to show the development of republican ideas and institutions." In this large task Mr. Howe has classified the laws applying to various phases of the Puritan order, and given the results under the proper titles, *e. g.*, "Domestic and Social Life," "Industrial and Commercial Life," and "The Puritan Sabbath." The ecclesiastical system, the restriction of the franchise to church members, the attempted clerical espionage of private life and relationships, and the persecution of Baptist and Quaker heretics, are considered at length in two chapters (seventy-three pages) on "The Rise and Fall of the Theocracy." Of especial interest and value is the tracing of the development of the colony through the successive stages of its political life. The period under the charter, the united colonies, the loss of the charter in 1684, the brief régime of the hated Andros, and the long period of sufferance until the Revolution—these are the related steps in the growth of the republic. It is amusing now—it was a serious matter to the parties involved—to read some of the laws of the theocratic state, and to know how they were applied. Roger Scott, of Lynn, was a chronic sleeper in service time, and was sentenced to be severely whipped "for common sleeping at the public exercise upon the Lord's day." A man who expressed his dislike of a hog law and of a magistrate was mulcted ten pounds. It was a grave offense to speak disrespectfully of the churches, ministers, or magistrates. Captain John Stone had an altercation with an assistant and was fined one hundred pounds, and then banished on pain of death. It is of interest to find that even among these pious Puritans provision against ballot-box stuffing was necessary: "If any freeman shall put in more than one Indian Corne or Beane for the choice or refusal of any Public Officer, he shall forfeit for every such offense Ten Pounds."

Mr. Howe's consideration of the debated question of Quaker persecution is in the main fair and impartial. His opinion as to the status of the Quakers in the colony is thus expressed: "With respect to the right of Baptists, Quakers, and others that were not Puritans to come here and live here and enjoy their own religious views and methods of worship as freely as they might in England, we must admit that this much at least was guaranteed by the charter itself. And a fair and reasonable interpretation of the charter leads to the conclusion that there was nothing in

it justifying their exclusion from the exercise of the right to vote and from other privileges of citizenship" (p. 243). It is to be regretted that with his manifest purpose to treat the Quakers considerately, Mr. Howe did not correct a misconception regarding their indecencies, the occurrence of which he admits. It has not been clearly shown, we think, except by Quaker writers, that there were only *two* cases of indecent exposure by the Quakers, and that the first of these occurred *twenty months after* the last victim had been hanged. Previous to that time the indecent exposures had been such as the magistrates inflicted on helpless Quaker women whom they examined for witchcraft marks or scourged half-naked through the streets.

Exception must be taken to Mr. Howe's remarks on the result of Eliot's labors among the Indians: "Earnest efforts were made to convert them to Christianity, but with little success, and the 'praying Indians,' as they were called, seem to have been on occasion as zealous as their barbarian brethren in scalping their white neighbors. . . . In King Philip's war 'these pious lambs proved the worst wolves of the whole bloody crew'" (pp. 78, 79). As already remarked above, the greater part of the "praying Indians" adhered loyally to the English cause during the war, not only despite the hatred of their own race, but in the face of distrust and suspicion by the whites. Mr. Howe's portrayal of their alleged inconstancy is an injustice both to them and to the heroic missionary who taught them the Christian faith.

The first sentence in the book is unpropitious in its error of referring to "John White of Scrooby." The author repeats the error, notwithstanding he cites Edward Everett at length, who speaks (correctly) of "John White of Dorchester."

The book is well printed, with full table of contents and index.

GEO. E. BURLINGAME.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

CHRISTIANITY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By GEORGE C. LORIMER. Philadelphia: Griffith & Rowland, 1900. Pp. x + 652. \$2.25.

DR. LORIMER is at his best in this inspiring and hopeful volume. His reading has been very wide and discriminating, and it has extended over many years. His long and successful experience in the pastorate has kept him in the closest touch with the people. He is quick to see new truth as it comes up in the flow of events, and this truth does not alarm him and make him believe that the foundations are likely to be torn from under the ever-building temple of truth.

By nature and acquisition, therefore, Dr. Lorimer was peculiarly fitted to speak to the world at large on the religious movements of the great century that has just closed, and it was a piece of good fortune that he was asked to give the "Lowell Lectures" for 1900.

The subject is "Christianity in the Nineteenth Century." After two thousand years of Christian history where are we, and what is the outlook? Dr. Lorimer answers these questions in twelve lectures. He is poetical, oratorical, and popular. The reader who follows him through will get a rapid and brilliant view of the whole course of Christian thought, and at the end a prophecy of far greater things in store.

In this general way we have attempted to characterize the book. Each lecture is in a sense complete in itself, and yet all are important for the complete impression that one should get.

The third lecture, on the "Renaissance of Mediæval Roman Catholicism," shows deep insight into the great movements of the Middle Ages.

The sixth lecture, on the "Bearing of Recent Research on the Inspiration of Holy Writ," is probably the one that will attract most attention. He meets the issues squarely and without flinching. He is profoundly grateful for all that criticism has done in the way of removing erroneous or outworn ideas, and letting the clear sunlight into so many dark places. All the established results of criticism have turned out to be so many supports to the Christian's faith and hope.

The twelfth lecture, on "The Religious Message of the Nineteenth Century to the Twentieth," sustains the high tone of the preceding lectures and closes with an eloquent prophecy that should inspire all drooping spirits who think that the faith has been destroyed.

A few quotations from here and there in the book will give some idea of its general drift:

The new humanism is essentially evangelical. . . . It talks not at all about predestination and reprobations; it does not dwell on the divine wrath; feels that such preaching has been greatly overdone; it has no confidence in limited atonements, or anything "limited" that represents the Almighty, except his anger. (P. 327.)

While the Bible contains a supreme revelation, and while no fresh light will set aside its teachings or supersede its authority, it is also an example of a permanent method in the divine dealings with the church. (P. 77.)

The investigations which have so completely revolutionized modern religious thought . . . logically necessitate the inference that the trustworthiness of the Scriptures, and not merely their inspiration, constitutes the

true basis of their appeal to reason. . . . It is truth that proves the inspiration, not inspiration the truth. (P. 271.)

I must ever regard it as perilous to the interests of morals to speak in unguarded terms of everything in the Bible as equally inspired and equally of divine authority. (P. 274.)

Speaking of the Bible's authority, he says :

Neither science nor higher criticism has invalidated nor can invalidate its authority and trustworthiness when it is not hampered by indefensible views of its nature and composition. . . . Recent research, having helped us to a definition of inspiration, and having suggested the necessary test of its genuineness, proceeds yet farther and vindicates it from the assaults of those who deny it altogether, by sanctioning and sustaining the "gradualness of revelation." (P. 277.)

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN VIRGINIA. By CHARLES F. JAMES, Roanoke. Lynchburg, Va.: Bell, 1900. Pp. 272. \$1.25.

THE STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN VIRGINIA: *The Baptists*. By WILLIAM TAYLOR THOM. (Nos. 10, 11, 12, Series XVIII, in "Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.") Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1900. Pp. 105. \$0.50.

IN the treatise of Dr. James we have a work to make glad the heart of the scholar. It is an orderly and animated presentation of one phase of early ecclesiastical history in Virginia, based directly on the original records. The succession of documents gives a beautiful exhibition of historical evolution—the feeble beginnings, the steady progress, and the complete triumph of a glorious principle.

The history of the struggle naturally falls into three periods, viz., before, during, and after the Revolution. Before the Revolution the inhabitants of the colony were completely under the dominance of the established church, and, as regards the dissenters, the history is chiefly a record of fines, imprisonments, banishments, and all manner of petty and outrageous disabilities and persecutions. During the period of the Revolution political and religious considerations gave the friends of liberty the ascendancy and resulted in the downfall of the establishment. After the Revolution the victory was made complete by taking from the Episcopal church the last vestiges of special privilege and power, and by putting all citizens on an exact equality in

matters of conscience. The glory of this achievement belongs primarily and chiefly to the Baptists; the Presbyterians rendered valiant service, but they were less consistent, determined, and aggressive; the Quakers and Lutherans were few and unimportant; and the Methodists were joined with the Episcopalians.

In a second edition of this work the index ought to be greatly improved.

Mr. Thom's study covers the same period in Virginia history and deals with the same struggle, but is confined strictly to the part played by the Baptists. Beginning with their coming in 1714, in 1743, and in 1754, he shows their remarkable growth and the violent persecutions to which they were subjected. In 1770 they presented their first petition to the House of Burgesses for redress of grievances, and from this date until 1802 they made a constant struggle for equality before the law. Their organized resistance to ecclesiastical tyranny, their memorials to the ruling powers, and the various legislative enactments form the staple of the history. It is an accurate and forcible account, drawn from the sources, of their part in the destruction of the establishment, the separation of church and state, and the triumph of religious freedom.

ERI B. HULBERT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

GESCHICHTE DER EVANGELISCHEN KIRCHE DEUTSCHLANDS IN DER ERSTEN HÄLFTE DES 19. JAHRHUNDERTS. VON CHRISTIAN TISCHHAUSER. Basel: Reich, 1900. Pp. v + 711. M. 6.40.

THE author divides the period covered by his history into two unequal sections, the first extending from 1800 to 1817, the second from 1817 to 1848. He does not give us his reasons for this division, but they may be inferred. In 1817 Germany had begun to recover from the Napoleonic wars, and rationalism had begun to recede. In 1848 a revolutionary wave swept over Europe and introduced a new era. In each of these divisions the author makes the following subdivisions: (1) industrial, political, social, and literary conditions; (2) popular education; (3) philosophy; (4) biblical introduction and interpretation; (5) theology and dogmatics; and (6) ecclesiastical, religious, and moral conditions. This plan, it is evident, requires him to devote much attention to the people, while not neglecting the movements of thought among the cultivated classes. The book might be entitled "A History of the Evangelical People of Germany during the First

Half of the Nineteenth Century." The author has made thorough preparation for his difficult task, and the titles of the books and periodicals consulted occupy more than thirty-five of his pages. The book is not always sweet; the condition of the people during the triumph of rationalism was horrible, and it is portrayed without reserve by means of statistics and other cogent evidences. The book is remarkable for its enormous array of facts and figures, for its popular sympathies, and for its firm belief in evangelical truth. There are many who will dislike it because of its overwhelming demonstration of the thesis that the rejection of the supernatural by educated men in the boasted period of enlightenment instituted a reign of ignorance and bestiality among the common people which was broken only by the partial revival of faith.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

JAMES MARTINEAU. *A Biography and Study.* By A. W. JACKSON. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1900. Pp. x + 447. \$3.

THIS work is a composite photograph. The sitters are three—the outward Martineau, the inward Martineau, and the biographer. For, as Mr. Jackson tells us, the picture he presents is not only the external and internal life of Martineau, but the author's interpretation or "study" of them. But the photograph, though composite, is not a blur. Each sitter's portrait preserves its clear lines. The work is admirably done, and its thoroughness verifies the author's part of it as a profound study and not a mere glance.

Martineau being a thinker rather than an actor, his outer life was comparatively uneventful, and Mr. Jackson has given to it somewhat less than a third of his book. In that space, however, he presents such main points as Martineau's ancestry, education, early and later ministries and professorships, intellectual characteristics, and personal features.

Neither heredity nor early environment seems to have played a conspicuous part in Martineau's greatness. His forbears were respectable, but not remarkable. His father was a manufacturer at Norwich. His mother was a faithful and capable administrator of the household. But the father and mother were not persons of whom such extraordinary children as James and Harriet Martineau would have been expected. Indeed Thackeray, writing of Harriet, says she did not show good

judgment in choosing her parents. Nor was the Norwich environment notable for intellectual stimulus. Martineau made Norwich famous rather than Norwich made Martineau great.

Mr. Jackson traces succinctly, yet comprehensively, the steps of Martineau's education. We shudder to think what a loss the world would have suffered, had the father's plan of making his son an engineer—"Apollo a farm hand of Admetos"—succeeded. The education, briefly interrupted, was resumed, leading up eventually to the ministries and the professorships, and on to the great intellectual career.

Mr. Jackson in the second part of his work portrays Martineau as preacher, Christian theologian, and New Testament critic. A host of clergymen must have read Martineau's *Endeavors*. As sermons they are too severely intellectual to be popular, too condensed to be easy. Their very finish, moreover, is rather that of the steel mirror which reflects than that of the steel sword-point which pierces. Yet for the "fit audience, though few," where are their equals? Every young minister ought to have them. Beginning an Arian, he became in his view of Christ a humanitarian, but never abated, rather to the last increased, in reverence and affection for him. As a New Testament critic Martineau was of the Tübingen school. Mr. Jackson sides with him even in his contention that Jesus never claimed Messiahship.

The third division of the biography presents Martineau as the philosopher of religion. Here Mr. Jackson's own remarkable powers as a thinker show at their best. His "study," while profound, is a marvel of perspicuity. As was said of De Toqueville: "His thoughts lie in his style like pebbles in a clear brook."

The cause both of theism and of religion against materialism owes to James Martineau, in the judgment of the present reviewer, a greater debt than to any other man of the last century. His imperial intellect united a reason of Olympian mold and an imagination of celestial brilliance. His very metaphors seem arguments. No student aiming to be a thinker, and to know the history of ethical, theological, and metaphysical thought, can afford to be without Martineau's *Types of Ethical Theory*, *Seat of Authority in Religion*, and last, but, in our estimation, greatest, *Study of Religion*. They are the *Othello*, *Lear*, and *Macbeth* of nineteenth-century philosophy.

NELSON MILLARD.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

WILLIAM WATSON ANDREWS. A Religious Biography, with Extracts from his Letters and Other Writings. New York: Putnam's, 1900. Pp. 280. \$1.50.

THIS is a modest and graceful tribute to the memory of his brother, prepared with excellent taste and literary skill by Samuel J. Andrews, author of *The Life of Our Lord upon the Earth* and of other, less known works. It is the record of a unique life.

W. W. Andrews was the son of a Congregational minister in Connecticut and the seventh in descent from the Rev. William Andrews who immigrated in 1635 and was one of the twelve men chosen in 1639 to do the "foundation work" in the church at New Haven. He was graduated from Yale College in 1831, where he was noted for skill in rhetoric and debate. He was the intimate and lifelong friend of his classmates, President Noah Porter, of Yale, and Professor Lyman Atwater, of Princeton. After a settlement for fifteen years as pastor of the Congregational church at Kent, Conn., he joined the Catholic Apostolic church, in which he had been interested from its early history, when Edward Irving was a prominent factor. In this relation he was pastor of a small congregation at Potsdam, N. Y., for seven years, 1849-57. For forty years, from 1857 until his death in 1897, he was an evangelist, with a residence at Wethersfield, Conn. During this time he traveled, wrote, lectured, preached, and interpreted the Scriptures, chiefly in the eastern and middle states.

He strongly emphasized the significance and efficacy of baptism. "We are all made members of the risen Christ, the second man, in our baptism" (p. 61). "The church is the community of the baptized, and membership thus established is not dependent upon the form of church polity or the possession of more or less ministeries. These are important elements in the spiritual culture of the baptized, but it is the act of God in baptism which makes one a member of the church, and this relation no sin of the church can make void" (p. 89). He attached equal, if not greater, importance to the sacramental significance of the Lord's Supper.

The appendix to the volume contains Mr. Andrews' "Statement of Reasons" and his "Farewell Sermon" on withdrawing from the Congregational ministry. The book is irenic rather than strenuously polemical, and, together with the varied writings of W. W. Andrews, is the most important American contribution to the history of the Catholic Apostolic church.

BENJAMIN O. TRUE.

ROCHESTER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF CHARLES H. SPURGEON. Compiled from his Diary, Letters, and Records, by his Wife and his Private Secretary. Vol. IV, 1878-1892. Chicago: Revell, 1900. Pp. vii + 386. \$2.50.

WITH this volume the "Autobiography" comes to an end. It can be called an autobiography only by using the word in an unaccustomed sense. Much of the material is derived from Spurgeon himself, but much is derived from others. Indeed, the work contains everything about Spurgeon that the editors supposed the world would want to know, with perhaps a single exception. That is the chapter to which many will turn with the greatest expectancy, because it is entitled "The Down-Grade Controversy, from Mr. Spurgeon's Standpoint." It is from the pen of Mrs. Spurgeon. As history it is disappointing, for it tells us of nothing except the emotions of the chief participant. Mrs. Spurgeon judged, perhaps wisely, that all details of the unhappy strife, now at length healed, should be excluded from her record. The multitudes of letters to Spurgeon, though for the most part of trifling importance, are readable from the fact that they come from men distinguished, or at least well known, like Professor Blaikie, Punshon, Hugh Price Hughes, Canon Wilberforce, Archbishop Benson, Gladstone, and Sir Charles Reed. The verse which Spurgeon wrote, some of it carefully studied and strong and resounding, and some of it mere doggerel, weak and limping, is all here. The work is of all grades of literary carelessness and excellence, but the best parts are from the pen of Spurgeon himself. His son and successor, Thomas Spurgeon, contributes interesting recollections, but falls far below his father in power and propriety of expression. He indulges in awkward puns, as where he writes that "dear father's right foot is wrong," and that "the patient was impatient to be in harness again." He has great difficulty to find a sufficient number of appellations for his father, and, within the space of a few pages, calls him "father," "dear father," "C. H. Spurgeon," "C. H. S.," "the pastor," "the dear pastor," and "the pastor of the Metropolitan Tabernacle." The work is unique for its vast size, the immense range and variety of its contents, and its tone of domestic affection. It is a collection of materials, rather than a finished product. If one were planning to write a life of Spurgeon, he would want such a collection at his command, but he would reject many things, and use many others only as aids to the formation of general estimates and characterizations. Hundreds of illustrations adorn the pages, and present to us every scene, and, one

might almost say, every man and woman, intimately associated with Spurgeon in any way. The work, vast and various as it is, is lucid in arrangement and uniformly clear and racy. It does not contain a dull sentence. Children will pore over it with delight, not only for its illustrations, but for the genuine human interest of the narrative, and many a Christian boy will decide under its influence to become a minister. Let us be thankful for it just as it is. With all its shortcomings, it is admirable. It is too early to assign to Spurgeon his definite place in the religious history of England and the world, and perhaps the best that can be done while we wait for a matured verdict is to gather and publish such collections of materials as this.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

LEBEN UND WIRKEN VON AUGUST RAUSCHENBUSCH, Professor am Theologischen Seminar zu Rochester in Nordamerika, angefangen von ihm selbst, vollendet und herausgegeben von seinem Sohne, WALTHER RAUSCHENBUSCH. Cleveland: Ritter, 1901. Pp. 274. \$0.80.

THIS is a most instructive account of a long and an eventful life. To those who knew its subject the volume is of deepest interest. It contains much autobiographical material, which has been amplified and supplemented in a modest and appreciative spirit by an only son. This difficult and delicate task has been accomplished with admirable taste and skill. The story is told in simple, direct German, and the spirit of the book is as refreshing as the style.

Augustus Rauschenbusch was the sixth Lutheran minister in lineal succession. He was born in Westphalia in 1816, and died at Wandsbek, a suburb of Hamburg, in 1899. He received a typically thorough German education, first at the gymnasium of Elberfeld and later at the universities of Berlin and Bonn, where he counted Neander and Nitzsch among the great teachers of his life. For four years, 1841-5, he was his father's successor as Lutheran pastor at Altena, his birth-place. In 1846 he came to this country and worked for several years as a colporteur and evangelist, and as German secretary for the American Tract Society, whose German periodicals, tracts, and books he edited.

Having become a Baptist, in 1858 he entered upon what many will always regard as the most important work of his life, when, as the most learned German Baptist in this country, he was chosen to conduct the

German department of the Rochester Theological Seminary, now, as then, the only institution in America for the express purpose of training young men for the ministry in German Baptist churches. Here for thirty years, until 1888, with unsurpassed devotion, varied learning, and remarkable efficiency as a teacher, he prosecuted what was at first a humble and an obscure work. Though a master of correct and forcible English, he was firmly convinced that he could best serve his countrymen in America, during a transition period, by the continued use of his mother-tongue. The results of his work are manifest in the nearly two hundred and fifty German Baptist churches of the country with their 22,000 members, and in the establishment of a similar theological institution in Germany.

The last ten years of his life were spent in the land of his birth, in the delivery of lectures and addresses on various occasions, in theological instruction at Hamburg, in pastoral service at Wiesbaden and Frankfort, and in the preparation of religious literature adapted to the needs of German Baptists in America and Germany.

BENJAMIN O. TRUE.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

THEODORE PARKER: Preacher and Reformer. By JOHN WHITE CHADWICK. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1900. Pp. x + 405. \$2.

THIS biography includes more than its title indicates. It presents Parker prominently in five aspects: as controversialist, philosophic theologian, reformer, preacher, religionist. To a man of Parker's intense personality, truths could never be cold, pale, thin abstractions, but fierce, fighting, vital forces. Inevitably he became a controversialist—a sign to be spoken against. His earliest great contentions were with his denominational brethren, and his foes those of his own Unitarian household. He was fairly outlawed by them for denying that miracles, even though proven, were fundamentals of Christianity. Probably no Unitarian today so regards them, and few "orthodox" theologians would consider belief in them as an essential of "saving faith." Parker also pioneered higher criticism against bitter opposition from his codenominationalists. He, more than any other, was the steel-prowed boat which first broke through the crystallized traditionalism in New England sixty years ago. As a controversialist he was never chargeable with feebleness, though often accused of bitterness. But perhaps Wasson's fine word applies here: "He was capable of a

mighty wrath, but it was born of his love, and was never expended on account of his private wrongs. He was angry and sinned not." As philosophic theologian, Parker claimed, and Dr. Chadwick evidently consents, that his position was only Protestantism speaking its final logical word—"truth for authority, not authority for truth." As reformer, Parker fell no whit behind Garrison and Phillips in flaming ardor and dauntless courage for the cause of the slave. Other reforms, as temperance, prison management, etc., enlisted his tireless labors. As preacher, Parker was doubtless imperial. Here he was of immense girth and vital all through. Homely searching practicalness; sensitiveness to nature's beauty; tenderness, pathos, sympathy; vast range of intelligence; lofty ethical quality, and spiritual fervor—all these and more Dr. Chadwick would doubtless claim for his hero's preaching, and not unwarrantably. He was master of a terrible rhetoric capable of creating a tophet of words to burn up wrong. Last, and justly greatest in the estimation of his biographer, Parker was a man of profound fervid religiousness. Like Amiel, he kept a "journal intime," and in his case a diary was not a "fool's looking-glass." Its revelations are unfolded in a fine chapter of the biography entitled "The Nearer View;" and this time it is nearness that lends enchantment. No one reading that chapter can doubt that Parker was not only an affectionate and an intensely conscientious, but also a devoutly reverent soul. As his life was ebbing he wrote to a dear friend: "Above all things I have sought to teach religion with its truths, duties, and joys."

Parker's zeal and capacity for work were enormous. At it sixteen hours a day, his stores of knowledge became prodigious. His mighty memory seemed to have no loopholes. Perhaps he read too much to digest it well, and so had more information than scholarship. He burned his candle not only at both ends, but at the middle, and died before he was fifty.

Dr. Chadwick's book shows not only its subject, but its author, to fine advantage. Felicitous phrasings and familiar quotations, freshened by new and unexpected applications, abound. The work is a marvel of condensation. In its four hundred not large pages a phenomenally voluminous career is compressed without being crushed. The frame seems impossibly small, yet the portrait is life-size.

NELSON MILLARD.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

MANUAL OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY. By ALVAH HOVEY, D.D., LL.D. Second Edition. New York: Silver, Burdett & Co., 1900. Pp. xxvii + 472. \$2.

THIS revised edition of Dr. Hovey's *Manual of Christian Theology* is the outcome of fifty years of study and teaching of the subject of theology, and is a worthy summing up of the thought and experience of a long life devoted to theological education. The book is true to its title in being strictly a manual; the statements are usually very concise, and cover in a careful, analytical way the common range of Christian doctrine. The views of others on the different points are stated in the same fashion, and briefly answered. A completely analyzed table of contents makes the book very easy of reference. There are no novelties of treatment of doctrine, except that one of the six main divisions of the work is given to "Christian Service," as distinct from a preceding division on "Christian Life." Under "Christian Service" is included the discussion of baptism and the Lord's Supper, on both of which the familiar Baptist doctrine is strictly maintained.

As a whole, the book is a solid, scholarly theological treatise, but of the older type. There is a general acceptance of the theory of evolution, but no thoroughgoing application of it. The author's doctrine of Scripture, as stated, is not extremely conservative; yet one must feel that Scripture is *used*, after all, in essentially the way of the older theologies, without that recognition even of the real progress of doctrine for which the theory of the book allows; the treatment is but little affected by the results of biblical criticism and biblical theology. From the older point of view, the tone of the work is distinctly broad and reasonable. The defect which will be felt by many is the somewhat mechanical view which pervades the discussion, and the old precision beyond the data.

The book shows a mind intent on keeping in touch with the later, as well as the older, literature of the subject, though it is obviously not written from the standpoint of a theologian of the younger generation, and does not always take account of the most modern books. Indeed, it brings home with fresh impressiveness the really great distance which has been put between the older and newer points of view, even when both know in a way the same books. It seems evident that the author simply does not feel many of the difficulties of the present generation; but perhaps on that very account the book is the more worthy the careful attention of newer thinkers in theology as a well-considered

statement of older positions intended to be made and rationally defended in the full light of modern knowledge. There is always danger that, under what is really only a temporary pressure, one may throw away what is of real value and ought to be retained. One cannot but compare in his own mind this manual with the famous manual of another theologian of the same denomination, Professor W. N. Clarke. The entire atmosphere and method of the two books are utterly different, and yet each has its own excellences, and is an admirable type.

HENRY CHURCHILL KING.

OBERLIN COLLEGE,
Oberlin, O.

DIE BUSSLEHRE LUTHERS UND IHRE DARSTELLUNG IN NEUESTER ZEIT. Von ALFRED GALLEY, Licentiat der Theologie. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1900. Pp. 152. M. 2.40.

EACH new number of the series of "Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie" makes a contribution of real value to current theological thought, though some of the themes are of interest chiefly in Germany, and some belong to a region of distinctions so attenuated and so remote from the ordinary currents of human life that only the professional theologian will appreciate them. Both these criticisms might be made concerning this last number. It pertains to the Ritschlian controversy, which is active chiefly in Germany, and it deals with minute shadings of thought and language.

Luther sometimes spoke of repentance as produced by the love of righteousness, by a lofty and unattained moral ideal; and sometimes as produced by fear under the influence of a conscience awakened by the divine law and the apprehension of eternal woe. The second of these representations was common with Roman Catholic writers. Again, he sometimes spoke of repentance as the permanent state of the Christian, and sometimes as a single act, as when one goes to the confessional. Here, once more, the second representation approached the Roman Catholic teaching. Some writers of the Ritschlian school, following Ritschl himself, maintain that Luther advanced the first view in both of these cases during his earlier career as a reformer, when he was at his best, when his perception was most clear, and when he was making progress. They maintain that he adopted the second only later, in the reactionary period of his life, when he fell back nearer the Roman Catholic system of thought in which he had been brought

up. They profess to be the legitimate heirs of Luther in their doctrine of repentance, but only of "the earlier Luther," the Luther of the period when "his genius was yet unbroken," before he had "crept back into the Catholic camp." Ritschl has taken up "the interrupted work of Luther," and continued it.

This interpretation of Luther is not pleasing to the strict Lutherans, nor do they enjoy the spectacle of Ritschl walking about in the robes of Luther and carefully explaining that he adopts only the earlier robes and looks upon the later ones as borrowed from the Roman Catholics. To the contention of the Ritschlians various answers have been made. The best-known is that of Lipsius, who maintains that when Luther attributes penitence to the love of righteousness, and considers it a permanent state, he is speaking of penitence in the Christian soul; and that when he attributes it to fear and considers it a single act, he is speaking of the penitence of the unconverted man which leads to faith and salvation; so that he is not inconsistent, after all. The controversy has led Galley to review the entire teaching of Luther concerning penitence. He agrees with Lipsius in the main, though differing at certain points, and adds something to our knowledge of the circumstances in which Luther advanced any of these views.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DIE WIRKUNGEN DES GEISTES UND DER GEISTER IM NACHAPOSTOLISCHEN ZEITALTER BIS AUF IRENÄUS. Von HEINRICH WEINEL. Freiburg: Mohr, 1899. Pp. xii + 234. M. 5.

DIE WIRKSAMKEIT DES HEILIGEN GEISTES IN DER APOSTOLISCHEN ZEIT UND IN DER GEGENWART. Von GEORG STOSCH. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1900. Pp. 27. M. 0.40.

IT is interesting to note a new impulse toward the study of the Christian conceptions of the Holy Spirit, and subjects kindred to it, on the basis of a discriminating biblical theology. This is linked with the general demand for the historical interpretation of Christian doctrines. An example of this study is Gunkel's *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*, reviewed in this JOURNAL, October, 1900. In the preface to the second edition of that work Gunkel refers to Weinels' *Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister* as "the legitimate continuance of my investigations." Weinels' book, as indicated in the title, treats of the post-apostolic time to Irenæus. The author frequently, however, uses New Testament thought, particularly in its later phases, as illustrative, so

that the book is of direct value as a contribution to biblical theology. Still greater is its indirect value as showing the general range of thought out of which, at a little earlier period, the New Testament writings came. As a reconstruction of early Christian thought regarding the world of spirits it has great historical importance. The one strong impression which the book leaves on the reader is that of the early Christian sense of the reality of the world of spirits. Christianity had inherited from the culture in which it was born, especially from Judaism, the belief in a kingdom of demons in conflict with the kingdom of God. The strife was conceived in a very real way. The hatred of the world, suffering and sickness, heresy and "gnosis," not less than temptations and sins, were the result of evil spirits. Hence exorcism in the name of Christ. But the most efficient means of destroying the power of evil spirits was the holy life of the Christian. This holy life was the work of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit also manifested himself in special powers—exorcism, askesis, miracles. The demons might also do these, and the same works might be regarded by different persons as proceeding from either good or evil spirits, but the Christian who had passed through the new birth had within his own experience the test of good and evil. Nor could any working of a spirit who said, "Christ is accursed," be that of a good spirit. For the rest, the final appeal was to the brotherly love and the morality of the Christian community. Weinel then proceeds to study the different forms of the expression of the Spirit. He finds no realm of the mental activity beyond spiritual control. That is, the early Christian assigned all kinds of mental and related physical phenomena to the activity of the Spirit. For most of these phenomena parallels are found in Jewish or Greek life, and even in the modern world. Many of them seem kindred to occurrences in the period of the Quaker manifestations or in the history of the Camisards in southern France, where ecstasy and trance were frequent. Weinel suggests that doubtless the first Christian century had an epidemic of nervous disorders, assisted by unconscious suggestion and auto-suggestion, and stimulated by the expectation of the speedy end of the world. Yet the highest part of the Spirit's operation was in the new life, the conscious, earnest, moral will to do rightly the duties of life. The last sentence of the book looks forward to the hope of further study of the subject in later periods of the history of Christianity.

The pamphlet by Stosch is an address before a conference, and is of interest from the practical rather than from the scholastic point of

view. It pleads for conformity with the "heilige Geist" rather than with the "Zeitgeist," and regards Romanism, rationalism, and historical biblical criticism as alike elements of the evil *Zeitgeist*.

IRVING F. WOOD.

SMITH COLLEGE,
Northampton, Mass.

THE WORK OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. By ABRAHAM KUYPER. Translated by Henry de Vries. With an Introduction by Benjamin B. Warfield. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1900. Pp. xxxix + 664. \$3.

PERHAPS the ablest living exponent of strict Calvinism is the venerable Dr. Kuyper, of Amsterdam, and of his many works this is certainly not the least interesting. It is far more than a monograph on the Holy Spirit. It is almost a systematic theology, especially full in the fields of anthropology and soteriology. It is composed of a very large number of short chapters, which were originally published in the *Heraut*, a religious weekly of which Dr. Kuyper is editor-in-chief, gathered into book form in 1888, but only lately translated into English. The book shows its popular origin, not in any superficiality of treatment, but in a very commendable clearness and simplicity. Frequent illustrations from common life are used with great felicity. It is a pleasure to read the book; but, except for the illustrations and the rather sharp polemic against certain modern movements prominent in the Dutch churches, the work might have been written in the preceding century. There is absolutely no recognition of the progress of natural science, or of biblical scholarship, or, except in a few cases, of speculative theology in the past hundred years. To the general reader this will doubtless seem quite as remarkable a characteristic as will the vigorous and clear presentation of Calvinism. The positions of the author will make their appeal to those who are by nature and training strongly conservative. The inspiration of the biblical writers is regarded as unique in kind. It necessarily includes infallibility. The Spirit gave to the biblical writers revelation and inspiration. The present correlative work of the Spirit is to give faith in the Scriptures. Salvation is looked at from the point of view of God rather than of man. Regeneration takes place without regard to man's will. "We know from the instance of John the Baptist that it can be wrought even in the mother's womb." Afterward comes the call of God's Spirit, producing conviction and justification. Then follows sanctification, which

is finished and closed at death. Justification is forensic, based on irresistible grace. A strong plea is made for the ethical and social value of the judicial aspect of the sinner's relation to God. In fact, one feels continually that, though Dr. Kuyper may be out of touch with modern thought, he is by no means out of sympathy with human life. It is perhaps that impression which abides most strongly after the book is read. The author has made a noble effort to make the stern and uncompromising logic of Calvinism speak to the men of today. However much the reader may feel that the presuppositions of this system no longer satisfy, he cannot but rise from his task refreshed by the consciousness that he has been in the company of a great man thinking great thoughts.

IRVING F. WOOD.

SMITH COLLEGE,
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A CRITICAL HISTORY OF THE EVOLUTION OF TRINITARIANISM AND ITS OUTCOME IN THE NEW CHRISTOLOGY. By LEVI LEONARD PAINE. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1900. Pp. vii + 387. \$2.

THIS volume has attracted wide attention, and that alone is evidence that dogmatic theology is not so near its obsequies as the Bangor professor would have his readers believe; for, notwithstanding his protest, his essay in large part belongs to the sphere of speculative theology.

The book is remarkable for its timeliness, and for the courage, the audacity, and the clear thinking of its author. It is divided into three parts: (1) a historical study of the development of the doctrine of the Trinity; (2) an attempt to reconstruct theology on entirely new lines; and (3) a critical discussion of the Johannine problem, to which are added a few pages of controversy with Professor A. V. G. Allen concerning the teaching of Athanasius. The most important, and by far the most satisfactory, part of the book is the historical survey, which closes with a sketch of the development of Trinitarianism in New England.

Professor Paine thinks that with Paul "began that infusion of Greek thought into the Christian theology which was destined to change its whole character." He insists that Athanasius taught the transcendence, and not the immanence, of God; that the Trinity of the early Greek theologians is three distinct, personal beings in the one Deity; that these beings are all alike divine, and yet that the second and third persons are subordinate. His own words are as follows: "The Trinity ["of the earlier theologians"] is composed of three distinct

personal beings, of whom the first person, or the Father, alone is self-existent and absolute God, the second and third persons being derived and subordinate, the one by eternal generation, the other by eternal procession" (p. 97). He holds that the Greek theology especially emphasized the tri-personality of the Godhead. In this statement he takes issue with Professor A. V. G. Allen in his *Continuity of Christian Thought*. Professor Allen thinks that the modern views of the divine immanence are a recurrence to the earlier Greek views of Athanasius and Clement. This Professor Paine denies. On the other hand, he attempts to trace the development of modern Trinitarianism from Augustine, who, he declares, was a disciple of Plotinus. Modern Trinitarianism, from Augustine down, is characterized by the phrase "Pseudo-Athanasian Augustinianism." This Latin Trinitarianism as molded by Augustine, Professor Paine says, "inverted the Greek doctrine and held that each person is absolute God, and that the whole Trinity is involved in each person, thus eliminating all subordination, making the Trinity essentially one being, and reducing the three persons to relations or modes of existence of that being" (p. 97).

From Plotinus, and from the Stoics, Augustine derived the monistic philosophy from which we get the idea of the immanence of God, which has but one logical end, and that pantheism. Professor Paine tells us we have been deceived; that Augustine was not the apostle of the divine transcendence; that the chief article of his philosophical creed was monism. Moreover, he holds that with Augustine began a new era in the development of the doctrine of the Trinity, which kept going from bad to worse, until it finally culminated in the Patripassian Sabellianism of such theologians as Jonathan Edwards, Emmons, Hopkins, and later of men like Joseph Cook, Phillips Brooks, Lyman Abbott, G. A. Gordon, and others. He does not mention the name of Professor Park, the Nestor of modern New England theology, who throughout his long and brilliant career taught the doctrines which Professor Paine links with pantheism and Unitarianism.

The claim of the book, in brief, is as follows: The teaching which finds in the Godhead three distinct personalities, and yet with the second and third persons subordinate to the first, is Athanasian, and has behind it a strong philosophical and historical backing. On the other hand, that teaching which holds to but one God, revealing himself in three different distinctions of the Godhead, even though those distinctions are eternal, is Sabellian, Modal, Patripassian, etc.

According to this classification, Augustine was the great ancestor of

modern Unitarianism, and Edwards and Emmons, Park, Brooks, and Cook, while they supposed that they were building a breakwater against error, in reality were making it easier for the floods of pantheism to overwhelm the church. Professor Paine may be correct, but it seems rather strange to have Emmons and Park, Joseph Cook and Bishop Brooks classed with the prophets of Unitarianism.

When he comes to the constructive part of his book, Professor Paine makes a strong and earnest plea for the thorough use of the inductive method, and insists that the process of destroying the old theology must go much farther than it has yet gone before the reconstruction of theology can wisely begin, and that its growth afterward will be by the slow processes of evolution.

The new theology of which Professor Paine is the prophet dispenses with the words "Unitarian" and "Trinitarian," and substitutes for them the word "theistic." He says: "All the true media of divine revelation—nature, history, man's moral consciousness, the Bible, Christ—speak the same word about God, and that word is 'theism,' in its monotheistic, not in its pantheistic, form."

The chapter on the "New Christology" concludes as follows: "The consubstantiality of man with God as a metaphysical conception belongs to an old and outworn theology, but in the new form of the scientific doctrine of evolution the divineness of man becomes a vital truth, and out of it arises a Christology that removes Jesus of Nazareth, indeed, from the order of absolute Deity, but at the same time exalts him to a place of moral eminence that is secure and supreme" (p. 287).

The author has the courage of his convictions. He does not believe in the Johannine authorship of the fourth gospel, and says so plainly. He thinks that Jesus was the natural son of Joseph and Mary, and consequently that the earliest parts of the gospels of Matthew and Luke were "later additions;" and he seems to have small place in his thought for anything miraculous.

The book is radical, and even revolutionary, but not by any means entirely destructive. It is not satisfactory, but is immensely stimulating. The author professes to write with the calmness of a historian, but in most of the volume has the intensity of a special pleader. His style is a model of perspicuity, and leaves no one in doubt as to his meaning. He decries metaphysics, and yet at times is metaphysical. The book will be valued not so much because of what it settles as because of the study which it will inspire. Its conclusions will not at once command general assent, and probably the author

does not expect that they will. To our minds he is entirely mistaken in the frequent assertions that monism necessarily ends in pantheism, and in what he says of the pantheistic and Unitarian trend of modern theology.

His work will be widely read, and the reading will be a tribute to its treatment of an abstruse and difficult subject, and equally to the deep interest of the public, not only in historical, but also in speculative questions.

AMORY H. BRADFORD.

MONTCLAIR, N. J.

WERTURTEILE UND GLAUBENSURTEILE. Von MAX REISCHLE.
Halle: Niemeyer, 1900. Pp. 120. M. 2.40.

THIS is a most valuable critique, in six chapters, of Ritschl's philosophical premise, the value-judgment. Ritschl starts with the assumption that religion and "theoretical cognition" are "different functions of the mind," "heterogeneous modes of cognition," and the contrast between the two is found in the application in religion of "ideas of value." His speculations are in a line with Kant and Lotze; he differed from Schleiermacher, who found the substance of the religious "value" in the human sense of dependence; Ritschl defining the fundamental religious fact to be man's sense of his own supernatural destination: "our salvation consists in the superiority to the world in the kingdom of God to which we are destined." It is objected to Ritschl's theory of values that he deals only with internal experiences—an objection often reiterated among us, Ritschl's theology being supposed to be purely "subjective."

The second chapter analyzes the terms of the value-judgment. The third classifies value-judgments. There are (1) natural value-judgments, based on the physical tastes and feelings; (2) ideal value-judgments; these are æsthetic (all judgments in art), moral (the ten commandments), intellectual (truth in any sphere of thought). These ideal value-judgments are based upon *ideas*: the *idea* of beauty, the *idea* of the good, and the *idea* of the true. In the sphere of religion there is also an idea, the idea of piety (*Frömmigkeit*), and in the simplest religious judgments this idea of piety is operative, "where the man gives himself up to the supreme power over this world and this life and herein finds salvation (*Seligkeit*)." It is furthermore observed of these ideal value-judgments that, being based upon "ideas," they claim general validity and go beyond the natural judgments, which are purely individual.

Chap. iv gives the definition of the value-judgment. It may be defined (1) linguistically (a value is predicated of an object). But most judgments are not so simple. We have (2) value-judgments psychologically considered, "which are formed upon the basis of personal appreciation or valuation," as, "Honor thy father and thy mother." (3) The value-judgment from the critical (*erkenntniskritischen*) point of view, "whose validity arises not as the result of observation and thought, but which is founded upon the attitude of the feeling-willing (*fühlend-wollenden*) man to the object before the mind." These judgments the author names *thymetic*. This is the broadest view of the value-judgment. The assertion "God is love" lies beyond the sphere of the intellectual syllogism, and carries us into the realm of the feeling or the will, where the *man* as a spiritual whole faces the external object.

In chap. v the author finally settles the question whether statements of belief may be classed as value-judgments. They are "thymetic" judgments. The author contrasts, by way of illustration, the several *Weltanschauungen* — pessimistic, pantheistic, and Christian. They are based upon different *valuations* of man and the world, resulting, not from our intellectual discernments, but from the peculiarity of the spiritual nature, the feelings, and the will. Here our author gives an admirable analysis of 1 John 4 : 8 f., where he shows that our belief in a God of love depends upon a thymetic judgment of Christ's life.

The concluding chapter deals with the general validity of religious value-judgments. They are of the nature of a practical demonstration by which alone the truth of Christianity can be established.

This pamphlet is perhaps the most exhaustive and satisfactory investigation yet made into a subject which modern theology has brought to the forefront of interest. It is to be hoped that English and American scholars will shortly turn their attention to this branch of research, which so far they have practically ignored.

L. HENRY SCHWAB.

NEW YORK CITY.

BACK TO CHRIST. Some Modern Forms of Religious Thought.
By WALTER SPENCE. Chicago: McClurg, 1900. Pp. 222.
\$1.

THIS book is not written for the scholar, but is a readable popular summary of the "new theology," and is intended to show any thoughtful reader what can be made of the distinctive Christian doctrines under the most "modern" handling. While claiming to conserve the

substance of evangelical truth, each of its cardinal tenets is restated. The Scriptures are inspired as supreme religious literature, providentially preserved. Christ is the sole ultimate authority in religion. The Trinity is modal. "The essence of sin is selfishness." The atonement includes neither propitiation to God for sin nor reconciliation of God to man, but rather "the sacrifice of Christ was an actual giving of divine life to humanity." Salvation consists in the actual removal of sin and in self-sacrifice, to both of which Christ furnished a motive; salvation therefore is following Christ. The penalty of sin consists in its effects, and cannot really be annulled; salvation "transforms penalty into a means of grace to help us on to a complete emancipation from sin." The only second coming of Christ is his coming into Christian hearts. The judgment is based on the record of sin on character. The only resurrection from the dead is at death. All punishment is reformatory and must come to an end.

The tone of the book is devout and enthusiastic, but its thought is indefinite. Many of its statements, if recast in exact terms, would mean either much more or much less than is intended.

J. FORSYTH CRAWFORD.

BEAVER DAM, WIS.

LEHRBUCH DER LITURGIK. Erster Band: *Die Lehre vom Gemeindegottesdienst*. Von G. RIETSCHEL. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1900. Pp. xii + 609. M. 11.

THIS volume belongs to the *Sammlung von Lehrbüchern der praktischen Theologie in gedrängter Darstellung*, now being issued under the general editorship of Professor Hering, of Halle. It is to be followed in time by a second volume, treating of *Die einzelnen kasuellen Handlungen*, such as ordination, baptism, confirmation, burial, etc.

This elaborate treatise merits far more attention from American students than it is likely to receive. Its mere size and fulness of detail will affright the hasty reader, and its method is, unfortunately, one for which many of our theological and ministerial workers have not been in the habit of showing much care or respect. It essays to study the science or theory of public worship in all its three inevitable aspects—the philosophic, the historical, and the practical. Nearly seven-tenths of the whole are devoted to the historical part, the remainder being divided between the other two, with greater emphasis on practical questions than on the pure theory. From this division of the space we are at once prepared for the strong statement on p. 16 of the

importance of basing the whole investigation on a historical foundation. Whether the author really lives up to his own principle is perhaps a question, as we shall see.

The philosophical chapters are notable, not so much for depth or comprehensiveness as for illuminating discussions of certain general terms and preliminary definitions. It is neatly shown, for instance, that, while Catholics and Protestants unite in calling liturgics "the science of the Christian cultus or the theory of the public worship of the church," they immediately part company in the sense in which they use "cultus" or "public worship," the former positing a divine ordering of rites, which the latter cannot accept. Indeed, it is urged, all public worship necessarily has "a confessional character" which draws distinctions, not only between Roman (and Greek) Catholics and all Protestants, but between Lutherans and the various Reformed bodies. The path of the discussion is further opened by showing how "cultus" has often implied the notion of trying to secure action on God's part in accordance with human desire, or that of legalistically and ritually fulfilling a divine decree or ordinance—the one being characteristic of ethnic religions, the other of Judaism. Both of these were explicitly abrogated by Christ. "Worshiping in spirit and in truth" is set forth as a process arising in the domain of spirituality in a strong evangelical sense, and proceeding in strict accordance with the truth as it is in Christ. Several theories of the purpose of Christian public worship are critically examined: first, that which makes education or conversion (*Ersiehung*) its object, which is objected to because leaving no place for public worship as important for avowed and active believers; second, that which makes public worship merely that process whereby the inner spiritual life declares or realizes itself before God, which is accepted as good as far as it goes, but incomplete; third, that which makes edification, the building up of spirituality in all its stages, the true end, which is held to be correct, not simply as to the indirect result of public worship, but as to its positive *raison d'être*. Worship and edification are presented as inseparable and mutually reactive. True worship must lead to positive edification; true edification must lead back to worship. An important distinction is discerned between two great classes of factors in public worship: the one sacramental, from God, and embodying his grace in all its aspects; the other sacrificial, from men, and including whatever man can offer God in thought, word, or deed. The whole discussion is summed up on pp. 66, 67 in a series of propositions, too long to be quoted, in which we seem to see that our

author has his eye upon the familiar partition of the Lutheran chief service into the word group, the prayer and hymn group, and the eucharist. Appended is a statement of the relation of public worship to the fine arts, or rather, to art in general, which is, on the whole, not specially new.

Only the briefest comments can be made on this division of the book. The dialectic is rather heavy, but the thoughts are in the main good. Oftentimes the reasoning is decidedly acute. We think, however, that a freer and more thoroughgoing analysis would have been more helpful, as it would have been more original. Religion is both personal and social, and these two aspects cannot be torn asunder. Public worship is to be studied as belonging to both in conjunction. All true religion involves interchange between God and man; God imparting himself and declaring his will, man growing up into conscious fellowship with God and trying to model his life accordingly. Public worship treats this sublime process in forms suitable to social participation, and treats it statically, perpetually offering concrete symbols or representations of the great spiritual mysteries, and dynamically, becoming a means through which God's grace and truth actually flow, and through which human worship and zeal actually realize themselves. The problem of liturgics is to analyze the processes on both sides, those of God's self-revelation and of man's devotion, far enough to show what connection every historical detail of public worship as an institution has with them, both as symbol and as active agency, and to base its whole critical and practical attitude upon the conclusions. From an ideal point of view our author's philosophy of the subject is far more stiff, restricted, and even superficial than we could wish. We believe that, if he had begun with a discussion of the nature of religion, especially as a social fact, and the nature of art in its broadest sense, and had thoroughly sifted the idea that public worship is religion declaring itself and operating artistically, he would have been led to a much truer and a more constructive philosophical position than he has, good as his discussion is. This would have involved, however, putting his whole historical section first, with the addition of an elaborate criticism and interpretation of details from a psychological or logical point of view, and then of building his theory and praxis out of the materials thus obtained. Whether this would have landed him at just the point he desired to reach with reference to Lutheran usages, we are not prepared to say. But it would have given his discussion a universal utility that it now somewhat lacks.

When we turn to the historical part of the book, we are at once impressed with its laborious fulness. For example, to the evolution of church building 59 pages are given; to church furniture and decoration, 18; to Sunday and the church calendar in general, 77; while 154 pages are devoted to the external conditions in which public worship takes place. This expansion is partly necessitated by the traditional usages of Lutheranism, but it has much general interest and value. It emphasizes the importance of conditions and associations too often minimized, and in many cases furnishes information not so readily accessible elsewhere. The treatment is usually excellent, but not uniformly, as witness the meager and barren account of the organ as the distinctively church instrument.

The remainder of the historical part, 257 pages, is devoted to an account of the development of the verbal and ceremonial constituents of public worship from the apostolic age onward. Here our author has made splendid use of the vast and accumulating literature. His presentation of the rise of sacerdotalism and then of the radiating groups of the early liturgies is particularly serviceable. In general, his summaries of details are systematic and clear, and the balance of topics judicious, though, of course, to a non-Lutheran reader the space given to the *minutiae* of Luther's own liturgical opinions and undertakings, and to the unfolding of the multifarious Lutheran *Agenda* since his time, is not so interesting as to those for whom this manual is specially intended. Like so many German scholars, Dr. Rietschel is singularly ignorant or oblivious of things outside of continental Europe. Even the Anglican liturgy is touched upon with astonishing brevity and superficiality. And we look in vain for any recognition of the immense area of historic fact that includes the liturgical usages of the Reformed churches that do not use a fixed liturgy. American usages during the last two to three hundred years are, we believe, absolutely unmentioned. Even the liturgical enterprises of the Lutheran churches in America are ignored; and, perhaps more amazing still, considering how painstaking are the bibliographical references at every point, the fine handbook on *Christian Worship* by Richard and Painter, both Lutherans, seems not to have crossed his horizon. Narrowness of this sort is not creditable to German scholarship.

The critical and practical part of the book can be more rapidly considered. It is chiefly devoted to questions affecting the Lutheran churches of Germany, though it opens with some general remarks of wider value. One of the special problems discussed is whether the

preaching service should always be joined with or separated from the communion, the latter view being strongly upheld in most circumstances. The single items of the Lutheran orders are briefly explained. Much pains is taken to emphasize the practical results to be sought in the management of the preaching service and of the communion respectively. Useful notes are made about various by-services, including the Sunday school, catechizing meetings, etc. The construction of liturgical prayers, the use of the lectionary, the application of music in all its forms, and the personal bearing of the officiating minister — all these are discussed with more or less fulness, and with no slight effectiveness, though necessarily from a purely Lutheran point of view. All kinds of students, however, will find these discussions suggestive, because charged with a notable thoughtfulness and earnestness.

The whole treatise is a fine exhibition of positive learning. The references to the literature of the subject are remarkably full, including not only the citation of hundreds of book-titles and the like, but exact indications of passages and numerous quotations. The indexes are carefully wrought out. The whole is a fine piece of work according to its plan and after the manner of its class. To compare it with its predecessors, both the many manuals on practical theology in which liturgics is formally treated in its place and the more special monographs, would take far more space than is here available. Suffice it to say that it is a most worthy contribution to the long list of studies in this rich and important field, which has been growing so vigorously in the last quarter-century. Its limitations and defects are attributable in a large degree to its design as a text-book for German Lutherans. But it is a pity that it was not given enough of general scope at many points to make it a commanding authority for those outside the Lutheran communion who are awaiting that perhaps impossible book that shall do full justice to the majestic institution of Christian public worship on all its sides, but especially as regards its philosophic and critical analysis.

WALDO S. PRATT.

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ŒUVRES POSTHUMES DE P. F. JALAGUIER. Paris: Fischbacher, 1899. Pp. xxx + 511. Fr. 10.

DE L'ÉGLISE. Publié par PAUL JALAGUIER; avec une préface de M. Félice.

THE author of this treatise, after some preliminary observations, discusses at length four subjects: (1) the scriptural notion of the

church with sundry closely related questions, (2) the true church, (3) the organization of the church, and (4) its sacraments and worship.

These discussions are made up of lectures delivered to classes in the theological school at Montauban, between 1834 and 1864, and now edited and published by the author's grandson. The main ideas of them are often repeated. While such repetitions are of real utility in the class-room, they are somewhat wearisome to the reader; still they make the contentions of the author unmistakably clear.

Throughout his discussion he appeals to the New Testament as inspired and authoritative; and, while firmly holding this scriptural position, attempts to mediate between the extreme views of the Roman Catholic church and of ultra-Protestants. He contends that the moderate views of these conflicting parties are not antagonistic, but are vitally related and should supplement each other.

In order to maintain this position, he holds that the church is the kingdom of God on earth. Nevertheless, he correctly sets forth the meaning of "church" in the New Testament to be simply an assembly, and accurately designates its various applications. The New Testament, however, is not as explicit concerning church organization as concerning doctrine, morals, and life. In reference to the church we have great principles, a charter, not a code. Modes of action are left to circumstances, times, and peoples. But we are not wholly freed from the apostolic model. The main things taught concerning the church are obligatory. In our interpretations of the New Testament we should stick to fundamentals.

The New Testament clearly teaches that the church has existed since John the Baptist. At Pentecost three thousand were added to it. Its nature may be debatable, its existence is not. Christ founded it. The apostles built it up. It came from heaven. It is spiritual and leads to heaven. It is, indeed, in the world, but is not of the world. It yields to the authority of civil government, so far as that does not interfere with its faith. It recognizes none but Christ as its head, yet obeys those who lead it in his name.

Now we must note the fact that there is both a church and churches. The latter are simply parts of a universal church. These separate, scattered churches, however, have one God, one Savior, one faith, one baptism. United to Christ, they are one in doctrine and spirit. The mission of the church is double: first, to develop the faith of its members, and, secondly, to spread the faith abroad. Whenever it has gone outside of its legitimate sphere it has always damaged itself.

The church has two constitutive principles. On one side it is divine, on the other a voluntary association. The Roman Catholic affirms the first, the Protestant lays stress on the second. That the church is divine the Scriptures incontestably teach ; but just as clearly that it is also a voluntary association. The Roman Catholic, looking upon the church as divine, affirms that it is the source of the truth ; the Protestant, regarding the truth as alone divine, affirms that it is the source of the church. But both the divine and the human underlie all that pertains to the church. Both coöperate in inspiration, repentance, and conversion ; both meet in the sacraments. And one as well as the other is a constitutive principle of church organization.

The church of the Reformation adopted an intermediate theory, combining the Roman Catholic and Protestant theories. She held that the scriptural church was both divine and voluntary. Having traced with great care the consequences of these three theories, the author sets forth, from his point of view, the universal church. It is both visible and invisible. This affords two kinds of unity — one of belief, the other of life ; the one dogmatic, the other spiritual. Spiritual unity includes all, of whatever name, who by faith are united to God in Christ, although they may be unknown to each other. This internal or spiritual unity is, of course, the essential thing, since it arises from the deeper unity of souls with Christ. Yet in its place external unity is not less important and obligatory. The scriptural idea of the kingdom of God demands it. This kingdom is not division and strife. The visible church should model itself on the invisible. In the latter there is unity, notwithstanding many differences of opinion ; and, while the ideal may not be realized on earth, it should be striven for. And this the New Testament makes imperative. It insists as strenuously on external as on internal unity. It urges that Christ should not be divided. But dogmatism that puts theology in the place of religion, that confounds human conceptions of evangelical facts with the facts themselves, and then imposes those conceptions on others as revealed truth, is the greatest obstacle to unity. Concentrating its zeal on opinions, and insisting that these opinions are authoritative, it divides instead of uniting Christendom. The only remedy for this is an honest return to the New Testament. In the apostolic church there was unity of spirit in spite of the gravest differences of opinion. Life and faith were then the bond of union. If this attitude had been maintained, most of the questions that have torn asunder the Christian

world would have been avoided. So, if we can really get back to the spirit of the New Testament, we shall get back to unity.

Our author now raises the question : What is the true church ? and discusses it at great length. In the true church two distinct tendencies must be recognized : on the one hand, great charitable condescension ; and, on the other, rigidity of principles. The first secures the outward unity of the church ; the second, purity of doctrine. Love dominates the one, belief the other. But love must be permeated by belief and belief by love. Exclusive attachment to either will lead to the abandonment of the other. We can be truly evangelical only as we firmly hold both.

But charitable condescension inevitably leads to the multitudinous notion of church-membership, held by the Roman Catholic church, that all, irrespective of their religious condition, who will enter the church, should be received. Having been thus received, the church is under solemn obligation to labor for their salvation. This principle of multitudinous membership regards all children born within the families of the church as church members, and justifies infant baptism. All Pedobaptists take essentially the same ground as the Roman Catholics. Still, in our author's view, all those Pedobaptists in Great Britain and the United States who refuse to admit to full membership even those baptized in infancy until they give satisfactory evidence that they are regenerated are acting contrary to the Scriptures, which declare that the wheat and tares are to grow together until the end of the world, when God, who alone is able to discern the human heart, will separate the regenerate from the unregenerate.

Then follows a thorough discussion of the organization, the sacraments, and the worship of the church. The author sets forth lucidly the various opinions that have been, and are now, held on these important subjects ; but notes the fact that "sacrament" is not a New Testament word.

(1) The position of our author that the church on earth is the kingdom of God vitiates much of his discussion. By his parables our Lord evidently never designed to enunciate principles of church polity and discipline. Yet our author thinks that the parable of the tares justifies multitudinous church-membership. And to bolster up this unscriptural position, he affirms, contrary to the record, that many of the three thousand added to the church on the day of Pentecost must have been unregenerate, and that there were many of the unsaved in the churches planted by the apostles. But even if this were true, the

manifest aim of the apostles was to gather into churches none but genuine believers. They received only such as gave evidence that they were regenerate, while those in the churches guilty of heresy and crimes of which they had not repented were excluded. (2) If the extreme views of Roman Catholics and radical independents were laid aside, even then in ecclesiastical polity they would not be united. The one would still be episcopal and monarchical, and the other democratic. Opposites cannot be made a unity. Yet those holding diverse disciplines may be one in spirit. And it is only by spiritual unity that doctrinal and disciplinary unity can ever be attained. With this last statement our author is in perfect accord. (3) Whatever may be the faults of this treatise, we hail it as irenical. It opposes with cogent, convincing arguments all unnecessary divisions of Christendom, and is an unusually earnest plea for that unity for which Christ, just before Gethsemane and the cross, so ardently prayed. We trust that it will help to usher in that day when there shall be "one flock, one shepherd."

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

LES MISSIONS CATHOLIQUES: France et Allemagne. Par A. KANNENGIESER. Paris: Lethielleux. Pp. 330. Fr. 3.50.

FOR many generations France has claimed to be the protector of Roman Catholic missions in the East, and the claim has been recognized by some other nations in their treaties with her. She has been so serviceable to the Roman Catholics in this office that the popes have given her the title of "The Eldest Daughter of the Church." But, though serviceable to the Catholics, she has used her office of protector chiefly to advance her own interests and to get the advantage of other nations in diplomacy and commerce. It was largely to diminish the importance of this office that the emperor of Germany made his recent pilgrimage to Palestine, proclaimed himself the protector of the German Catholics throughout the East, and gave the so-called "House of the Virgin" to them. They were already weary of the protection of France, which was often an excuse for meddling; and when the emperor finally avenged the murder of two of their missionaries in China, they rallied about him with enthusiasm. The new turn of affairs is disliked by the French Catholics, and has occasioned a lively literary contest between them and their German brethren. M. Kannengieser writes in defense of the French claims. His method is

to show by statistics that the missions of the French Catholics cover vast territories, enlist a vast number of workers, and cost a vast amount of money, while those of the German Catholics are relatively unimportant. He has found it very difficult to collect the statistics of the French and German missions, and he leaves some questions unanswered; but his work, as far as it goes, is carefully done, and those who are interested in the study of Christian missions will be grateful for it. The French workers on foreign mission fields he reckons at 7,700 men and 8,000 women; the German, at 1,100 men and 500 women. The annual cost of the French work he reckons at 6,047,231 francs; the German, at 1,826,166 francs. The money in both cases is collected and managed by the various celibate orders and congregations of monks, nuns, and sisters, with their young novices. The members of these organizations in France number about 36,000 males and 144,000 females; in Germany, about 5,000 males and 35,000 females.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE STATE AND THE CHURCH: The Baldwin Lectures for 1898.
By WILLIAM PRALL. New York: Whittaker, 1900. Pp. 260.
\$1.25

THIS book contains the six Baldwin Lectures delivered at the University of Michigan in 1898. The purpose of the Baldwin foundation is the annual delivery at that institution of a series of lectures for the "Establishment and Defense of the Christian Truth." The lectures must be by "a learned clergyman or other communicant of the Protestant Episcopal church."

As the lectures are sermons and not science, we must not expect in them an addition to knowledge, or even a new statement of theory—and we accordingly are not disappointed. The six topics are: "The Basis of the State," "The Ancient State," "The Modern State," "The State and the Church," "The Law of the State," "The People." The discussion ranges all the way from Abraham and Aristotle to the Spanish-American war, and touches a good share of the intervening social, political, and ecclesiastical phenomena.

State and church have some vital points in common, and some essential differences. The state is all-inclusive—it includes within its jurisdiction all persons within a given area. The church seeks the same extent. Each aims to control conduct. Each puts its powers

and interests into the hands of a governmental agency. In each the tendency is for government to become autocratic, and revolution in both church and state has been necessary in order to restore popular liberty. The differences are as marked as the resemblances. The state in its control does not go beyond external acts, while the church seeks to dominate the hidden thought as well. The state has no purpose beyond this life; the church deals with supernatural agencies and with life beyond the grave.

If each of these two forms of social organization realizes its aim of including all, we have two governments simultaneously exercising authority over the same society. Under such circumstances there must be rivalry and conflict. The discord may be settled in one of three ways: the two governments may coalesce, wholly or in part; or, without coalescence, either may become supreme over the other. Of course, the historic sequence may vary widely from this logical sequence. But in the end the results are the same.

Long experience has shown that on the whole the tyranny of ecclesiasticism is far more obnoxious than that of a secular government. Hence the revolt against ecclesiastical supremacy has been more envenomed than that against any form of state despotism. It is, in fact, doubtless a great blessing to humanity that in most of the states of Christendom the once unified church is now split into a multitude of sects. So long as these exist there must be religious liberty, but when church and state are coextensive there is inevitable danger of an unendurable ecclesiastical tyranny.

In a society like that of the United States the church is entirely separate from the state, and is legally and actually subordinate. Rights of conscience are created in the organic law, and any form of ecclesiastical control is rigorously forbidden.

These simple principles underlying the relation of state and church the author has not made entirely clear. The luminous discussion of them also through the complex course of history would have been aided if there were less reliance on numerous quotations from authorities. That mode of treatment evinces learning rather than conduces to lucidity. Sticklers for English style, too, would probably suggest some revisions. Sentences like the following, for instance, might be improved: (P. 184) "Yet not entirely upon these, upon also the character of the god or gods who inspired them." (P. 185) "It was by, or from out, this great personality that the laws of the Hebrews were given, and they found their truest exposition therein." (P. 230) "It is

to be remarked that Lafayette and Rochambeau were ever in sympathy with the officers of our revolution, and that they were not so with those who subsequently made the French."

HARRY PRATT JUDSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE CHURCH AND POPULAR EDUCATION. By HERBERT B. ADAMS. (= "Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.") Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1900. Pp. 84. \$0.50.

If one were to write of the relationship which has existed between the church and popular education, he might write a history of education for the past thousand years. It was in the nineteenth century that the separation of church and education became most marked and education became freed from the many drawbacks of theological controversy that had hindered its progress. Instead of being a mere assistant to the church, it became a coöperator claiming a distinct part in the great work of social regeneration. In the meantime the church had widened in every way; it had lost its exclusiveness and become inclusive in that its sphere of action embraced many things which formerly had been looked upon as outside, and we have today what is known as the "institutional church." This Mr. Adams calls the educational church, and most of this monograph is taken up by a description of some types, such as Trinity Church in Boston and St. George's in New York. Every species of benevolence in Baltimore seems to be enumerated. The Y. M. C. A., the social settlements, and the C. L. S. C. come in for a share, and casual mention is made of Milwaukee, St. Paul, and Salina, Kan.; but the great work that has been done in Chicago has had no notice. The eastern states claim all attention, and, while what is told of the work there is interesting, it is by no means exhaustive even for that small territory. This monograph, then, is suggestive, but disappointing; it indicates the great possibilities of the subject, and will be of assistance in stirring up thought on the relationship that might exist between the church and the education of the people.

GEORGE HERBERT LOCKE.

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Sesostris. Von Kurt Sethe. ["Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens," II, 1.] (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900; pp. 24; M. 5.) Who was Sesostris, whose exploits form a favorite

theme of the Greek writers on Egyptian history? The usual conclusion of modern scholars has been that he was a compound of Rameses II. and his father, Seti I., in spite of the testimony of Manetho, who states that he belonged to the twelfth dynasty. Sethe undertakes a new and thoroughgoing investigation, both of the chronological indications in the statement of these ancient writers and of their tales of the deeds of Sesostris, with the conclusion that Manetho is right. Sesostris is a compound of the Usertesens of the twelfth dynasty. The very names are etymologically identical. The argument is learned, ingenious, and clear. Sethe has come as near a demonstration as the imperfect and contradictory data will allow.—*Aus den Tell-Amarna Briefen*. Ein morgenländisches Zeitbild aus der Mitte des zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends. Von Julius Boehmer. (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1900; pp. 36; M. 0.60.) A clear and simple account of the discovery and contents of these famous letters is given by the writer, who also discusses briefly their significance from an historical and biblical point of view. As for the latter, he finds that their chief contribution is the substantiation of the Old Testament picture of early Canaan as the seat of a variety of independent and warring city states. He properly refuses to give assent to any one of the precarious hypotheses concerning the Habiri or other peoples mentioned in the letters which connect them with the Hebrews and their invasion of Palestine.—G. S. GOODSPEED.

Armenien und Nordmesopotamien in Altertum und Gegenwart. Von C. F. Lehmann. (Berlin: Reimer, 1900; pp. 20; M. 0.60.) This is an address delivered before the German Colonial Society on March 6, 1900, and describes an archæological tour undertaken in 1898 by the author in conjunction with Dr. Belck, the discoverer of many new cuneiform texts in the Vannic dialect. The author gives a good résumé of the earliest relations, so far as we yet know them, between the pre-Armenian kingdom of Van and ancient Assyria. He also mentions the deserted cave-cities cut out of the rock on which the traveler in Armenia often comes, and which would repay closer examination. His appreciation of the Armenian population of Asia Minor is so just, as against the superficial accounts often penned by travelers who know them only through the spectacles of Turkish officials, that it may be quoted:

As we rode into the town of Van we noticed on all sides traces of the massacres, which have caused here as all over Armenia the greatest

suffering. Only those who have traveled there can judge rightly of the true state of things. As regards Turkey itself, these massacres were most prejudicial, for wherever the Armenians have been plundered, the government has suffered incalculable loss of taxes and produce. The Armenian question must be looked at apart from the outbreaks in the diaspora, among Armenian traders in Constantinople and other Turkish towns. It is mainly a commercial one, affecting Armenia itself. And an unprejudiced observer cannot deny that the Armenians are the most honest, industrious, and productive inhabitants of Turkey. We may well hope that, as soon as the Bagdad railway opens up this country to European influence and inspection, their commercial and social position will improve. So far only a few individuals—American missionaries and German workers—have tried to succor the widows and orphans, the victims of these massacres, by teaching them and buying their work.

In view of the cynical attitude assumed by the German government toward the Armenian question, the above testimony is valuable.—F. C. CONYBEARE.

Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China during the Years 1840-46. By M. Huc. Translated by William Hazlitt. Second reprint edition; two volumes in one. (Chicago: Open Court, 1900; pp. xv+326; x+342; \$2.) This famous narrative of Huc has long been out of print. As an interesting and valuable account of Thibet, its manners and religion, the work deserved republication. The devoted French Roman Catholic missionary and his companion succeeded in reaching Lhasa and had hopes of attaching Lamaism as a kind of affiliated system to the Roman Catholic church, when, through the malign influence of the Chinese, they were compelled to leave the country. Their theory of the likenesses to Catholicism found in Thibetan Buddhism is that Christian, *i. e.*, Roman, doctrine and ritual were introduced by missionaries somewhere about the fifteenth century. Apart from its information concerning religion, the book deserves reading for its human interest; the experiences of the travelers were strangely various and exciting, and their account of these is naïve and quaint.—GEO. S. GOODSPEED.

Theologischer Jahresbericht, herausgegeben von H. Holtzmann und G. Krüger. Neunzehnter Band, Die Litteratur des Jahres 1899. (Berlin: Schwetschke, 1900; pp. 936; M. 30.) The annual appearance of this compendium of theological publications regularly reminds us of the debt which the world owes to the editors. Practically everything of any value which was published on theological and kindred

subjects during the year 1899 is catalogued in the proper section of the *Jahresbericht*. The more important books and articles are briefly reviewed, so that the reader can usually decide whether a given book is worth perusing. This latest issue of the work introduces a welcome improvement in the arrangement of the bibliographies. Books and articles are catalogued according to the alphabetical sequence of the authors' names. When a book is also reviewed, the fact is indicated by printing the author's name in heavy type. The reviews are grouped genetically rather than alphabetically. Some editors content themselves with an impartial statement of the contents of publications. Others attempt some brief criticism. Opinions will differ as to which method better accomplishes the reviewer's purpose. The number of German publications cited is greater than the sum of all works in other languages. Yet no serious omission of English publications is to be found. Ephemeral German articles, however, are more frequently honored with a review than are foreign articles of perhaps equal value. Occasional errors in titles occur. Dr. Van Dyke (p. 565) is credited with *the gospel of world of sin* instead of *The Gospel for a World of Sin*. The editors seem to consider capital letters a rare luxury in the English language. But such petty defects scarcely deserve mention in comparison with the marvelous skill which puts so readily at our command the sum of human thinking on theological topics during an entire year. The *Jahresbericht* is an indispensable publication.—
GERALD BIRNEY SMITH.

The Mind of Tennyson. His Thoughts on God, Freedom, and Immortality. By Hershey Sneath. (New York: Scribner, 1900; pp. viii + 193; \$1.25.) The scope and purpose of this volume are clearly stated in the preface: "To interpret and systematize Tennyson's thoughts on God, freedom, and immortality . . . special effort has been made to distinguish between the subjective and objective—the personal and impersonal—in his poetry. . . . The interpretation has been made in the light of Tennyson's relation to the spirit of his age." The author has carried out his purpose in the successive chapters in an interesting and, for the most part, convincing manner. The chapter on Tennyson's thoughts of God is on the whole the strongest. The general philosophical movement from Descartes to the present time is sketched in outline and made the background for an interpretation of Tennyson's poetry so far as it deals with the idea of God. The author brings out clearly the fact, which is so evident to every reader of

Tennyson, that the mind of the poet was a harp of many strings across which played the mighty influences of the age, bringing forth plaintive and sorrowful, and also hopeful and triumphant, notes. It is exceedingly interesting to see how the deep, resistless currents of the philosophical and scientific thought of Tennyson's time have their counterpart and corresponding movement in the upper-air currents of a literature so fine and sensitive as was his. The forces that have affected our conceptions of the three greatest realities, God, freedom, and immortality, are all reflected from different angles somewhere in the mind and the poetry of Tennyson. The question which the author discusses will have an equal interest to those who are interested in Tennyson and to those who are interested in philosophy; and the book will doubtless suggest to many the possibility of treating in some more detailed way what the present volume presents in brief sketch.—FREDERIC E. DEWHURST.

Der Urzustand der Menschheit: Religions- und naturwissenschaftliche Studie über die biblischen und kirchlichen Lehren vom Urstande. Von Th. Maass. (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1900; pp. iv + 89; M. 3.) With a reverential and liberal spirit, and showing wide acquaintance with the views of modern scholars, the author has produced a useful monograph. He holds that man had from the beginning a religious capacity through which divine revelation was received, but that a long process of development was necessary before his religious life reached anything like strength and clearness. Moral indifference and animistic piety may be said to characterize primitive humanity. The progress of geology and physiological psychology will, in his judgment, contribute most fruitfully to the enlargement and clarification of our knowledge of the original condition of mankind.—*Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern.* Von Alfred Jeremias. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900; pp. 32; M. 60.) This brief sketch of Babylonian eschatology is by the author of *Babylonisch-assyrische Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, of which, by the way, he promises a revised edition. The material, scanty and scattered, out of which are gathered the ideas of the other world, and the customs connected with death and burial characteristic of ancient Babylonia, is discussed with as much clearness and fulness as is possible in so brief space. The author emphasizes the striking likeness of Hebrew and Babylonian conceptions of the future. He holds that there are traces of a Babylonian judgment after death and a doctrine of retribution, like those of the

Egyptian religion, but he also shows how the Babylonian gods, unlike the Egyptian, are gods of the practical, present life rather than of the other world.—*Mythologie des Buddhismus in Thibet und der Mongolei*. Von Albert Grünwedel. (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1900; pp. xxxv + 244; M. 8.) This work, which bears the subtitle "Führer durch die Sammlung des Fürsten E. Uchtomskij" and has as frontispiece a portrait of this Russian prince, is in reality an admirable little treatise on Tibetan and Mongol Buddhism as illustrated in its religious objects, images, implements, screens, etc. Numerous wood-cuts are given, to which are affixed full explanations, whereby the book becomes a guide to the art and symbolism of this religious system. The book is a valuable addition to our materials for the study of an obscure and difficult subject.—*Das Blut im Glauben und Aberglauben der Menschheit*, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der "Volksmedizin" und des "jüdischen Blutritus." Von Hermann L. Strack. Fünfte bis siebente Auflage. (München: Beck, 1900; pp. xii + 208; M. 2.50.) Professor Strack states that the murder of a girl in Bohemia in March, 1899, which was attributed to the Jews as a ritual murder, has occasioned the reissue of this book in its present revised and enlarged form. The early editions of this book in defense of the Jews wrongfully accused of these ritual murders have, he declares, brought much obloquy and slander upon him, but such treatment received in such a cause is an honor. This edition is made more valuable especially by its fuller treatment of the general subject of the use and significance of blood in all religions. May it have wide circulation!—GEO. S. GOODSPEED.

Zusammensetzung und Herkunft der Balaam-Perikope in Num. 22-24, von A. von Gall (Giessen: Ricker, 1900; pp. 48; M. 1.50), is a reprint from *Festschrift für Bernhard Stade*. The author of this little pamphlet arrives at results diametrically opposite those of Wobersin (see AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, January, 1901, pp. 200 f.). After a detailed examination and analysis of the narrative portions of Numb., chaps. 22-24, the author concludes: There were originally two Balaam-narratives, one in J and one in E, each knowing only one blessing for Israel. Both narratives were combined by RJE, so that we find now only one blessing. In these narratives two other blessings from two other different hands were added. To these three blessings of Israel prophecies concerning other peoples were attached. The result of this investigation of the poetical portions of these chapters is that they originated in post-exilic times, and in part even down to the time of Christ. They

are the products of six different redactors, extending through several centuries. Freiherr von Gall designates Wobersin, and with some show of truth, as unscientific; but his own scientific method is open to the charge of being altogether too subjective.—IRA M. PRICE.

Quelques Traits du Jésus de l'Histoire. Deux Études. Par J. de Visme, Directeur de l'École préparatoire de Théologie de Paris. (Montauban: Granie, 1899; pp. 135; fr. 1.25.) In the first of the two studies, that upon Jesus' thought of his death, the author elaborates the view that, while Jesus from the very beginning of his messianic activity foresaw certain death, he came but gradually to see its full significance as a part of his redemptive work. In the second he reviews in detail the work of Stapfer, *Jésus-Christ: sa personne, son autorité, son œuvre*, and criticises unfavorably its method and results. The little book is, in fact, less an original work than a clear and temperate criticism of certain current tendencies in Christology.—SHAILER MATHEWS.

Die wichtigsten Aussagen des Neuen Testaments über die Person Jesu Christi. Uebersichtlich zusammengestellt und nach ihrem Wort-sinn erklärt für Theologen und Nicht-Theologen. Von Friedrich Bechtel, Kirchenrat. (Heidelberg: Winter, 1899; pp. xvi + 275; M. 4.) The contents of this volume do not support the implication of its title. Its arrangement is not clear. Its interpretations are, and that notwithstanding a prefatory declaration that the author would keep himself free from dogmatic or confessional influence, informed throughout with the spirit of Lutheran evangelicism. It adds nothing to our information and certainly nothing to our inspiration.—R. KERR ECCLES.

Das johanneische Christentum, das Christentum der Zukunft. Von Heinrich Kratz. (Berlin: Schwetschke, 1900; pp. 49; M. 0.80.) The author designates three types in the development of Christianity: (1) the "Petrine" type (falsely so called), represented by the Greek and Roman Catholic churches (clericalism); (2) the "Pauline" type, represented by Protestant orthodoxy (dogmatism); (3) the "Johannine" type, represented by the highest there was in the apostolic church, and to be the Christianity of the future (characterized by (a) spirituality, (b) freedom, (c) love). One readily accepts the general position taken by the author, yet is inclined to ask whether Paul has been fairly dealt with, especially in face of the fact that he puts about as much

emphasis on *spirituality, freedom, and love* as John does.—WM. R. SCHOEMAKER.

Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries. By Ernest N. Bennett. (London: Rivingtons, 1900; pp. viii + 75; 2s. 6d.) In this small volume the author sets forth in a clear and orderly way the causes which retarded the overthrow of paganism, the coercive measures employed against it, its own inherent weaknesses, and the fitness of Christianity to take its place. The history is traced from the accession of Constantine to the fall of Rome. The footnotes cite the authorities upon which the statements in the text are based.—*John Wesley.* By Frank Banfield. (Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1900; pp. xvi + 128; \$0.50.) This pocket volume is one of "The Westminster Biographies" series, and admirably sets forth the leading events in the life of the man who above all others was providentially chosen, in the eighteenth century, to lift the English-speaking race "out of the paganism in which it was wallowing." It is a lifelike portrait in miniature of the greatest figure in the Evangelical revival.—*The American in Holland: Sentimental Rambles in the Eleven Provinces of the Netherlands.* By William Elliot Griffis. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1899; pp. ix + 403; \$1.50.) We have two other volumes on Holland from the pen of Dr. Griffis, more serious in tone than this chatty account of his wanderings through the Dutch provinces. Sincerely admiring the country, its people, and their history, his impressions are always favorable and his sentiments laudatory. The last three chapters are given to an interesting description of the inauguration of Queen Wilhelmina, at which the author was present by special invitation.—*Religious Thought and Scottish Church Life in the Nineteenth Century.* By Walter Ross Taylor, D.D., Moderator. (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1900; pp. 75; 1s., paper.) These addresses were delivered at the last meeting of the Free Church General Assembly, on the eve of the union of that body and the United Presbyterian Church. The first address treats of the influence which recent discoveries in science, the theory of evolution, and biblical criticism have had on the Christian conception of divine truth. It is conceived in a spirit of reverent inquiry and believing confidence, hopefully recognizing all new discoveries as "fresh vistas which faith may traverse." The address on "Scottish Church Life" reviews the progress made in life and work, in the spirit of unity, activity in missions, improvement in worship, with special reference to the history

of the Free Church. The address on "Learning Liberty" is a glowing account of the workings and increase of the sustentation fund since the memorable secession in 1843.—*The Evangelical Succession*; or, The Spiritual Lineage of the Christian Church and Ministry. Being the twenty-ninth Fernley Lecture, delivered in London, July, 1899. By Thomas F. Lockyer. (London: Kelly, 1899; pp. 154; 2s. 6d.) We have here twelve lectures on the Fernley foundation, which take their cue from the fundamental tenets of Anglican high-churchism. The evangelical succession is set over against the so-called apostolical succession. The righteousness of faith, the priesthood, sacrifice, remission of sins, confession, spiritual heredity, and kindred topics are treated in contrast with such Tractarian and Anglo-Catholic ideas as the divine authority of the church, the effectiveness of regeneration in baptism, the real presence in the bread and wine, the sacrificial character of the eucharist, the power divinely committed to the priesthood to absolve sin, etc.—ERI B. HULBERT.

Zinzendorfs soziale Stellung und ihr Einfluss auf seinen Charakter und sein Lebenswerk. Von Theodor G. Schmidt. (Basel: Adolf Geering, 1900; pp. 108; M. 1.20.) The author states frankly that his treatise is not the product of original research. Nevertheless, it is important for the student of Zinzendorf and the movement which he guided. It shows that Zinzendorf never escaped from the consciousness that he belonged to the aristocratic classes, or from the aristocratic habits of his early life, and that the organization of his communities was profoundly affected by aristocratic ideals.—*Sketches, Historical and Biographical*, of the Eliot Church and Society, Boston. By A. C. Thompson. (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1900; pp. viii+503; \$2.) Dr. Thompson became pastor of the Eliot Church in 1834, and is still connected with it. From the beginning he has kept memoranda of the principal events and the remarkable characters in his parish. This memorial volume is produced, therefore, from documentary records. It is what the history of a church should be, painstaking, accurate, sweet, and full of anecdotes which recall the comedies as well as the tragedies of the past. Dr. Thompson takes into the scope of his recollections a wide variety of topics, such as pastoral functions, the Sunday school, the devotional meetings, the deacons, ministerial parishioners, missionaries, educators and writers, lawyers, physicians, artists, deaf-mutes, young men, young women, ministers' wives, ministers' widows, and the children. About these and other themes he

he has much to say that is tender, sad, and humorous. The period of his connection with the church was one of stirring public events, and he notes the effect of these on the spiritual life of his people. One cannot easily find a book of more varied and charming reminiscences.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

Ist die Theologie eine Wissenschaft? Von P. von Schanz. (Stuttgart: Roth, 1900; pp. 24 + 12; M. 0.60.)—*Kirche und theologische Wissenschaft.* Von Johannes Peter. (Leipzig: B. S. Teubner, 1900; pp. 30; M. 0.60.)—*Die Furcht vor dem Denken.* Eine Zugabe zu Hiltys *Glück*, III. Von D. A. Schlatter. (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1900; pp. 48.) These three pamphlets are all attempts at a vindication of the character and value of theological science from different points of view. Schanz gives a brief, but clear and interesting, sketch of the views held as to the place of theology from the founding of the university of Tübingen, when theology was *the* science, to its discrediting in the eighteenth century and its utter rejection by positivism and agnosticism, on the one hand, and its attempted rehabilitation under Schleiermacher and Hegel, on the other. The lecturer defends the scientific character of theology on the ground of its universal coexistence with religion and knowledge, of the facts of revelation, and of the fundamental relation of theology to all other sciences. A wholesome discussion.—Peter briefly traverses ground made familiar by Harnack and Loofs in their histories of dogma, but contests the views that the early formations of dogma up to the Athanasian creed amounted to a displacement of Christian revelation by Greek philosophy. He holds that, if modern critical study has made imperative a restatement of such Christian verities as God's relation to the world, Christ, and revelation, theological science is thereby the more indispensable to the church. "The church and science have a sphere of labor in common—the Christian religion. This is not mere thinking reason (Hegel), nor mere feeling (Schleiermacher), nor mere history (Duhm and Bernoulli), but *a relation of person to person*, the relation of the whole man as regards thought, feeling, and will to the personal living God in Jesus Christ." A very sensible and spirited treatment of the subject.—Schlatter's article appears in *Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*, 1900, Heft 1, as a refutation of Hilty's advocacy of the priority of feeling in religion. The controversy as to whether thought, feeling, or will is the fundamental element in the religious life is, of course, interminable. The most valuable part of the essay

is a vigorous refutation of the charge that "already with Paul theology is substituted for facts." This particularly is well worth reading. The style is a little heavy.—GEORGE CROSS.

Present-Day Problems of Christian Thought. By Randolph Harrison McKim. (New York : Whittaker, 1900; pp. 317; \$1.50.) Essays and addresses on a variety of themes are gathered into this volume, and their subjects and contents justify its title. Some of the topics are "Christianity and Buddhism," "Christian Strategy in the Mission Field," "The Incarnation in Relation to Miracle," "The Unity of New Testament Doctrine," "Butler and His Theology," and "The Oberammergau Passion Play." All of these are handled with vigor, sometimes with more vigor than knowledge. A generous spirit is displayed, if somewhat patronizing, toward the advance of modern theological ideas. On the whole, the author is to be classed with the "Evangelicals," and exhibits the robustness of that school, with the usual weakness of it, commonplace ideas coupled with oracular utterance.—Geo. S. GOODSPEED.

Das Wesen des Christentums. Von Adolf Harnack. (Leipzig : Hinrichs, 1900; pp. 189; M. 3.20.) This little volume will enable the busiest man to discover the theological teaching of perhaps the foremost representative of Ritschlianism. The first eight lectures admirably illustrate the attempt to get back of the reports about Jesus in the New Testament, to the character and teaching of Jesus himself. This latter alone is the Ritschlian "gospel." Harnack sums up the teaching of Jesus in three general phrases: "the kingdom of God and its coming," "God the Father and the infinite worth of the human soul," and "the higher righteousness and the commandment of love." He then discusses the application of the gospel to the problems of asceticism, social and political institutions, culture, Christology, and confession of faith. The last half of the book is an epitome of his famous *History of Dogma*. These lectures were delivered without manuscript, and were reported stenographically by a student. They reproduce, therefore, the spirit and eloquence of direct appeal to an audience. It is not often that the world has access to results of a great scholar's life-work expressed in brief compass and in charming literary style. An English translation is soon to appear. Every theological student and pastor ought to read this notable series of lectures. Even those who distrust the Ritschlian movement cannot fail to be

stimulated by the author's ardent faith in the power of the gospel of Christ.—GERALD BIRNEY SMITH.

Reine Lehre. Eine Forderung des Glaubens und nicht des Rechts. Von Martin Rade. (Tübingen: Mohr, 1900; pp. 48; M. 0.80. = Hefte zur *Christlichen Welt*, No. 43.) The author, following a trend of thought which is now common in Germany, shows the difference between the simplicity of early Christianity and the Christian religion as it became crystallized in a creed, confined in the limits of an outward organization, guarded by a canon, and finally established and protected by the law of the state. The subject, although interesting and instructive for all, is of greater importance where there is a state church, especially in Germany.—L. HENRY SCHWAB.

The Return to Christ. By Amory H. Bradford, D.D. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1900; pp. 155; \$0.75.) Everything which comes from Dr. Bradford's pen is written in charming style and is full of stimulating thought. This series of four essays describes the return to Christ, which the author believes is to be seen today in theology, in ethical and spiritual ideals, in social ideals, and in ideals of the kingdom of God. Traditional conceptions of Christianity appeal to ecclesiastical authority. The religious movements of today indicate a return to the authority of Christ. While some readers may dissent from Dr. Bradford's interpretation of the gospel of Jesus, no one can fail to be helped by the wholesome optimism of the discussion. The publishers have given the volume an artistic dress worthy of the contents.—GERALD BIRNEY SMITH.

Popular Misconceptions as to Christian Faith and Life. By F. T. Lee. (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1900; pp. 262; \$1.25.) This discussion divides itself into four main parts, whose respective themes are "Faith," "Life," "Service," and "The Divine Source." It is written in the style and spirit of a pastor's address to his congregation. Its aim is immediately practical. It states with clearness and fairness the many difficulties which are often felt and expressed by plain, honest hearers of the gospel. The author meets these difficulties, or "misconceptions," in the kindest, fairest way, and with explanations which must commend themselves to the reader. Thus, among others, false views as to the Bible, the Christian life in its beginnings and course, sanctification, Christian contentment, foreign missions, the Holy Spirit are stated, their falsity pointed out, the true view suggested, and the spiritual

demand urged. The book will be helpful alike to those suffering from the misconceptions discussed and to pastors and others who would meet successfully the same misconceptions in those to whom they minister.—GEO. D. P. PEPPER.

Das Christenthum als Religion des Fortschritts. Zwei Abhandlungen : "Das sociale Programm des Apostels Paulus;" "Die Inspiration der heiligen Schrift." Von Chr. A. Bugge. (Giessen: Ricker, 1900; pp. 68; M. 1.40.) These two treatises are closely related to each other and are fitly joined together. Christianity is regarded as a religion from growth and for growth, as the culmination of preceding development and as the source of development in all subsequent ages. The inward life of true Judaism was Christianity in principle, while Christianity itself is the principle in adequate embodiment. Judaism, however, embodied itself predominantly as legality, and became an outward constraint, and direction, hostile to the principle of genuine Judaism. Against this inversion, which was the death of true progress, Christ set himself unflinchingly at the cost of his life. His law was not outward but inward, the law of spirit, of principles, of life, of growth, of progress. His apostles and their fellows learned and taught this, especially Paul. But no attempt was made to transform at once all the relations and activities of life so as to realize by a stroke the ultimate ideal. Christianity thus, like a tree or an animal, undergoes continual transformation. It adapts itself to all changing stages of human development and becomes the efficient principle of transformation. It was thus with the inspiration of the writers of the Bible. They were inspired to write so as to meet the needs each of his own time. The revelation of Jesus Christ, however, as made in his own person or in his words and works, seems to be recognized as in some respects an exception; and, if so, the question would arise why a revelation might not have been made also through Moses with a fitness for subsequent ages quite equal to that for his own. The discussion is full of interest and helpful suggestions.—GEO. D. B. PEPPER.

Church Folks: Practical Studies in Congregational Life. By "Ian Maclaren" (Dr. John Watson). (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1900; pp. 206; \$1.25.) In this volume there are eleven essays, in which the author discusses in racy style important topics pertaining to the character and work of the churches. Every paragraph bubbles over with good feeling. Common-sense, humor, and wit abound. Much

is suggested that cannot fail to be helpful to both pastors and congregations. If the valuable hints thrown out should be heeded, some tried souls in the churches would be led pleasantly over rough places, and some absurdities in church life would be avoided. The discussions of "The Candy-Pull System in the Church," "The Minister and the Organ," and "The Minister and His Vacation" are worthy of special commendation to both pulpit and pew.—GALUSHA ANDERSON.

Religious Movements for Social Betterment. By Josiah Strong. (New York: Baker & Taylor, 1901; pp. 137; \$0.50.) This little volume describes briefly and in attractive style some of the most important manifestations of the spirit of social service which is growing so strong in the church. The papers were first presented in a series of monographs on American life for the Paris exposition. There is no specially new contribution to knowledge of the subject, but a very clear and vigorous plea for devotion and labor on behalf of the neglected.—*An Essay on Western Civilization in its Economic Aspects.* (Mediæval and Modern Times.) By W. Cunningham. (New York: Macmillan, 1900; pp. 300.) This work of the eminent historian of English industry and commerce deserves the attention of students of religious history, because it traces in a clear and convincing way the influence of religion and the church on economical and political development in mediæval and modern times. The definite object of the essay is to point out the remote and complicated causes in the past which have coöperated to mold industry and commerce into their present forms. The three main topics are the forces at work in Christendom during the dominant sway of the Roman clergy; the organization of the modern nations with secular control, development of capital, and rival commercial policies; and the expansion of western civilization, with its industrial revolution and preparation for a cosmopolitan policy of trade and universal police. While the form of statement is popular, and the limitations of space forbid the use of many details of proof and illustrations, the argument is logical and the causal connections are everywhere made apparent. Full justice is done to the spiritual and ethical forces which influence and finally determine the historic process of social evolution.—C. R. HENDERSON.

THEOLOGICAL AND SEMITIC LITERATURE

FOR THE YEAR 1900

A SUPPLEMENT TO THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY AND THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF
SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES¹

BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT

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E. SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY

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 cal seminaries. *HSR*, N
 WARD. Missionaries in Egypt. *NC*, Ag
 WASHBURN. A Christian college in Constantino-
 ple. *HSR*, N
 WHITE. Why do not more Hindus accept Jesus
 Christ? *MiR*, J1
 WRIGHT. Future of China. *BS*, O
- Home Missions, Charities, and Social Work
 See also pp 75-8 and pp 83, 84
- ABBOTT. Christianity & soc. problems.
 Bo-H, M 1.25
 ADAMS. The church & popular educa-
 tion. Balto-Johns Hopk Press (87) 0.50
 D'ADHEMAR. La femme cath. et la dé-
 mocratie franç. P-Perrin
 ADLER. Zukunft der sozialen Frage.
 Jena-Fischer (80) 0.60
 ANET. Christianisme et évolution sociale.
ID Alençon-Guy (123)
 APPIA. Le christianisme social. P-F 3
 D'AZAMBUJA. Ce que le christianisme a
 fait pour la femme. P-B&B (64) 0.60
 BERNSTEIN. Gesch. u. Theorie d. Socia-
 lismus. B (426) 5
 BÖHME. Christl. Arbeit unter d. Heim-
 arbeiterinnen. *HfKSK*, 10. B-Stadt-
 mission 0.50
 BORNHAK. Wichern über d. Evangelisa-
 tion. Hm-RH (75) 1
 BRASSEUR. Quest. sociale. P-A (470) 7.50
 CHALMERS. Christian & civic economy
 of large towns. Ed. Henderson. NY-
 S (356) 1.25n
 — On charity. Ed. Masterman. Lo-
 Constable (436) 7-6n
 Christl. Gewerkvereine. Aufgabe u. Tä-
 tigkeit.³ M (64) 0.20
 CUNNINGHAM. Western civilization in its
 economic aspects. NY-M (300) 1
 DESCAMPS. L'alcoholisme et la question
 sociale. Lille-Descamps (218) 3.50
 ELTZBACHER. Anarchismus. B-Gutten-
 tag (317) 5
 FONSEGRIVE. La crise sociale. P-L (518) 4
 FOURNELLE. Kath. Caritas in Berlin.
 B-Germania (320) 3
 GLADDEN. Appl. Christianity. Bo-H, M 1.25
 — Tools & the man; property & in-
 dustry under Christian law. *Ibid* 1.25
 GRAEBENTEICH. Zur Evangelisations-
 frage. Go-Thienemann (56) 0.60
 GRIGGS. New humanism. Brooklyn-
 author (239) 1.60
 HAUSSONVILLE. Salaires et misères de
 femmes. P-Lévy (352) 3.50
 ISERMAYER. Wesen u. Wirken d. Frau-
 enheime. Str-Ev Ges (16) 0.20
 KIRK. Side lights on great problems of
 human interest. Lo-W&N (47) 1
 KOLDE. Heilsarmee.² L-D (208) 3.25
 KRATZ. See p 23, col 1
 LAZAIRE. Les œuvres spirit. et corpo-
 relles de miséricorde. Montpellier (196)
 LEHR. Christus u. d. Sozialdemokratie.
 Siegen (57) 0.40
 LOCKE. Tithing as Christian duty. Buf-
 falo-Otis (30) 0.10
 MAHLING. Innere Mission in d. grossen
 Städten. Str-Evgl Ges (31) 0.20
 MARCKS. Das Rote Kreuz. Gü-B (109) 1.50
 MOTT. Evangelization of the world in
 this generation. NY (254) 1
 NOSTITZ. Aufsteigen des Arbeiterstandes
 in England. Jena-Fischer (832) 18
 PAPPENHEIM. Unter d. Johanniterkreuz.
 B-BBM (32) 0.60
 PFANNKUCHE. Was liest der deu. Arbei-
 ter? T-M (79) 1.25
 ROCHOLL. Unsere Wehr- u. Dienstpflicht
 wider d. äussern u. innern Feind. *Zf*
ChrVL, 189. St-Belser (75) 1.20
 ROWNTREE & SHERWELL. Temperance
 problem & soc. reform. Lo-H&S (816) 6
 SARDEMANN. Theodor Fliedner u. die
 Diakonissensache. Kassel-Röttg (32) 0.20
 SCHINDLER. Evangelische Kirche und
 Heilsarmee.² Ba-Schindler (146) 1.50
 SPAHR. America's working people. NY-
 L (261) 1.25

- STEIN. Quest. sociale au point de vue philosophique. P-A (514) 10
- STRICKER. Gemeindepflege. Str (31) 0.60
- STRONG. Religious movements for social betterment. NY (140) 0.50
- STUBBS. See p 38, col 2
- Verhandlgn. d. XI. evg.-soc. Kongresses, Karlsruhe, 7.-8. Je 1900. G-V&R(200)2
- WEISENGRÜN. Marxismus u. Wesen der soc. Frage. L-Veit (488) 12
- WEISS. Innere Mission an d. Wende d. Jahrhunderts. K-Ev Buchh (19) 0.30
- WITTSTOCK. Trunksucht u. ihre Bekämpfung. Riga-Hoerschelmann (272) 3
- WURSTER. Evangelisation u. innere Mission. Str-Evgl Ges (32) 0.20
- Zeitschrift f. d. Armenwesen.* Hrsg. von Münsterberg. I. B-Heymann 2
- ALMY. Charity & gospel. *ChR*, O
- BRANDIN. Aufgaben der Inneren Mission in der Gegenwart. *ÉKZ*, 15, 16
- BUTLER. Village schools as miss. agency. *IER*, O
- CALEB. Indian Christian. *Chm Miss Intell*, F
- DALHOFF. Ist d. barmherzige Behandlg. d. Irren v. Christentum od. v. Islam ausgegangen? *MIM*, O
- DEVINE. Relief & care of the poor in their homes. *ChR*, Ag
- DONALD. Housing the poor. *CR*, Mr
- GRAHAM. Home-relief the best form of organized Christianity. *CW*, S
- HALLER. Einführung d. Mission in das kirchliche Leben. *ZThK*, S
- HALVORSEN. Aufg. d. Innern Mission. *MIM* no 5
- HAUTECLAIR. L'égl. et la société. *Just soc*, no 18
- HERMENS. Aus d. Gustav-Adolf-Verein. *ChrW*, 37-39, 41
- KEELING. Naples & the gospel. *LQR*, J1
- KNIGHT. Development of prevailing ideas as to the right treatment of criminals. *BS*, Ap
- LACHEMANN. MacAll u. d. Evangelisation Frankreichs. *DEBl*, D
- LAMPRECHT. Bekämpfung der Sittenlosigkeit u. Unzucht. *PbHKS*, Mr
- LOOMIS. Inner life of the settlement. *A*, Ag
- Mac-All zending. *De*. *Ma*, II, 1
- MATHEWS. Christ. ch. & social unity. *AJS*, Ja
- MCGILVARY. Society & individual. *PhR*, Mr
- MCGINLEY. Scope of Cathol. soc. settl't. *CW*, My
- MOORE, E. C. Sociology & the epic. *AJS*, S
- MOORE, F. W. Recent sociology. *Progress*, S
- NEHMIZ. Kirchliche Bahnen für die Evangelisationsbewegung. *MIM*, Mr
- NEWMAN. Socialism & the church. *NCR*, F
- ORNUM, VAN. Study & needs of sociology. *A*, S
- OTTO. Stellung der evangelischen Christen zur Judenmission. *PbHKS*, Ag
- PASSAVANT. Diakonisse u. Berufspflegerin. *MIM*, 6
- ROI. Judenmission an d. Wende d. Jhrh. *Nath*, Ja
- SCHÄFER. Idealbild e. Stadtmission. *MIM*, no 5
- SCHOTT. Christl. Mission u. sozialer Fortschritt. *AMZ*, F, Mr
- SIEDEL. Das weisse Kreuz. *Alter Glaube*, 4, 5; *AE-LKZ*, 28 ff
- SMALL. Scope of sociology. *AJS*, Ja-N
- THULIÉ. Les primitifs et l'âme. *R de l'École d'anthropol de Paris*, Ap
- TÖNNIES. Z. Einltg. in d. Soziolog. *ZPhKr*, CXV, a
- TRUXAL. Christianity in the sphere of the practical. *RChR*, Ap
- VEIT. Unsere Diakonissen-Mutterhäuser u. ihre Praxis. *Hk*, J1, Ag
- WRIGHT. Sociology affected by philosophy. *BS*, Ja

ABBREVIATIONS

Prices are expressed only by figures, it being understood that in the case of English books 6-6 stands for 6s. 6d.; in the case of German books 6.50 = M. 6.50; etc. *n* = *net*. Prices quoted are usually for volumes bound in cloth in case of American and English books, in paper in the case of all others. bd = bound, pl = plates

Months: Ja, F, Mr, Ap, My, Je, Jl, Ag, S, O, N, D

PLACE OF PUBLICATION

A = Amsterdam
 Au = Augsburg
 B = Berlin
 B-BBM = Buchh. der Berliner ev. Missionsgesellschaft
 B-C = B-Calvary
 B-H = B-Haack
 B-M&M = B-Mayer & Müller
 B-R = B-Reimer
 B-R&R = B-Reuther & Reichard
 B-Sch = B-Schwetschke
 B-Wa = B-Warnecke
 B-Wei = B-Weidmann
 B-W&G = B-Wiegandt & Grieben
 Ba = Basel
 Be = Bern
 Bi = Bielefeld
 Bi-V&K = Bi-Velhagen & Klasing
 Bn = Bonn
 Bn-G = Bn-Georgi
 Bn-M = Bn-Marcus
 Bn-W = Bn-Weber
 Bo = Boston
 Bo-H, M = Bo-Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
 Bo-PP = Bo-Pilgrim Press
 Br = Breslau
 C = Cahors
 C-C = Cahors-Coueslant
 Ca = Cambridge (Engl.)
 Ca-UP = Ca-University Press
 Chi = Chicago
 Chi-R = Chi-Revell
 Cin = Cincinnati
 Dr = Dresden
 Du = Dublin
 Ed = Edinburgh
 Ed-C = Ed-T & T Clark
 Ed-O = Ed-Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier
 El = Elberfeld
 El-V&K = El-Velhagen & Klasing
 Erf = Erfurt
 Erl = Erlangen
 Erl-J = Erl-Junge
 F = Freiburg i. Br.
 F-H = F-Herder'sche Verlagsbuchh.
 F-W = F-Wagner
 F(Sch) = Freiburg in Switzerland
 Fr = Frankfurt a. M.
 Fr-K = Fr-Kauffmann
 G = Göttingen
 G-V&R = G-Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht
 Gl = Giessen
 Gl-R = Gl-Ricker'sche Buchh.
 Go = Gotha
 Go-P = Go-Perthes
 Go-Sch = Go-Schloessmann
 Gü = Gütersloh
 Gü-B = Gü-Bertelsmann
 Hd = Heidelberg
 Hd-G = Hd-Groos
 Hd-W = Hd-Winter
 Hl = Halle
 Hl-M = Hl-Mühlmann
 Hl-N = Hl-Niemeyer
 Hl-W = Hl-Buchh. d. Waisenhauses
 Hm = Hamburg
 Hm-EB = Hm-Evang. Buchh. (Verl. & Sort.)
 Hm-O = Hm-Oncken Nachf.
 Hm-RH = Hm-Raubes Haus
 Hn = Hannover

K = Königsberg
 K8 = Köln a. Rh.
 Ko-B = Kö-Bachem
 L = Leipzig
 L-B = L-Braun
 L-BeB = L-Buchh. des evgl. Bundes
 L-Br = L-Brockhaus
 L-D = L-Deichert
 L-Dd = L-Diederichs
 L-Dt = L-Dieterich
 L-D&F = L-Dörffling & Franke
 L-D&H = L-Dunker & Humblot
 L-H = L-Hiarichs
 L-T = L-Teubner
 Laus = Lausanne
 Le = Leiden
 Le-vB = Le-vormals Brill
 Lo = London
 Lo-BI = Lo-A. & C. Black
 Lo-B&O = Lo-Burns & Oates
 Lo-H&S = Lo-Hodder & Stoughton
 Lo-M = Lo-Methuen & Co.
 Lo-N = Lo-Nisbet
 Lo-P = Lo-Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.
 Lo-Sk = Lo-Skeffington & Son
 Lo-SPCK = Lo-Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
 Lo-W&N = Lo-Williams & Norgate
 M = München
 M-B = M-Beck
 Mb = Marburg
 Mb-E = Mb-Elwert
 Mh = Mannheim
 Mo = Montauban
 Mo-G = Montauban-Granié
 Mü = Münster
 Mü-A = Mü-Aschendorff
 Mü-Sch = Mü-Schöningh
 Mz = Mainz
 Mz-K = Mz-Kirchheim
 Nü = Nürnberg
 NY = New York
 NY-A = NY-Appleton
 NY-D = NY-Dodd, Mead & Co.
 NY-E&M = NY-Eaton & Mains
 NY-F&W = NY-Funck & Wagnalls
 NY-Fr = NY-Frowde
 NY-L = NY-Longmans, Green & Co.
 NY-M = NY-Macmillan
 NY-S = NY-Scribner
 NY-W = NY-Whittaker
 O = Oxford
 O-UP = Oxford-Univ. Press
 P = Paris
 P-A = P-Alcan
 P-B&B = P-Bloud & Barral
 P-F = P-Fischbacher
 P-H = P-Hachette
 P-L = P-Lecoffre
 P-Lr = P-Leroux
 P-P = P-Poussielgue
 P-R = P-Retaux
 Pa = Paderborn
 Pa-B = Pa-Bonifacius-Druckerei
 Pa-Sch = Pa-Schöningh
 Ph = Philadelphia
 Ph-ABP = Ph-Am. Bapt. Public. So.
 Reg = Regensburg
 Reg-P = Reg-Pustet
 Ro = Roma

St = Stuttgart
 St-BeG = St.-Buchh. der evgl. Gesellschaft
 St-C = St.-Cotta
 St-Fr = St.-Frommann
 Str = Strassburg
 Str-R = Str.-Le Roux
 Str-T = Str.-Trübner, K. J.
 T = Tübingen
 T-M = T-Mohr

Tr = Trier
 Tr-P = Tr.-Paulinus-Druckerei
 W = Wien
 W-G = W.-Gerold's Sohn
 We = Weimar
 Wi = Wiesbaden
 Wü = Würzburg
 Wü-G = Wü.-Göbel
 Z = Zürich

PERIODICALS AND SERIALS

- A** = Arena
AA = American Antiquarian
AB = Analecta Bollandiana
AC = L'Association catholique
ACQ = Am. Catholic Quarterly Review
AE = Archiv für Ethnographie
AE-LKZ = Allgem. Ev.-Luther. Kirchenzeitg.
AER = American Ecclesiastical Review
AGPh = Archiv f. d. Gesch. d. Philosophie
ABL = Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (Comptes rendus)
AJA = American Journal of Archaeology
AJS = American Journal of Sociology
AJSL = Am. Jour. of Semitic Lang. and Lit.
AJTh = American Journal of Theology
AkkR = Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht
ALKGMA = Archiv für Literatur u. Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters
al-M = al-Mashriq
AMZ = Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift
AO = Der alte Orient
APF = Archiv für Papyrus-Forschung
APhChr = Annales de Philosophie chrétienne
ARW = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
B = Biblia
BA = Beiträge zur Assyriologie
BAZ = Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung; München
BBK = Beiträge zur bayr. Kirchen-Gesch.
Bess = Bessarione
BFCkrTh = Beiträge z. Fördg. christl. Theologie
BG = Beweis des Glaubens
BHL = Bulletin hist. et lit. de la Société du Protestantisme français
BOR = Babylonian and Oriental Record
BiSt = Biblische Studien
BS = Bibliotheca Sacra
BSt = Bible Student
BStPh&G = Berner Studien zur Philosophie u. ihrer Geschichte
BU = Bibliothèque universelle
BW = Biblical World
BZ = Byzantinische Zeitschrift
ChOR = Charity Organization Review
ChQR = Church Quarterly Review
ChR = Charities Review
ChRK = Christliches Kunstblatt
ChRL = Christian Literature
ChrQ = Christian Quarterly
ChrW = Christliche Welt
CR = Contemporary Review
CW = Catholic World
D AZThK = Deutsch-amerikanische Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche
DEBI = Deutsch-evangelische Blätter
DPBI = Deutsches Protestantenblatt
DR = Deutsche Revue
DRu = Deutsche Rundschau
DuR = Dublin Review
DZKR = Deutsche Zeitschrift f. Kirchenrecht
EdR = Edinburgh Review
EHR = English Historical Review
EKZ = Evangelische Kirchenzeitung
EM = Evangelische Missionen
EMM = Evangelisches Missions-Magazin
Et = Etudes
ET = Expository Times
Exp = Expositor.
F = Forum
FChRL&D = Forschungen z. christl. Literatur- u. Dogmengeschichte
FEB = Flugschriften des evang. Bundes
FR = Fortnightly Review
FrKPh = Frommann's Klassiker der Philos.
GGN = Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten
GHV = Geschichtsblätter des Hugenotten-Vereins (Magdeburg-Hinrichshofen)
GPr = Gymnasialprogramm
Ge-L = Geest en Leven
Ge-V = Gelooft en Vrijheid
HChrW = Hefte zur Christlichen Welt
H/KSK = Hefte der freien kirchl.-soz. Konf.
Hk = Halte was du hast = *ZpTh*
HJb = Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft
HkAT = Handkommentar z. Alt. Test.
HN = L'Humanité nouvelle
HR = Homiletic Review
HSR = Hartford Seminary Record
HVS = Historische Vierteljahrschrift
HZ = Historische Zeitschrift
IA = Indian Antiquary
IAQR = Imperial Asiatic Quarterly Review
ID = Inaugural-Dissertation
IER = Indian Evangelical Review
IJE = International Journal of Ethics
IM = International Monthly
Ind = Independent
IT&R = International Theological Review
JA = Journal asiatique
JAOS = Journal of the Am. Oriental Society
JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature
JbPh&S = Jahrbuch für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie
JM = Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums
JQR = Jewish Quarterly Review
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JS = Journal des Savants
JThS = Journal of Theological Studies
JTVI = Jour. of Trans. of Victoria Institute
K&K = Der Katholik
KFF = Kirchliches Familienblatt
KFIW&L = Kath. Flugschriften z. Wehr u. Lehr
KH-CAT = Kurzer Hd.-Commentar z. Alt. Test.
KM = Kirchliche Monatschrift
KZ = Kyrkligt Tidskrift
KZ = Katechetische Zeitschrift
LChr = Liberté chrétienne
LChR = Lutheran Church Review
LO = Lutheran Quarterly
LOR = London Quarterly Review
M = Muséeon
Ma = Marx
MA = Mitth. or Monatsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften; z. g., Berlin, München
MCG = Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft
MGE = Mancherlei Gaben und Ein Geist
MG&K = Monatschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst
Mi = Mind
MIM = Monatschrift für innere Mission
MIÖG = Mittheilungen des Instituts f. österreichische Geschichtsforschung
MiR = Missionary Review
Mo = Monist
MR(N) = Methodist Review (North)
MR(S) = Methodist Review (South)
MSt&L = Monatschrift für Stadt und Land
MVGDB = Mitth. des Vereins für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen
M&ND = Mittheilungen und Nachrichten d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
P-V = Mittheilungen und Nachrichten für d. evangelische Kirche Russlands
M&N = Mittheilungen und Nachrichten für d. evangelische Kirche Russlands
EKR = Mittheilungen und Nachrichten für d. evangelische Kirche Russlands

- NA* = Nuova Anthologia
NADG = Neues Arch. d. Gesellsch. f. ältere deu. Gesch.
NAKG = Nederl. Archief voor Kerkgesch.
Nath = Nathanael
NC = Nineteenth Century
NCR = New Century Review
NHJb = Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher
NKZ = Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift
NTKT = Norsk Theologisk Tidsskrift
NW = New World
OC = Open Court
OLZ = Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung
OT = Ons Tijdschrift
Ow = Outlook
PBHKs = Pastoralblätter für Homiletik, Katechetik und Seelsorge
PEFQS = Palestine Exploration Fund; Quarterly Statement
PKJb = Philosophisches Jahrbuch
PKM = Philosophische Monatshefte
PKR = Philosophical Review
PQ = Presbyterian Quarterly
Pr = Protestant
PrJb = Preussische Jahrbücher
PrM = Protestantische Monatshefte
PRR = Presbyterian and Reformed Review
PSBA = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
PsSt = Psychologische Studien
QQ = Queen's Quarterly
QR = Quarterly Review
RA = Revue archéologique
RAAO = Rev. d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale
RAChr = Revue de l'Art chrétien
RAL = Rendiconti dell R. Acad. dei Lincei
RB = Revue biblique
RBd = Revue bénédictine
RChr = Revue chrétienne
RChrR = Reformed Church Review
RChrS = Revue de Christianisme sociale
RaM = Revue des deux Mondes
REJ = Revue des Etudes juives
RHE = Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique
RHLR = Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses
RHR = Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
RiCr = Rivista Cristiana
RiF = Rivista di filosofia
RMM = Revue de Métaphysique et Morale
RN-S = Revue néo-scholastique
ROChr = Revue de l'Orient chrétien
ROL = Revue de l'Orient Latin
RPh = Revue philosophique
RO = Römische Quartalschrift
ROH = Revue des Questions historiques
RS = Revue sémitique
RS&E = Revue des Sciences ecclésiastiques
RTA = Revue théologique
RTAPh = Revue de Théol. et de Philos.
RT&QR = Revue de Théol. et des Quest. relig.
SA = Sitzungsberichte d. Akad. d. Wiss.; e. g., Berlin, München, etc.
ScC = Science catholique
SGVS = Sammlung gemeinverst. Vorträge u. Schriften aus d. Gebiet der Theologie u. Religionsgeschichte
TKRG }
StGTAK = Studien z. Gesch. d. Theol. u. Kirche
StKr = Theologische Studien und Kritiken
StLKN = Stimmen uit de Luthersche Kerk in Nederland
SiML = Stimmen aus Maria-Laach
STP = Seelsorge in Theorie und Praxis
StrThSt = Strassburger Theologische Studien
StWV = Stimmen voor Waarheid en Vrede
TGTk = Tijdschrift v. geref. Theologie
TKARh = Theologische Arbeiten aus d. Rhein. wiss. Prediger-Verein
WFPV }
TKLb = Theologisches Literaturblatt
TKLs = Theologische Literaturzeitung
TKQ = Theologische Quartalschrift
TKR = Theologische Rundschau
TKSt = Theologische Studien
TKT = Theologisch Tijdschrift
TT = Teologisk Tidsskrift
T&U = Texte und Untersuchungen zur altchristlichen Literatur
T&Z = Troffel en Zwaard
UC = L'Université catholique
UPr = Universitätsprogramm
VwPh = Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie
WEB = Wartburghefte f. d. Evangel. Bund (Leipzig-Braun)
WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZAeg = Z. für ägyptische Sprache u. Altertumskunde
ZATW = Z. f. alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZChrK = Z. für christliche Kunst (Ap-Mr)
ZDMG = Z. d. Deutsch-Morgenl. Gesellsch.
ZDPV = Z. d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ZeRU = Z. f. d. evang. Religions-Unterricht
ZfChrVL = Zeitfragen für christl. Volksleben
ZKG = Z. für Kirchengeschichte
ZkTh = Z. für katholische Theologie
ZMR = Z. f. Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft
ZNTW = Z. für neutestamentl. Wissenschaft
ZpaTh = Z. für Pastoral-Theologie
ZPhKr = Z. f. Philosophie und philos. Kritik
ZPhP = Z. für Philosophie und Pädagogik
ZprTh = Z. für praktische Theologie
ZSchw = Z. für Theologie aus der Schweiz
ZThK = Z. für Theologie und Kirche
ZVThürG = Z. d. Vereins f. Thüring's Gesch.
ZwTh = Z. für wissenschaftliche Theologie

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FROM ISAIAH TO EZRA. A STUDY OF ETHANITES AND JERAHMEELITES.

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PROFESSOR TORREY'S investigation of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah is too well known to American theologians to require a recapitulation of its results in this place. Suffice it to say that some further study of Ezra and Nehemiah has served to convince me of the complexity of the critical problems before us. What I have to say now is offered with all modesty, and not as the whole of the truth which I think one may hope to arrive at, nor as either free from error or the sum-total of the results which my own methods have enabled me to attain. Nor have I the time to imitate the exhaustiveness of a doctoral dissertation; I can only indicate certain points on which my attention has been fixed, not, as I hope, without some valuable results. Working under an impulse received from Winckler, but otherwise in almost complete independence of him, I have found in numerous parts of the Old Testament traces of underlying narratives which have been, partly through corruption of the text, partly under the influence of faulty historical theories, largely transformed in early times by Hebrew narrators. A similar remark applies to parts of the prophetic writings. There is, I think, considerable evidence (but depending entirely on the soundness of my

text-critical methods²) to show that the North Arabian populations exercised a long-continued oppression on the people of the old kingdom of Judah, and from time to time carried numbers of them into captivity, and that these captivities have been confounded with the captivities which, as all agree, took place by order of the king of Babylon, and are known collectively as the Babylonian captivity. One of the names by which the people which took the lead in this oppression of the Judahites is called is Jerahmeelites, and it so happens that no name has, if I see aright, suffered so many transformations, partly by ordinary textual corruption and partly by popular distortion, as יִרְחֻמֶּאֵל "Jerahme'el." One of these transformations is כָּלֵב (Caleb); another is בָּבֶל (Babel). In Ps. 137: 1, 8, בָּבֶל should, I hold, undoubtedly be corrected into יִרְחֻמֶּאֵל; this is only one of many emendations, most of which approach certainty, which have forced themselves upon me in this psalm, and which will, as soon as opportunity allows, be printed in one or another form; similarly in Mic. 4: 10, for "thou shalt come unto Babel," I read "thou shalt come unto Jerahmeel." Now, I greatly fear that under the stories of the return of Jewish captives, first under Zerubbabel and then under Ezra, there lie narratives of the return of Jewish captives from Jerahmeel; I fear, too, that the name Zerubbabel itself, which I cannot now turn aside to criticise, has sustained a serious alteration. This was suggested to me first of all by the large number of ethnic names, belonging to the Negeb, which, under transparent disguises, appear in the lists of names in Ezra and Nehemiah. Now, of course, I allow that during the regal period, especially toward its close, the Jerahmeelite element in the population of Judah either increased very much or, at any rate, became much more prominent and influential; for this, too, can be proved from the proper names. But I own that I am startled in the highest degree by the abundance of names which, taken in groups, are not fully explicable except as disguised and distorted ethnics. Another concession I am, of course, ready to

² I cannot profess to feel any doubt as to the soundness of these methods; indeed, the important exegetical and historical results are too considerable to allow a fundamental skepticism.

make. It is quite conceivable that large numbers of the exiles carried to the Babylon on the Euphrates might be of Jerahmeelite extraction, though of Jewish nationality (if the word may for shortness be admitted). Still, a growing familiarity with the names recorded in the lists leads me to question the soundness of this explanation of the phenomena. Instead of beginning with Ezra, chap. 2, I would ask leave to turn on to Ezra, chap. 8. In vs. 15 we read that Ezra gathered together a number of priests and laymen (many belonging to families whose names have North Arabian affinities) to "the river that runs to Ahava," beside which he encamped three days, reviewing the people, and finding to his dismay that there were no "sons of Levi." So far as I am aware, no plausible explanation of **הַנָּדָר הַבָּא אֶל־אֲדוּמָא** (vs. 15) and **הַנָּדָר אֲדוּמָא** (vs. 21) has yet been offered. I take it to have come out of **הַר יִרְחֻמָּאֵל** "the mountain(s) of Jerahmeel;" **הַנָּדָר הַבָּא אֶל** and **אֲדוּמָא** represent two mutilated forms of **יִרְחֻמָּאֵל**, viz., **חַמְאֵל** and **רַחַא**. Then Ezra says that he sent for Eliezer, for Ariel, for Shemaiah, and for Elnathan, and for Jarib, and for Elnathan, and for Nathan, and for Zechariah, and for Meshullam, chief men; also for Joiarib, and for Elnathan, who were instructors; and that he gave them a charge to Iddo the chief at the place Casiphia, and put words in their mouth to say to Iddo, his brother(?), the Nethinim, at the place Casiphia, that they should bring us ministers for the house of our God (vss. 16, 17). All these names are ethnics by origin. The first, indeed, is not as transparent as the rest, but since the first Eliezer is the brother of Gershom (from the tribal name **גֵּרְשֹׁם**, **גֵּרִי**, or **גֵּרִי**), and the first Eleazar is the son of Aharon (= Jerahmeel, cf. Ahava) and Elisheba, we need not hesitate to regard the Eliezer of Ezra 8:16 as of ethnic origin. Ariel is no doubt Jerahmeel. Shemaiah comes from Shema or Sheba in the Negeb. Elnathan is a variation on Nethaniah, which is an altered form (note the reflex action of *n*) of the ethnic Ethani. Jarib and Joiarib are probably from 'Arābi. Zechariah is probably from Zarḥi. Meshullam comes either from Ishmael or (better) from Salma. **מְבַרְכִּים** should probably be **בְּנֵי־מֶן** "Benjamin;" if so, there had been a strong infusion of North Arabian blood in Benjamin.

The key to מְקוֹם שֶׁחֶם is furnished by Gen. 12:6, מְקוֹם שֶׁחֶם, commonly rendered "the place of Shechem," but really a transformation of נֶשֶׁם יִרְחֵמֶאֱל "Cusham-jerahmeel." (The underlying narratives in Genesis have sustained a very thorough transformation.) Casiphia, of which the two latest explanations are Borsippa² and Opis-Seleucia-Ctesiphon,³ is really non-existent; נֶשֶׁם יִרְחֵמֶאֱלִים = כְּסִפִּיָּהּמְקוֹם.

And now, without pausing longer on vss. 18, 19 than to point out that אִישׁ סָכַל is probably a corruption of יִשְׁ[ש]כָר (Issachar; cf. 1 Chron. 26:5), let me proceed at once to the Nethinim. The ordinary view respecting the class of persons thus designated is in accordance with the statement in vs. 20, "of the Nethinim, whom David and the princes had given for the service of the Levites;" i. e., that the Nethinim were descendants of the foreign captives of war assigned by David to the temple as *ἱερόδουλοι*⁴ (cf. Josh. 9:23, 27). And it so happens that in Ezek. 44:7 the prophet actually refers to the services of foreigners in the most sacred rites as an established custom in the temple at Jerusalem. The passage is no doubt variously explained. Robertson Smith finds a reference to the Cherethite and Pelethite janissaries;⁵ Cornill, to helots like the Gibeonites who were hewers of wood and drawers of water. It is usual to identify them with the Nethinim, though Kraetzschmar conscientiously points out that the word "Nethinim" is *not yet in use*. If all this is right, it is most extraordinary to find what an entirely new phase in the history of these *ἱερόδουλοι* comes before us in Ezra and Nehemiah. It is of their free choice that a number of "the Nethinim" join the band of exiles which goes up with Ezra to Jerusalem (Ezra 8:17), and though the Nethinim do not figure as signatories to the great "covenant" (the "singers" and "doorkeepers" are in the same position), they do join with their "brethren" in a

² HALÉVY, *Journal asiatique*, July-August, 1900.

³ WINCKLER, *Alloriental. Forschungen*, zweite Reihe, Vol. III, pp. 509 ff.

⁴ JOSEPH JACOBS' theory, *Studies in Biblical Archaeology*, 1894, pp. 114 ff., that the Nethinim were the children of the *kedeshoth* attached to the temple before the exile, is too dreadful.

⁵ *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2d ed., p. 262.

solemn oath to walk in God's law and to preserve the purity of the race (Neh. 10:28 ff.). They also have a residence in Jerusalem which serves as a well-known point in topographical descriptions (Neh. 3:31), and they share immunity from taxation with the priests and Levites (Ezra 7:24).

Now, it is not to be denied that, on the authority of Ezekiel, foreign ministrants were employed in the lower parts of the sacrificial rites. It is not, however, certain that Ezekiel really dwelt on the want of circumcision on the part of the temple assistants. Not improbably, as again and again in chap. 32, *פֶּרִי* ("uncircumcised") is a scribe's error for *יִרְחֻמֵּאֵל* (Jerahmeelite). For, though MT is confirmed by LXX, I cannot persuade myself that "uncircumcised in heart and uncircumcised in flesh" is possible as applied to these foreigners (Jer. 4:4 is plainly different). The case is by no means as clear as in chap. 32 and in other parts of the Old Testament, for applying this key to the passage involves supposing that a later editor has dealt rather freely with the corrupt text before him. But there are many proofs that later editors did often deal rather freely. "Not improbably," therefore, the true text of 44:9a is:

כֹּה אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוֹה כָּל־בֶּן־נָכַר יִרְחֻמֵּאֵל וְכָשִׁי לֹא יָבִיֵּא אֶל־
מִקְדָּשִׁי

Thus saith Adonai Yahweh, No foreigner, Jerahmeelite or Cushite, shall enter my sanctuary.

That "Jerahmeel" and "Cush" were names of tribes and districts in North Arabia, on the southern border of Palestine, I need not stay to prove. I will also add, without taking up a controversial attitude toward the friends of older theories, that the so-called Cherethites (or Carites) and Pelethites (or *רָצִים* "runners") are simply Rehobothites and Zarephathites, *i. e.*, natives (or descendants of natives) of two great centers of Jerahmeelite population—Rehoboth and Zarephath. It is very conceivable that a prophet like Ezekiel would strongly object to the practice of having a foreign bodyguard for the king and foreign slaves for the authorized native ministers of the temple. But there is a large amount of evidence from the proper names tending to show that from the very first there was a strong

Jerahmeelite element in the population of Judah (and even of Israel), and that it became more prominent and influential in Judah in the later reigns. We must, therefore, distinguish between Jewish Jerahmeelites and Jerahmeelites who remained outside the civil and religious community. And my contention is that the Nethinim were true Jewish Jerahmeelites, who had as good a right as any other families and groups on the list (see Ezra 2:58 f.; Neh. 7:60 f.) to call themselves "of Israel."

There is much of the greatest interest that might be said about Jewish Jerahmeelites, but I omit it, because I would rather confine myself to one or two definite points. The chronicler's etymology of Nethinim must unfortunately be given up; like Nathan, Nethaneel, Nethaniah, it is simply a disguise of the ethnic Ethānī. Ethan the Ezrahite, whose wisdom was surpassed by Solomon, was, of course, a Jerahmeelite (see 1 Kings 4:31 [5:11], "*bnē Mahol*" = "*bnē Jerahmeel*"). Ethan, ben Kishi or Kushaiah, who, according to 1 Chron. 6:44 [29]; 15:17, 19, was the eponym of one of the families of hereditary musicians and singers, was, as his name implies, a North Arabian Cushite. How fundamentally North Arabian by origin the Levites, as known to the chronicler, were, is apparent from their names, and though we may say "as known to the chronicler," yet we cannot doubt that throughout their history the Levite tribe was of North Arabian affinities; there is perhaps no better evidence of this than Judg., chap. 17, as soon as one's eyes are open to the perfectly regular and yet startling errors of the scribes (vs. 7 is fundamentally wrong, but the scribe kindly lets us see underneath his error).⁶

But, someone may ask, have you not forgotten the undesigned confirmation of the ordinary account of the "Nethinim" furnished by the title *בני עבדי שלמה*, which the English version naïvely renders "the children of Solomon's servants"? Whether we take as our guide Ezra 2:55 (*cf.* Neh. 11:3), where the *bnē 'abdē Šelōmōh* are distinguished from the Nethinim, or Ezra

⁶ Possibly some other opportunity may offer of discussing Judg., chaps. 17, 18, from an unfortunately rather new point of view.

2:70 (*cf.* Neh. 11:21), where "Nethinim" is used as a comprehensive title, it is plain that the *bnē 'abdē Šelōmōh* were the descendants of slaves assigned to the temple at an early pre-exilic period. So it may seem, but the easiest and simplest of the current theories require to be reëxamined in the light of a keener criticism of the text. There is good reason to think that the words עֶרֶב and עֶרְבִי, *i. e.*, "North Arabia, North Arabian," have again and again been miswritten in the Old Testament texts. עֶבֶד אֱדוֹם ('*Obed-edom*) is not "worshiper of Edom(!)," but a corruption of עֶרֶב אֱדוֹם '*Arāb-edom*, or perhaps עֶרֶב אֲרָם '*Arāb-aram* (where אֲרָם '*Aram*, as often, is a popular abbreviation and distortion of יִרְחַמְאֵל). שְׁלֻמָּה, too, has now and then been misread. One case has been noticed by Wellhausen ("the curtains of שְׁלֻמָּה," Cant. 1:5); some other cases which I could mention I reserve, and simply add that the nomad tribe שְׁלֻמִּי, connected with the Nabatæans, is represented in the Old Testament by the proper names שְׁלֻמָּה, שְׁלֻמָּא, שְׁלֻמִּי. The phrase בְּנֵי עֶרְבִי שְׁלֻמָּה should rather be בְּנֵי עֶרֶב שְׁלֻמָּה "the people of Salmæan Arabia." That the Salmæans should be merged in the Ethanites was only possible after the term אֶתְנִי had become recoined as נַחֲנִי; originally the two groups were, of course, distinct. And what were these Ethanites and Salmæans? Why, they were singers. But if I go a step farther in this direction, I shall be landed in a far-reaching discussion of the "minor psalters," and this would require a special article to itself. It is true the נְתִינִים or *ἱερόδουλοι* are separated from the "singers" (מְשֻׁרִים, *ἱεροψαλται*) in Ezra, chap. 2; Neh., chap. 7; 1 Esd., chap. 5, by the שְׁעִירִים or *θυρωροί*. But surely there is some mistake here. Were not the so-called שְׁעִירִים originally the שְׁרִירִים, *i. e.*, a division of the same class as the מְשֻׁרִים? See 1 Chron. 15:18-21, where certainly the so-called "doorkeepers" are employed in the service of song (Hamoth here is simply a corruption of נְבִלִים, *cf.* a parallel case in Ps. 26:4, and Sheminith of Sheminimoth). If the prefixed בְּנֵי makes this doubtful, we must regard שְׁעִירִים as a corrupt ethnic, perhaps אֲשֻׁרִים = גְּשֻׁרִים.

How natural it was to confound the Ethanites (Nethinim) and the *bnē 'arāb-salmah* is shown by the circumstance that in

Ezra 2:46 (= Neh. 7:48) the בני שמלי, or rather בני שלמי, are included among the נתינים (= Ethanites). Another disguise of the same ethnic seems to have been שָׁלוֹם, and this we find as a family name of the בני השערים (Ezra 2:42; Neh. 7:45; cf. Ezra 10:24).

I would now attempt to throw a little light on a mysterious passage in Neh. 3:26. Guthe's comment in the *Sacred Books of the Old Testament* (edited by Haupt) is:

The first part of this verse evidently gives a passing remark upon Ophel (cf. 11:21). But as Ophel is not mentioned before vs. 27, the remark should not come until after that. The improper place of the notice confirms the impression, made by its contents, that it was not a part of the original text. The second part of the verse, on the other hand, is the continuation of vs. 25b.

I think that I can explain the cause of the insertion of the gloss respecting the residence of the "Nethinim." In Neh. 3:25 we read that "Palal, ben Uzai, [repaired] over against the corner of the town which juts out from the upper בית המלך, (and) which belongs to the court of the prison." This בית המלך is explained by Bertheau-Ryssel as not the house in which the king lived (or formerly lived), but a government building close to the area of the temple. I incline to doubt this. As not infrequently, המלך seems to be here a corruption of ירחמאל. Now, the Ethanites, as we have seen, were Jerahmeelites. In vs. 31 we are told that "Malchiah" (= Jerahmeel), בן־הַצִּרְפִּי, repaired עֲד־בֵּית הַנְּתִינִים וְהַרְכָּלִים וְהַרְכָּלִים. What is the meaning of הַצִּרְפִּי and הַרְכָּלִים? Our books find no difficulty. One who is בן הַצִּרְפִּי is a member of the guild of goldsmiths (Perles, however,⁸ money-changers), and the רַכָּלִים are the merchants. I am afraid this is not right. הַצִּרְפִּי is a corruption of צִרְפָּתִי or צִרְפָּתִים "Zarephathite," "Zarephathites," and רַכָּלִים of ירחמאלים "Jerahmeelites." In vs. 31 "Ethanites" (Nethinim!) and "Jerahmeelites" (roḥēlīm) are synonymous terms. The gloss in vs. 26 communicates the information that the Ethanites (or Jerahmeelites) dwelt in Ophel. Whether this gloss is accurate or not, as applied to "the upper house of the Jerahmeelites," is not my concern. I

⁷ The final ה is purely an affirmative; מלכי is a mutilated and corrupt form of ירחמאלי.

⁸ *Analekten zur Textkritik des Alten Testaments*, 1895, p. 70.

have only sought to explain how and why it came to be inserted (in the margin).

Close by Malchiah, the so-called "goldsmith's son," but rather the "Zarephathite," I find several other interesting names, and among them שכניה. This is commonly explained "neighbor of Yahweh," or "Yahweh dwells [with us];" Nestle, however, suspects that it is a synonym of נתניה "Yahweh has given(?)." I fear neither view will hold its ground. So many of the names in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah are ethnics that we can hardly interpret שכניה (= שבניה, Neh. 12:13) differently. Most probably it has arisen by transposition of letters out of כְּשָׁנִי "Cushan," which in Hab. 3:7 (emended text) is parallel to On (a district in the Negeb, as several names suggest) and Mišsur (*i. e.*, Winckler's North Arabian land of Muşri); it is no doubt the North Arabian Cush, which, together with Muşri, according to Winckler, formed the region called Meluhha. At what date Shemaiah's family came from Cush or Cushan is not a question that we can answer. Suffice it that Shemaiah, whose own name suggests a family connection with Shema = Sheba = Beer-sheba(?), was one of the many Jews accepted in the late period as "of Israel," and yet of North Arabian affinities.

There were Jerahmeelites and Jerahmeelites, and so there were Cushites and Cushites. From the very first Israel felt at once an attraction toward and a repulsion from the Jerahmeelites. It was a widespread race, and the branches of the race had different sympathies and even occupations (*e. g.*, "Amalekites" is but a disguise of "Jerahmeelites"). Amos (9:7) shows no friendliness toward the Cushites, and the great Isaiah directs his one personal invective against a Cushite.

Is this really so? it may be asked. It is so, indeed, if I may be allowed to speak quite frankly, and may be excused for affecting to think that textual criticism is now in the same stage as it was twenty years ago. The passage I now turn to is one which has furnished the theme of a long, learned, and authoritative article by that much-respected veteran, Professor Kamp-hausen, of Bonn. I have not the time to follow the somewhat trying example which he has set. I cannot give the respectful

mention which is due to the printed opinions of fellow-scholars. The editors, however, have asked me to send what I can, and they well know that this is not the measure of what I would. I must, therefore, reluctantly seem to be much more self-centered than I really am. It would be a sincere pleasure to me to exchange views on paper with older or younger colleagues (alas! there are few of the older ones left), but I have not much more free time. I have read Professor Kamphausen's article,⁹ but the only point on which he (and Dillmann-Kittel) has convinced me relates to the inferred exile of "Shebna," which it is certainly easier to ascribe to the will of Hezekiah than to that of an Assyrian king. Looking at the whole passage (Isa. 22: 15-18) I am more struck than ever with its difficulty, and I am confident that the only remedy is the application of those text-critical methods which have already (if I may be allowed to say so) cleared up with a near approximation to certainty not a few "hopelessly (!) corrupt" passages. The meaning of the name שבנא, however, need not any longer perplex us. The key to it (and to the names שבנייה and שכנייה) is to be found in the phrase אל-הסכן הזה, upon which אל-שבנא אשר על-הבית [אל] is a gloss; more strictly, however, the gloss relates to the word which probably underlies הסכן, *i. e.*, we must correct הסכן into הפשני "(this) Cushanite." The glossator identifies the arrogant North Arabian politician, who had presumed to consider himself a fixture in Jerusalem, with שבנא or שבנה (2 Kings 18: 18, 26), who is elsewhere, in a famous narrative, called הפסר (E. V., "the scribe"). My conjecture is that this North Arabian had come to Jerusalem in consequence of an embassy which Hezekiah appears to have sent to Pir'u, king of Muşri in North Arabia, to whom Ḥanunu, king of Gaza, had fled for refuge¹⁰ (*Pir'u šar Muşuri*, in Sargon's Khorsabad inscription, l. 27; *cf.* Winckler's "Muşri, Meluḥḥa, Ma'in" in *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*). He was known to Isaiah as "this Cushanite," who was perpetually advocating a close alliance with מצרים, contrary to the spirit of Yahweh's religion, and without seeking

⁹ "Isaiah's Prophecy against the Major Domo," in *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY*, January, 1901.

¹⁰ *Cf.* *Isaiah* (Hebrew text, with notes) in *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, p. 102,

Isaiah's counsel. Probably, however, he bore the name of שכני or שבנא among the people of Jerusalem at large; שבנא is a mutilation of the latter form. He was probably also known as הצרפתי "the Zarephathite;" i. e., "Zarephath which belongs to Miššur" (in 1 Kings 17:9 read צרפחה אשר למצור) was his North Arabian home. When the narrative in 2 Kings 18:17 ff. (= Isa. 36:2 ff.) was composed, it was still remembered that three Judahite statesmen had been prominent in the great crisis of affairs; they were known as Eliakim ben Hilkiah, Shebna(?) הצרפי, and Joah ben Asaph. The word הצרפי "the Zarephathite" (cf. Neh. 3:31, referred to above), however, had become corrupted into הוספי, just as in Neh. 7:57 צרפת has become corrupted into ספרית (but Ezra 2:55, הספרית). It was therefore assumed that Shebna(?) had held the office of "scribe" or "secretary," whereas really, as the gloss in Isa. 22:15 states, he had been "steward of the palace."

Isaiah denounces "this Cushanite," for so he persists in calling the intruder, as he denounced the native politicians who had advocated an alliance with מצרים. The passage seems to be alluded to in Ps. 52, where, in my opinion, it is *not* a native Jewish tyrant who is referred to, and where in like manner the offender is threatened with violent removal. I cannot, however, now satisfy myself that the words in Isa. 22:17, 18 between מטלטלך and ידים are correct; the phraseology, as commonly explained (and I know of no better explanation), is most improbable. Marti only questions the words between גבר and צנפה, but this, it seems to me, is too moderate. Far be it from me to say that the passage can be restored with certainty, but experience of the ways of the scribes leads me to suspect that either מטלטלך or טלטלה covers over ירחמאל, and I am confirmed in this view by the discovery (as I think it) of ירחמאל in Ps. 52:36 (underneath חסד אל). I think, too, that גבר ועטף עטה is also probably an editorial attempt to make sure of another corruption (partly characterized by dittography) of ירחמאל. In vs. 18 I also suspect corruptions of the same much misunderstood and misread word in the enigmatical כדור and in רחבת ידים; the latter phrase is especially suggestive of an original

יִרְחַמֵּאל. As to צִנּוּךְ יִצְפָּנָה, I think that the scribe had before him only one word, and that, not understanding it, he has written it in three forms. That word was probably צִפְנָה. There is considerable probability in the view that צָפוֹן (*Sāfōn*) or צָפָן (*Sāfān*) was the name of a district in the Negeb, whence the clan-name צַפְנִי (*cf.* Joel 2 : 20 הַצִּפְּנִי, *i. e.*, perhaps "the North Arabian invader"), which became צַפְנִידָה. There are also several passages where צָפוֹן is generally rendered "north," but should not improbably be treated as the name of a district. טֶפֶן, too, I take to be, not = "rock-badger" (alas for totemism!), but a modification of צָפָן. I would therefore, hesitatingly, read vss. 17, 18 thus:

הִנֵּה יְהוָה מְטִילָךְ יִרְחַמֵּאל צַפְנָה אֶל-אֶרֶץ יִרְחַמֵּאל שָׁמָּה תָמוּת
וְשָׁמָּה קְבִירְךָ קְלוֹן בֵּית אֱלֹהֶיךָ :

Behold, Yahweh is about to hurl thee, O Jerahmeel, to Sāfōn, to the land of Jerahmeel. There shalt thou die, and there shall be thy glorious sepulcher, thou shame of thy master's house.

It will be seen that I have emended מְרִכְבוֹת "chariots (of)" into קְבִירְךָ "sepulcher (of)." The gain seems to me manifest. I have no right to burden Isaiah with the imputation which the common explanation implies.

Such is all that I have to say at present on the numerous difficult passages referred to. The editors' hospitality encourages me to hope that readers will at least try to go some way with me, and that they will at any rate not extend to me the treatment which I have had from some critical daws in England. It is hard for anyone to escape making mistakes, but critics too often miss their chief function, which is to appreciate, and not to depreciate, new truth. From a diametrically opposite point of view, critics cannot, of course, help using damnatory language, but the wise critic is he who can quickly enlarge his point of view, and easily assimilate new elements, new facts. The tradition which has come down to us has already been tried and found wanting in so many points that we need not be surprised at the discovery that much more of it is due to arbitrary conjectures of the ancients than we had supposed.

SOME LIGHTS ON THE BRITISH IDEALISTIC MOVEMENT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

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IN a review of the late Dr. John Caird's *Fundamental Ideas of Christianity*, contributed to a former issue of this JOURNAL (April, 1900), a promise was made to consider at greater length the movement represented chiefly by this author and by his brother, Dr. Edward Caird, his associate for twenty-eight years on the staff of the University of Glasgow. At the outset, I recognize fully the tendency of the pupil to idealize masters who swayed him during his most plastic period, and to exaggerate their influence, in so far, at all events, as concerns its extension beyond the circle of those with whom they came into intimate contact. But forewarned is forearmed; and accordingly, by way of reinforcing my own judgment, I cite two unprejudiced witnesses. In a leading article, printed the week after John Caird's death, the London *Spectator*, a paper little given to undue enthusiasm and critical in its attitude toward the Scoto-Oxonian idealism, commented as follows:

While the civilized world resounds with the news of the death of Bismarck, the passing away almost at the same time of Principal Caird is comparatively unnoticed, and yet it may well be doubted whether the actual positive influence on mankind of the great statesman was so potent as the Scottish divine. The work and career of a statesman are constantly blazoned before the eyes of all men; the thinker works in his study unseen; and so, while all the world is talking of Bismarck, only a few are talking of the late Dr. Caird, whose mind was nevertheless engrossed in the highest themes to which mankind can address itself. *Scotland has been more obviously influenced in her thought by the Cairds than has any other country of our time by any two men, or than has Scotland herself during the present century by any other thinker.*¹ Chalmers produced a great influence in Scotland, but not as a thinker; for, organizer, reformer, statesman, as he was, Chalmers was not a great thinker. The Cairds, on the contrary, have been perhaps the most striking intellects Scotland has brought forth in our century—striking, we mean, as regards

¹ The italics are mine.

speculative thought. The more powerful thinker of the two, Dr. Edward Caird, successor of Jowett at Balliol, happily survives his less original, but still finely endowed, brother. His examination of the Kantian philosophy is one of the two or three original philosophical works that Great Britain has given to the world during the latter half of this century. It is a work which, regarded from the side of critical analysis or of a suggested constructive metaphysic, is worthy to stand in the front rank of all but the very foremost treatises on philosophy. To John Caird, however, the problem of philosophy was more urgent from another aspect. To his mind the fundamental problem was to relate philosophic thinking to religion, and especially to Christianity.

More recently,² in a review of John Caird's *Fundamental Ideas of Christianity*, with its accompanying "Memoir" of the author by Dr. Edward Caird, Professor Iverach, of Aberdeen, to whom the Glasgow group has always been under a certain suspicion, writes thus:

A book which unites these distinguished brothers and places them once more side by side, though death rolls between, must be a welcome book to all who have felt their influence. What student of philosophy is there that has not fallen under their influence?³ Nay, whether students of philosophy

² *The Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature*, March, 1900, pp. 146 ff.

³ It would occupy too much space to give anything in the nature of a detailed list of the authors and teachers (with their works) who have been influenced, positively or negatively, by this movement, or who have contributed to its extension. The following selection contains, possibly, the most prominent men and, although far from complete, may serve to illustrate at once the strength and the extent of the movement: I. In philosophy: (1) The Scottish (chiefly Glasgow) and the Anglo-Scottish (chiefly Oxford) groups: the late Professors T. H. Green and William Wallace, the late Rev. Edwin Wallace, Arnold Toynbee, and R. L. Nettleship—all at Oxford; the late B. F. C. Costelloe (Glasgow and Oxford); Professors Edward Caird, A. C. Bradley, John MacCunn (Liverpool)—all at Glasgow and Oxford; Professors Adamson, Jones, and Smart—all at Glasgow; Professors Muirhead (Birmingham) and Ker (London)—both at Glasgow and Oxford; Professors Ritchie (St. Andrews) and Sorley (Aberdeen, now Cambridge); Professor Mackenzie (Cardiff)—Glasgow and Cambridge; Professors A. S. Pringle-Pattison (Edinburgh) and S. Alexander (Manchester); Messrs. B. Bosanquet, F. H. Bradley, L. T. Hobhouse, R. B. Haldane, W. H. Fairbrother—all at Oxford; Messrs. John Adams, W. A. Watt, and W. S. M'Kechie—all at Glasgow; Mr. J. Ellis McTaggart (Cambridge); Professors M. W. M'Callum and F. Anderson (Glasgow and University of Sydney, N. S. W.). (2) The Scoto-American group: the late Professors G. S. Morris (University of Michigan) and J. G. A. Dow (Glasgow and University of South Dakota); Dr. W. T. Harris and his associates in the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*; Professors John Watson and J. Cappon (Glasgow and Queen's University, Canada); Professor Dyde (Queen's

or not, few men of our generation have escaped their influence. It has spread far and wide, has permeated art, science, literature, and theology. Owing very much to them, idealism has become the dominant philosophy in England, Scotland, and America. When they began their work, it needed courage for a man to profess to be an idealist, now it takes some courage to profess anything else. Idealism has captured most of the philosophic chairs in our Scottish universities, and its familiar phraseology is heard in our sermons.

The landmarks of the movement ought to be mentioned, for dates are not unimportant. As noted already, Dr. James Hutchison Stirling (*The Secret of Hegel*, 1865) was the pioneer, although James Frederick Ferrier, professor of moral philosophy at St. Andrews (1845-64), merits mention; for had he been spared, possibly had he received a chair in the larger University of Edinburgh, he would certainly have given new direction to

University, Canada); Professors Howison (California), Royce (Harvard), Sterrett (Washington), Dewey (Chicago), Seth and Schurman (Edinburgh and Cornell), McGilivray (Cornell), Mèzes (Texas), Caldwell (Edinburgh and Northwestern), Smith (Edinburgh and Lake Forest). II. In theology: The philosophico-theological group (chiefly Glasgow): the late Principal Caird; the late Rev. Drs. W. Mackintosh and E. B. Spiers; Professors J. Orr (Glasgow), Allan Menzies and John Herkless (St. Andrews), J. Patrick (Edinburgh), R. Mackintosh (Manchester), James Denney (Glasgow), T. B. Kilpatrick (Winnipeg, Manitoba); Principal Patrick (Winnipeg); Rev. Drs. G. Matheson (Edinburgh), C. Campbell (Dundee), J. Lindsay (Kilmarnock), J. Kidd (Glasgow), F. Ferguson (Glasgow), and D. W. Forrest (Skelmorlie); Rev. Messrs. A. Robinson (Crieff) and Garvie (Montrose)—all the foregoing being Glasgow graduates; Principal Fairbairn (Mansfield College, Oxford), Rev. C. F. D'Arcy (Dublin), the *Lux Mundi* men. It is to be remembered of course, that many of my friends and acquaintances just mentioned—and doubtless the same holds of others unknown to me personally—would, like myself, refuse to be ticketed as members of "a school." But that one and all have been affected by the tendencies represented cannot be denied. It may be of interest to note here, further, the following passage from Professor A. Campbell Fraser's *Thomas Reid* (in the "Famous Scots" series): "Glasgow is in fact associated with almost all the names that adorn the literature of philosophy in Scotland in the last century and in this" (p. 74). (Hume is the great exception.) Witness Gerschom Carmichael, Francis Hutcheson, George Jardine, Archibald Alison, Adam Smith, Thomas Reid, Francis Jeffrey, John Gibson Lockhart, James Mylne, Dugald Stewart, "Christopher North," Sir William Hamilton, W. G. Sellar, Sir Alexander Grant, John Muir, John Veitch, James McCosh, Henry Calderwood, John Nichol, William Cunningham, Robert Flint, and Professor Fraser himself—all of whom either studied or taught at the University of Glasgow; and now this widespread idealistic movement. It is noteworthy, finally, that the earliest protagonist of this movement, the eminent Dr. James Hutchison Stirling (*The Secret of Hegel*, 1865), is also a student of Glasgow origin.

Scottish philosophical teaching.⁴ In 1866 Dr. Edward Caird assumed the professorship of moral philosophy at Glasgow, and thus began his intimate association with his brother John, who had been elected professor of divinity in 1861, and who became principal in 1873. From this period onward we must find the chief events in the publication of books. Of these the most notable are probably as follows: Wallace's *The Logic of Hegel*, translated from the "Encyclopædia of the Philosophical Sciences," with *Prolegomena* (1874); Edward Caird's *A Critical Account of the Philosophy of Kant, with an Historical Introduction* (1877); Green's "Introduction" to his edition of Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* (1878); Adamson's "Shaw Lectures" *On the Philosophy of Kant* (1879); John Caird's *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion* (1880); Watson's *Kant and His English Critics* (1881), important because the first work of the second generation, so to speak—the generation of pupils, to attract widespread attention; Green's *Prolegomena to Ethics* (1883), notable, not only in itself, but because it strikes the "ethics without dogma or theology" note so strongly repeated later by a group of the younger men. These were followed by a flood of works which testified to the force of the movement, and to the skill and influence of its leaders in their capacity as teachers. Here we have the books of the discipleship period, which seems to be on the wane today. It may be added in passing that the earliest signs of a similar tendency in the United States date from the inception of the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* (1867), and from the late C. C. Everett's *Science of Thought* (1869).

In theology the symptoms were more sporadic, mainly because all teachers of this subject occupying positions of prestige in Great Britain were, and still are, bound by the confessional restrictions imposed by the national churches of England and Scotland.⁵ The following extracts from a prospectus prefixed to the first volume of the English translation of Keim's *History of Jesus of Nazara* (1873) show how the wind was blowing:

⁴ Ferrier's visit to Germany fell in 1834, when he undoubtedly became acquainted with the Hegelian system.

⁵ The institution of the "Gifford Lectureships" at the four Scottish universities has done something to relieve this situation.

A good deal has been already effected in the way of translating foreign theological literature, a series of works from the pens of Hengstenberg, Haevernick, Delitzsch, Keil, and others of the same school, having of late years been published in English, but, as the names of the authors just mentioned will at once suggest to those conversant with the subject, the tendency of these works is for the most part conservative. It is a theological literature of a more independent character, less biassed by dogmatical prepossessions, a literature which is represented by such works as those of Ewald, Hupfeld, F. C. Baur, Zeller, Rothe, Keim, Schrader, Hausrath, Nöldeke, Pfeiderer, etc., in Germany, and by those of Kuenen, Scholten, and others, in Holland, that it is desirable to render accessible to English readers who are not familiar with the languages of the continent. The demand for works of this description is not yet so widely extended among either the clergy or the laity of Great Britain as to render it practicable for publishers to bring them out in any considerable numbers at their own risk.

Among the signatories of this significant document are: Tulloch, Jowett, Stanley, Samuel Davidson, Martineau, John Caird, Edward Caird, Sidgwick, Kegan Paul, Robert Wallace, Lewis Campbell, Cheyne, and John Muir, the orientalist, to whom the project was indebted materially for financial support. *Scotch Sermons* (1880) may be taken, along with Service's *Salvation Here and Hereafter* (1877),⁶ as additional indications. I am inclined to think it very probable that the tendency toward historical, as contrasted with dogmatic, theology, characteristic of the nineteenth century after Schleiermacher, is accountable for that absence of system which marks the theological aspects of the movement under consideration, and renders it so much easier to trace them rather in a "climate of opinion" than in any articulated body of doctrine. Regarded from this point of view, it might be said that the theologians preceded the philosophers; for it is necessary to recall Jowett's *Epistles of St. Paul* (1855) and the prophetic *Essays and Reviews* (1860). Further, I incline to think that the desiderated theological synthesis will never be forthcoming, either in Great Britain or in the United States, from followers of the idealistic school. There are respects in which theology must always wait upon philosophy, and the new metaphysics, whatever they may owe to the Scoto-Oxonian-St. Louis groups, are likely to be more radical (and constructive)

⁶See my article in the *New World*, September, 1897.

than anything the Hegelian purview has contained. Indeed, the Master of Balliol himself hinted at this when, in the "Memoir" of his brother, he wrote:

Perhaps he did not realize—I say this only to indicate a difference between us which was never completely settled in all our discussions—how great must be the transformation of the creed of Christendom before, in the language of Goethe's well-known tale, the hut of the fisherman can be transformed into the altar of the great Temple of Humanity.⁷

Twenty years ago, when criticism of the theories attributed to the idealists, neo-Hegelians, or neo-Kantians—names are misleading in the connection—began to become increasingly insistent, the period requisite to the adjustment of perspective had not elapsed. Accordingly, the half-truth of epigram often elbowed out the whole truth of independent appreciation. Hegel's system was stigmatized a "quarry for fallacies;" folk winked as they passed the *mot*, "German philosophers when they die go to Oxford;" Dr. Stirling was alleged to have "kept the secret of Hegel through two thick volumes;" the "union of contradictories," judged according to the strictest letter of the old logical laws, became a fruitful subject for stinging pleasant-ries—"the true maxim is, not die to live, but die to live;" similarly, on eminent authority, "Scotland had taken to wearing Germany's cast-off clothing." Today criticism is more serious, because more fundamental; your Hegelian cannot afford to smile his opponents down any longer. If you call him a disciple, he inclines to lose his temper—never, by the way, too well controlled in some cases. At the outset, then, it is indispensable to come to some sort of understanding in respect of all that the school has accomplished. For, whether we care to admit it or not, the facts are that idealism found British (and American) thought in a definite condition, and has effected a real transformation during the past forty years. In strict fairness no less can be urged. Some attention must be given, therefore, to the situation upon which "neo-Hegelianism" burst.

If we turn to American colleges as they were in the sixties and early seventies, a curious spectacle salutes us. Philosophy

⁷ *The Fundamental Ideas of Christianity* (Introduction, p. lxvii).

as now understood, at least in the great universities, hardly existed, while, so far as any unified body of opinion was concerned, the Scottish common-sense school held the field, broken here and there by dogmatic vagaries traceable to denominational pressure.⁸ As we are to be concerned here with British thought chiefly, no more than this need be said.

Crossing the water, the observer finds an analogous disposition; one, however, marked by wide contrasts in detail, particularly as concerns denominational influences. A personal reminiscence may serve to elucidate this. I recall that about the year 1879 one of the most eminent of living British thinkers asked me this question: "What are you young men reading; who influences you most?" After a little reflection, I replied that the members of my circle owed most to Darwin. I then inquired: "Where were you and your contemporaries obtaining inspiration twenty-five years ago?" He replied instantly: "Carlyle." At the time when this conversation took place it might have been misinterpreted very easily. Looking back upon it from the vantage of the twentieth century, the possibility of misreading has nigh vanished. The interpretation is simple, and a good deal can be gleaned from the process.

When Carlyle began to exercise vital sway over the youth, what was afoot in the intellectual centers of England and Scotland, of the latter especially, because in the mass Scotland is more intellectually inclined than her neighbor? A superficial examination results in a curious paradox. While science had become international, French, British, and Germans vying with, and consciously reacting upon, each other, reflection had remained strangely insular. For, although the thought of eighteenth-century France found expression in Hume and Adam Smith as distinctly as in Voltaire and Rousseau, its fundamental principles served but to confirm the "British tradition" from Locke on. Things seen are eternal, things unseen are exceeding problematical, possibly non-existent. In a word, even the orthodox dealt with the spiritual as if it were material or, at best,

⁸ An anthology of the text-books of the time is significant, and not devoid of amusement.

sensational. Curious as the situation may appear, it is quite clear now that the deists and their clerical foes fell back on identical first principles. And, thanks to the long-drawn-out domination of "natural theology" among the English-speaking peoples, the deistic attitude maintained itself far into the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the paradox just noted fades into thin air when we recall that Paley, the *Bridgewater Treatises* men, and all the lesser lights whom they represented, were completely innocent of Kant, much more of Hegel; even Spinoza they knew for nothing but an unsanctified blasphemer. Hutton and Playfair, Sedgwick and Lyell, Murchison and Hugh Miller had indeed begun to apply the conception of development to the life-history of our planet, but for long the seductive idea of successive "catastrophes," with its plain corollary of successive "creations," served to conceal or disguise the ultimate import of the new standpoint. The time occupied by the fact, not the fact itself, attracted adverse attention. Moreover, as has so often been the case in Britain, much of the best intellect found sufficient outlet in practical politics and in administration. Brougham, Jeffrey, Cockburn, Horner, Petty, Lord John Russell here met more than enough to enlist their energies. Further, in ecclesiastical circles, the rising evangelical party was replacing the deistic quasi-Calvinism of the Moderates, replacing, that is, a force which had always made for liberty of thought by another, in compacted theory and in first principles, reactionary, and this only. Even the Oxford movement, the Anglican contemporary of the Scottish evangelical revival, although not reactionary necessarily, offered nothing constructive in the direction of philosophical theory; even if it sufficed, as it did, to render men restive under the barrenness and superficiality of current conceptions. Individualism still maintained its pristine vitality, despite the rule of the Tories (political mediævalists) under Wellington. Indeed, the memorable legislative reforms, falling between 1832 and 1846, owe their being to this tendency. Yet, by 1832 anything in the nature of the Manchester school had already become a mere tradition with constructive German thinkers,⁹

⁹J. G. FICHTE, *Der geschlossene Handelsstaat* — the foreword of the socialistic and "social ethics" movement — dates from 1800.

even although it was paving the way for the rule of the English *bourgeoisie*, and gifting the "middle classes" a series of simple categories whereby they could regulate their lives, their politics, and, worse luck, their theology and philosophy. The alliance between the Manchester school, the Liberal party, and English associationism (in ethics, utilitarianism) resulted, so far as philosophical principles were concerned, in the domination of the eighteenth-century mechanical view of things spiritual, which, by the way, the Anglo-Saxon folk retain in large part to this good hour, as we cannot too often call to mind. And as the orthodox, albeit unconsciously, held by the same ultimate principles, they remained unchallenged to all intents and purposes till Carlyle's appearance. There is no god but Gladstone, and John Stuart Mill is his prophet—truly an amazing creed two generations after the *Critique of Pure Reason*, a quarter of a century after Hegel's *Rechtsphilosophie*. What matter if, as befitted, this deity were of character incalculably more complex than his prophet; he must, as always, speak to the "intelligence" of the people through the man, whose *simplicitas*, rendered *sancta* by Gladstonian benison, could be at once understood and have free course. No doubt, Newmans and Rossettis and Brownings and Holman Hunts had ventured to show their faces—but *pour rire* or, as it was oftener, to be blackguarded roundly. Not this man, but Barabbas! Their time had not yet come. Nevertheless, astonished as we may well be today when we come to face the facts, what else could one expect from a community in whose chief center of intellectual prestige a Mansel was acclaimed savior of the situation? A strenuous, but cramped generation, it accomplished much for justice as against privilege, but it paid the price, in effecting naught for spiritual insight as against analytic understanding. The children of this world overcame the children of light and held them in durance vile. So much so that we who live in another atmosphere find it far more difficult to rethink the conditions incident to this age than to enter into sympathy with those characteristic of the "Revival of Letters," or to discover near affinities in the spacious conceptions of the Athenian sages. For criticism is destructive, disintegrating

no longer; it must be appreciative, constructive; the historical method has left us no talents to roll up in a napkin and to bury; we are enjoined to put them out to usury, induced often, in spite of our Anglo-Saxon "self-help." Tradition with its mechanical categories happens to be at such a discount that we are nigh unable to comprehend a tithe of all it meant when the "Great White Queen" stepped to the British throne. It remains to attempt a vague realization of this social consciousness by condescending upon some few particulars.

In Scotland particularly politico-ecclesiastical questions were uppermost in men's minds. The methods used to prevent Ferrier's election (1856) to the chair of logic and metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh are still in vogue, unhappily—they have been employed twice within the last few years; but no one would now dare to beat the drum ecclesiastic in face of the public. The idea that a thinker is to be bound beforehand to teach a certain kind of philosophy, the more milk and water the better, is now as dead as the notion that a chemist must inculcate phlogiston or a physicist the conception of a first cause "eminently acquainted with the problems of geometry." But what might be expected from an environment in which, eight years later than the Ferrier *fama*, a prominent leader of the Free Church was voted down for a professorship by the presbytery of Edinburgh because, forsooth, he had suggested that other forms of church government than the one favored by his own little communion might possess good points? This, when Lyell and Darwin and "George Eliot" had done some of their most significant work, and had raised problems connected with life and mind destined to alter the entire outlook upon the meaning of the universe! As was well said at the time in the columns of the leading Scottish newspaper: "There is here another proof of a fact we have long known and felt, that with many people the chief of heresies is toleration; and that, though there are many sins, the greatest of these is charity." Even within the Church of Scotland, where a liberalizing party was surely, if slowly, raising its head, endless time was devoted to puerile discussion about the use of organs in public worship,

read prayers, and the like; while the proposal to relieve the laity, called to serve in the eldership, from the obligation of subscribing the Westminster Confession raised a tempest. What are we to think of the state of mind whence the following emerged so late as 1864? "Heresy is creeping in through very narrow meshes. We have the poison of the *Essays and Reviews* creeping in through the veins of the talented, the philosophical, and the learned; we have the false arithmetic of Colenso making the books of Moses a cunningly devised fable; we have Renan's *History of Christ*, in which our Savior is painted in terms so beautiful as to make him a moon-eyed enthusiast and an unworthy impostor. Are these the times in which we are to remove the landmarks of our fathers?" Yes, "the landmarks of our fathers"—dualism, mechanism, supernaturalism, and similar assorted superstitions or ignorances—were the themes that interested. "Poison creeping in" from the present archbishop of Canterbury, from the greatest force for educational progress nineteenth-century Oxford saw, from Baden Powell, or from H. B. Wilson, is supremely amusing as things stand now; and poor Colenso's arithmetic would but ill bear comparison, in its influence on ideas of Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, with much taught as commonplace today in our most obscurantist seminaries of theology. What kind of people were they, one of whose most sainted church leaders could say publicly, without provoking the ghost of a smile, and speaking of the American Civil War, "God has begun to ride his bloody circuit, and the cup of judgment is to go round"? Small wonder that the most approved works of this period, dealing with moral and spiritual problems, abound in pitiful banalities. Gross anthropomorphism, extending even to minor details, marks too often the prevalent ideas about deity; Jesus frequently appears as a strictly official personage, whose office seems to have been to overturn the foundations of morality by some extramundane hocus-pocus. "He came as their substitute, to answer for transgressors; to take upon his own head their guilt and doom, that a righteous sentence of legal and judicial acquittal may, by the Father's grace, be freely theirs." The ethical conceptions, so conspicuous

today, and saddling man the individual with responsibility for coöperation with God, have not dawned. The realm of nature is burked or flouted with curious frequency, and authoritative books, when secular, receive nauseous praise or unmitigated condemnation, both flowing from preconceived dogmas; when sacred, are twisted to bolster up mediæval propositions, and this in a manner utterly devoid of historical proportion. The questions, What is nature? and, How did these books come to be written at all? never occur. In short, the historical and comparative methods, like the idea of development, are conspicuous by their absence. Dualism reigns everywhere. God *versus* the world, conventional saint *versus* conventional sinner, natural *versus* revealed theology, spirit *versus* nature, the law *versus* grace—all the old, familiar contradictions serve to generate all the old, familiar puzzles; oppositions that are no oppositions shoot forth problems that are no problems.

And when at length construction begins—as, for example, with Darwin—the insensate attacks of “creationists” reveal the same lack of insight, of the cosmic sense. There is no feeling for the things which cannot be shaken. Lyell, then Colenso, then Darwin evoke a crescendo of abuse which, at this date, not merely raises a laugh, but calls forth pity, if not scorn, for its blind authors. People had learned nothing, had forgotten nothing. “If the development theory of the origin of man shall, in a little while, take the place—as it doubtless will—with other exploded scientific speculations, then they who accept it with its proper logical consequences will, in the life to come, have their portion with those who in this life ‘know not God and obey not the gospel of his Son.’” America is responsible for this vapid vaticination. It is a “brutal philosophy, to wit, there is no God, and the ape is our Adam;” “the principle of natural selection is absolutely incompatible with the word of God;” “it contradicts the revealed relations of the creation to its Creator;” “a huge imposture, doing away with all idea of God, turning the Creator out of doors”—these are some stray antiques gleaned from this period, near in time, but immeasurably distant in habits of thought. For they betray an incompetence to

grasp the organic view which we, who are permeated by it, can hardly credit. And the point is that we cannot give their due to the English-speaking idealists till we call to mind that it was upon such a world they intruded. In the main, this was what they found. Our further task must be to see what they taught and what they have bequeathed.

To begin with, the history of the course of the movement merits notice. The direction it took, as I have tried to show briefly in another place and connection,¹⁰ is by no means parallel to that followed in Germany, as Professor Otto Pfeiderer suggested.¹¹ There was a long period of incubation, during which, strange as it may seem today, the great *systems* of the Kantian school, in their fundamental implications, attracted and received little notice. Possibly this may be traceable to the fact that the German language had not diffused itself widely in Britain, and the rage for translation lay still in the future. In any case, although Coleridge had studied Lessing and Jacobi, Kant and Schelling, he obtained no more than a general point of view. In a single instance, perhaps, he did light on something deeper, for the Kantian distinction between *Verstand* and *Vernunft* took strong hold on his imagination. Yet neither he nor De Quincey put forth the effort requisite to mastery over Kant. And there is no evidence that the poet discovered more in Schelling than the outpourings of a sympathetic genius. Carlyle reached, the case becomes even more striking. His equipment, vastly superior to that of his predecessors, might have resulted in a veritable transfusion of the Herder-to-Hegel intellectual temperament. We know that it did nothing of the kind. For Carlyle, thanks to the imperious demands of the interests that lent him character, neither stayed to probe the roots of idealism in Kant, nor proceeded to think through the constructive expression in Hegel. He began and ended midmost—with Goethe and Fichte. For the rest, he conquered by the inward passion of his own towering personality. Accordingly, ere idealism came to capture the

¹⁰ *International Journal of Ethics*, April, 1892, p. 401.

¹¹ *Development of Theology*, pp. 303 f. (first edition, where this tendency is most marked).

centers of English-speaking culture, a long period of general preparation—sporadic and critical and literary rather than systematic, constructive, and philosophical—had elapsed. It remained to rationalize, as it were, the suggestions of “transcendentalists,” the insights of seers, and to bring them home, first, to the educated youth, then, through such converts, to the average man. Thus, although signs of effervescence may be traced so far back as the second decade of the nineteenth century, the idealistic “idea of development” postdates the *Origin of Species*. No doubt, Dr. Stirling’s “long and earnest labor” constitutes the last link between the days of “vague immensities” and those of philosophical *Wissenschaft*. For, referring to his commerce with Kant and Hegel, in the preliminary notice to the first edition of *The Secret of Hegel*, he wrote as follows:

This is the last fruit, though first published, of a long and earnest labor devoted, in the main, to two men only—Kant and Hegel, and more closely, in the main also, to the three principal works (the *Kritiken*) of the one, and the two principal works (*The Logic* and *The Encyclopædia*) of the other. This study has been the writer’s chief—not just to say sole—occupation during a greater number of years, and for a greater number of hours in each day of these years, than it is perhaps prudent to avow at present.

The period of scholarship and of philosophical quickening, which thus opened, divides itself naturally, for one who is familiar with it, into three fairly definite stages, although, as is usual in similar cases, they overlap. First came the discovery of the Hegelian system and appreciation of its vast importance. The characteristic productions of this initiatory time are the translations (from Hegel) of Dr. Stirling and of the late Professor Wallace. A second outgrowth followed, the result mainly of the demands made upon the leading idealists in their situation as academic teachers. A new reading of the history of philosophy, an interpretation of the origins of idealism itself, and a critical-constructive reaction upon the fundamental positions of the traditional British standpoint, were the main consequences. These may be traced easily in Dr. E. Caird’s first work on *Kant*, in the late T. H. Green’s destructive distillation of Locke, Berkeley, and Hume, now published in the first volume of his collected *Works*, and in Professor Adamson’s lectures *On*

Kant. Of course, we must remember that the years of academic teaching intercalate with those of discovery. Dr. Caird and T. H. Green began to teach in 1866, at Glasgow and Oxford respectively, and Wallace, also at Oxford, two years later. But the published results go over for a decade. By the late seventies and the eighties a third stage has arrived. For want of a more suitable descriptive title, we call it the period of discipleship, even if adverse criticism begins to sound a minor note. But with this last we are not to deal here. The pupils of the four great teachers—the brothers Caird, Green, and Wallace—now make themselves heard, and it becomes evident that certain marked lines—possibly lines of least resistance, certainly lines of real constructive interest—are being followed up. The absence of a large output of systematic writing in pure philosophy at once causes comment—Drs. F. H. Bradley and Bernard Bosanquet conspicuous by exception; while the strong attraction exerted by ethical, political, theological, and even literary subjects strikes one vividly. Here the wide divergence between German and British conditions, with the resultant effects, appear on the most cursory examination. As everyone is vaguely aware, the English universities have often been subjected to the criticism that their contributions to scholarship bear no proportion to their wealth and other opportunities. Whether this be true or false, no estimate of these institutions does them even-handed justice unless it make account of all they have done, and continue to do, for the administration of the empire. Balliol College, for example, by its tradition for scholarship, may have acquired an enviable preëminence among its peers. Yet, as likely as not, the first Balliol man you happen to meet will have little to say of this; but he will surely tell you that his “society” is responsible for the last three governors-general of India. Further, the great mass of English students are subjected to the silent, formative pressure of the “public schools,” a process which continues naturally, and propagates itself, in the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. Indeed, English university education has been molded extensively by this very influence, and so political and ethico-social problems attract many of the ables

students. The staples of the Oxford "schools," Plato's *Dialogues* and Aristotle's *Ethics*, face in the same direction. The contributions of Green's pupils, and of others belonging to the contemporary generation of English scholars, to such problems, have possessed their own distinctive note, and are more than likely to exert influence in future, particularly on the "platform" of the Liberal party. In this connection it is unnecessary to do more than mention the publications of Arnold Toynbee and of Dr. James Bonar, of Professors MacCunn, Ritchie, Mackenzie, and F. C. Montague.

In Scotland, on the other hand, the tendency of the universities has been toward the production of men of strong, sometimes unregulated, individuality. "It is matter of regret," wrote the late Professor Nichol, of Glasgow, "that there is so much in our university system to encourage mere activity; so little that tends to moderate and tranquillize; so little that recalls the great distinction between the love of excellence and the love of excelling, or emphasizes the fact that it is not what a human being knows, but what he is, that concerns us. To most men hard work of some sort is a necessity; but mere energy requires direction, sometimes restraint." In other words, the Scottish universities are what the national character has made them, and their arrangements tend to intensify popular qualities. There the social atmosphere generated by the English "public school" has absolutely no place. At the same time, Scotsmen possess a rallying-point in their national Presbyterianism, and a majority of the most promising philosophical students, twenty years ago, looked to the church as their life-work; if not to the church, then to academic teaching under circumstances where the problems naturally incident to the church were the prominent, though by no means exclusive, concern. Thus we find that, while the political and ethical *nuance* of idealism in its second generation belongs to the English universities, and to those Scots—and they are many—who took a course there, the theological line was continued rather in the northern kingdom and under its *ethos*. Thereby hangs a tale.

Till 1890, if not somewhat later, the inner temper of each of the

three large Presbyterian bodies—the Church of Scotland, the Free Church, and the United Presbyterian Church¹²—was not by any means identical. The state church was associated in many minds with latitudinarianism; the Free Church, with evangelical conservatism—witness the dismissal of Robertson Smith, and the suspicion cast on Professors Bruce and Dods, which lingers still; the United Presbyterian Church occupied middle ground, leaning, on the whole, toward the conservative attitude. Accordingly, we find a right, a center, and a left, all the outcome, to a large degree, of the national situation in matters ecclesiastical.¹³ It were wiser, however, to drop names associated with the internal division of the German Hegelians, and to fall back on a broader method of distinction. Regarded thus, it may be said that there were, and still are, those who, whether consciously or unconsciously, on the occasion of a conflict between philosophical principles and theological presuppositions, permitted the latter to overcome the former. Of this attitude, *The Christian View of God and the World*, by Professor James Orr, now of Glasgow, formerly of Edinburgh, is a good illustration. Others, again, tended to identify philosophy and theology. This seems characteristic of Principal Caird's *Fundamental Ideas of Christianity*, as the quotation given above indicates.¹⁴ A third class more than hinted that philosophical principles must be thought through to their legitimate conclusions, and theological doctrines be left to take the consequences. The late Dr. Mackintosh, in his *Natural History of the Christian Religion* (probably the most remarkable of the idealistic contributions to theology), and Dr. Edward Caird, in his *Evolution of Religion* (the second volume particularly), point in some such

¹² The Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church ceased to exist as separate denominations in the autumn of 1900; they consolidated then, by mutual consent, under the title of the United Free Church.

¹³ True fifteen years ago, this scarcely holds today. The orthodox wing in the Church of Scotland appears to have gained the upper hand again, under the very interesting guise (for Presbyterianism) of a "high church," patristic, even sacramentarian movement. On the other hand, the Free Church has become broader in its theology, although it remains evangelical in its Christianity.

¹⁴ See p. 450.

direction. *The Saviour in the Newer Light*, although it entirely lacks the power of the works just mentioned, has special interest in that it caused the deposition of its author, Mr. Alexander Robinson, from the ministry of the Church of Scotland, several years ago. This circumstance, among others, warrants the statement that the "right and the center," particularly the former, have molded churchmen in Scotland; the lay element has not yet brought forth representatives, interested in theology, numerous enough to afford basis for judgment; even if, as it is important to note, Dr. E. Caird is a layman, and the late Dr. Mackintosh resigned from the ministry ere he published his masterful book.

In briefest outline, then, such is the history of the rise and extension of this tendency in thought.

When confronted abruptly with the question, What did the idealists teach? one must confess that, in some respects, a clear-cut reply cannot be furnished easily. As idealism has gone, the English stem came late, and much had happened ere it bore its own fruit. For example, the disruption of the German Hegelian school raised problems, and also removed difficulties, even if it promoted causes of misunderstanding. Moreover, the progress of science, especially under the ægis of Darwin, diffused a new atmosphere, and imparted tendencies that Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel himself did not experience. To be just, the British-American idealists do possess reasons for grievance when, as the fashion of some is, they are roundly dismissed for mere disciples and copyists. A simple reproduction of "Kant and the Epigones" ought not to be anticipated. In matters philosophical, different skies mean different moods.

Taking our question first in its more general aspect, a precise answer lies ready to hand. The "neo-Hegelian" movement brought the secluded thought of British and American culture into vital relation with what may be called *the* nineteenth-century philosophico-theological point of view. If Aristotle taught philosophy to speak Greek, Descartes transferred the proverb to French, Bacon and Hobbes and Locke to English. Equally, Kant and his successors made German the dominant tongue.

Now this final achievement had stood for a generation when Coleridge discovered, and appropriated,¹⁵ Schelling. And, when we survey this generation, we find that the Kantians effected so much for the same reasons as did Aristotle. A national, or rather racial, efflorescence supplied occasion, material, and motive-force. A Janus-like paradox arises here. First, at no time had English literature been so influential in Germany and in Europe. Its freedom and freshness won upon many foreigners. But the freedom happened to be a result of political conditions pregnant with individualism, while the freshness flowed from the discovery of strange things worthy of admiration in the old ballads, in country life or scenes, in common folk in their average moments, as the nascent novel shows. This kind of freedom and freshness was not the affair with which the Teutonic spirit was to concern itself, and to return later to England by way of paying off a loan. For, secondly, German civilization, after the middle of the eighteenth century, is remarkable mainly for the formation of a social and historical sense alien entirely to the British spirit of that day. Further, thrown back on themselves by poverty of civic opportunity, Kant, with the rest, rendered life concentric to the culture of the individual—Goethe standing forth the classical type. This culture, in turn, originated and *was* the new thing that may be termed the nineteenth-century standpoint. While the British, having won, or being on the highroad toward winning, political enfranchisement, proceeded to theorize concerning the abstract rights of the abstract individual, which they associated with it, the Germans, deprived of political outlet, proceeded to discover the principles underlying the relation between a man and his social environment. They extended this inquiry to all realms then known, and so formulated the *kulturhistorische* mode of thought, a tendency so alien from the English tradition that our very language lacks names, and even phrases, to convey it. This Teutonic development, to which such categories as evolution, organism, relationship, social pressure, and the like, are so essential, found

¹⁵ For the most accurate account of Coleridge's relation to Schelling see *Blackwood's Magazine*, March, 1840. The late Professor J. F. Ferrier is the author of the article.

representative expression in Winckelmann as early as 1755; with Lessing's *Education of the Human Race* (1780), Herder's *Spirit of Hebrew Poetry* (1782), and *Ideen* (1784-9), it had already received full-throated statement. Whether in art, in literature, in political philosophizing, in jurisprudence, or in reflection proper, the conception of the "social-individual" was winning its transforming way everywhere. In a word, a general outlook, not far removed from that of Darwin, but applied in the sphere of things ideal, was gaining a rapid mastery. It is the glory of the British idealistic movement to have brought authentic news of this renaissance to English culture. It was an achievement the vast importance of which we do not yet fathom sufficiently. For the bones, left dry by an outworn "classicism" and a disintegrating individualism, were shaken, and came together, bone to his bone, and the breath came to them, and they lived, and stood upon their feet.

This, the general aspect of the teaching, affords a clue leading straight to the particular doctrines. For it implies that analysis, colligation, external classification have been dispossessed by synthesis, relationship, and internal self-expression as part of an organic whole. In one word, dialectic rules the universe of human experience. To be sure, not necessarily the formal dialectic of Hegel; but the conception of immanent principle pervading individual things, of individual things as coming to their individuality in proportion as they reveal this universal (immanent) element. What does this mean? It is safer to let a representative writer make reply:

Even in the hypothetically assumed case that there is only an ideal nature in the consciousness of thinking minds, we could not escape from the question how the different subjects come to a corresponding image of the world, and how they are able to distinguish what is merely subjectively represented from the common or objective mode of representation—that is to say, how they can distinguish truth from error. This question, however, can hardly be solved otherwise than by the assumption of *a universal consciousness which must be the common ground, as well as the ruling law, of all individual consciousnesses or minds. . . .* If it holds true of the individual being that the final end which results from the development of its life is also already the ideal prius of the whole process, then we shall be able to apply the same thought to the whole process of the life of our earth, and to draw

therefrom a conclusion as to the principle of the process. And we are justified in doing so by the very fundamental thought of modern biology, according to which all the life of the earth forms *one* advancing development from the lowest to the highest forms of existence. . . . If, therefore, the whole history of the world shows itself as the *teleological process of the advancing realization of the divine purpose of the world*, we are entitled to find in the history of the world the revelation of the world-governing wisdom of God.¹⁶

From the traditional English point of view, this is "clapping of wings to all the solid old lumber of the world" with a vengeance. And the amazement, not to say searching of heart, caused could not fail to increase as the successive applications made their appearance in detail.

One point in particular must be blazoned forth constantly. No matter how completely we may tend to lose ourselves in the ramifications of the system, we must always remember that its pivotal center is history. The historical method, applied to culture (*Kultur*), constitutes its main distinctive mark. What this implies has been stated vividly, possibly most vividly, by certain literary investigators. When Gustav Freytag, speaking of his *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit* (1858), calls it "a picture of the growth of our *national soul* during the last two thousand years," he states as succinctly as may be the precise situation. And he elaborates this view, on its universal side, in the same forthright manner:

What is printed here from old documents are largely reports of men of the past about their own experiences, not infrequently insignificant incidents in the life of the common crowd. But just as every gesture of a strange man whom we meet for the first time, his address, his first words, give us the image of a fixed personality, an imperfect an unfinished image, to be sure, but yet a whole; so every document in which the life of an individual is revealed has, if we mistake not, the curious effect of bringing before us with a sudden clearness an image of the life of the people; a very incomplete and unsatisfactory image, yet likewise a whole, around which a large variety of ideas and facts, stored up in our mind, flash-like shoot together, as crystals round their center. . . . Millions of individuals make the people, in millions of souls the life of the people is pulsating, but the conscious and unconscious working together of the millions produces a spiritual content in which, at times at least, the soul of the whole people appears as a living, self-creating unity.

¹⁶ O. PFLEIDERER, *The Philosophy and Development of Religion*, Vol. I, pp. 142, 156, 157, 202.

Similarly, with his eye now on the individual side, W. H. Riehl declares :

The age, that is, the nation at a particular stage of its development, creates the man and the man helps to create his age; every epoch-making mind is at the same time father and child, disciple and master of his age, and the more fully he surrenders himself to it, the more fully will he control it.

The pronouncements are unmistakable. The individual is caught up in the network of a tremendous process; to be himself, to know himself, he must be and know the process. Now, it is just in such aspects of the idealistic theory that the English-speaking group happens to have developed its greatest strength, because it was precisely on this side that English insularity most needed awakening. In reviewing the matter, we may confine ourselves to questions either directly or indirectly of theological interest.

As the passages cited suggest very clearly, brushing aside the intervening details, we arrive at the bedrock of principle when we reach the fundamental problems of God, the universe, and man. What is God? What is the ultimate nature of the universe? What is the meaning of man's life? This last, be it observed, demands that the first and second be solved, for it implies a settled conception of the interrelationship between God, the universe, and man. Now, the idealistic theory presents so many facets that it is by no means easy to focus the rays exactly on any one of these problems. A general tendency must therefore suffice; and if, in describing this, we do some unfairness to individual authors, the movement with which they are associated must bear the blame.

The idealistic conception of Deity stands in strongly marked contrast to the older conception it has done so much to displace. The idea formulated by the Latin theologians persisted after the Reformation through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, thanks to its affinity for the Newtonian philosophy and for natural theology. Few are familiar with its implications now, much more nearly akin though they are to popular anthropomorphism than the later view. For, as a rule, men take the belated Cartesian exposition as a matter of course, not of inquiry. Summarily stated,

this popular theory separates God from the world and conceives of him as interfering with the natural order in the same way as an artificer might use his materials, or an experimenter discover compounds, or an executive enforce laws. Idealism, especially in the legitimate Hegelian line, would have none of this. On the dialectic theory, a worldless god and a godless world are equally irrational, equally impossible. On the contrary, God pervades the universe. Immanence, rather than transcendence, marks the character of the real relationship. Or, the doctrine does not set out with transcendence, but infers it from immanence, making it, in this sense, a secondary consideration. An evaporation—as a historical fact, a more or less complete evaporation—of the traditional supernaturalism follows from such a view. Whatever happens, without exception, must be regarded, not only as a natural event, but also as an event deriving from divine necessity. “Or if we prefer to have it so, let it be said that the order of the universe is the natural supernatural, by which is meant that the divine or supernatural element is never and nowhere absent, but also not more present in the spiritual than in the physical life, in the religious than in the secular and political sphere of human history.” For example, natural law cannot be viewed as a system with which God interferes now and then, from an external vantage-ground. The system itself constitutes an essential part of God. It is not our present business to comment upon this theory. Suffice it to point out that the conclusions to which it leads quite logically are of a kind to rule out all the traditional ground-dogmas distinctive of theology from Augustine down. They are in sharpest conflict with the mechanical and static categories peculiar to Calvinism, or, for that matter, any other “ism” that has carried weight since the Reformation. It makes no difference to the ultimate facts that, during the past generation, many have accepted this theory without recking the consequences. This has happened time and again under the influence of those mystic intuitions of it proceeding from our modern English poets, like Browning and his wife.

Truth, so far, in my book : the truth which draws
 Through all things upwards — that a two-fold world
 Must go to a perfect cosmos. Natural things
 And spiritual, — who separates these two
 In art, in morals, in the social drift,
 Tears up the bond of nature.
 * * * * *
 Man, the two-fold creature, apprehends
 * * * * *
 The whole temporal show related royally,
 And built up to eterne significance
 Through the open arms of God. 'There's nothing great
 Nor small,' has said a poet of our day,
 * * * * *
 And truly, I reiterate, nothing's small !
 No lily-muffled hum of a summer-bee,
 But finds some coupling with the spinning stars ;
 No pebble at your foot, but proves a sphere ;
 No chaffinch, but implies the cherubim ;
 And (glancing on my own thin, veined wrist)
 In such a little tremour of the blood
 The whole strong clamour of a vehement soul
 Doth utter itself distinct. Earth's crammed with heaven,
 And every common bush afire with God.¹⁷

One of the most pressing needs of contemporary theological thought appears in this connection. British and American theologians owe it to themselves, to the peoples they represent, to the clarification, if not the advance, of thought, to come to a clear understanding respecting the conclusions involved ; to embrace or reject them, adducing reasons, in the light of modern science, whether biblical, historical, archæological, physical, or biological. Possibly a restatement of philosophy of religion, consonant with current demands, would accomplish this work most efficiently. In any case, whether we recognize it or not, the idealistic conception of God and its derivants find free course everywhere, and have created a situation where lack of decisive thinking cannot be tolerated much longer.

The idealistic theory of the universe follows from, is the natural corollary to, its God-intoxication, in Hegel's phrase.
 ➤ The essence of the matter centers in the comprehension that the

¹⁷ MRS. BROWNING, in *Aurora Leigh*, Book vii.

universe is a *universe*.[✓] That is to say, the imperative injunction runs that it must be regarded as a single whole, inspired by an inward principle of unity; as a mighty fact, capable of being probed only in so far as this principle can prove itself amenable to the categories of human experience. Mysteries are not many; mystery is one. Matter and life and mind are all equally mysterious, or, if you please, their mysteriousness disappears on inspection, giving place to the final mysteriousness of the vast organism whose characteristic "manifestations" they are. The universe *can* be classed as a cosmos, therefore, but only because an inward power shoots through it, for in the light of this power alone can aught suffer explanation, can aught be suffered to possess reality.

In a sense such a universal may be beyond knowledge; not, however, because it is too vague and general for definite thought, but for the opposite reason, that it is *inexhaustible*. It hides itself, if at all, not in darkness, but in light. It is the ground on which we stand, the atmosphere which surrounds us, the light by which we see, and the heaven that shuts us in. It is not only in all, but to all, and through all.

*"Intra cuncta nec inclusus,
Extra cuncta nec exclusus."*

But, just for that reason, everything we know is a contribution to the knowledge of it, and nothing can be really known apart from it. For if it be true that our intelligence is organic, it cannot but grow by the evolution of its first principle, and every differentiation of its organs and functions must bring *with* it, or *after* it, a new integration; which in this case means a deepening knowledge of the principle itself.¹⁸

Here, too, as in the former case, fundamental positions, of capital importance, call for scrutiny. How fundamental, few have seen or, seeing, have cared to admit. The late Dr. Mackintosh, after his custom, minced no words, blinked no inferences:

At no point is it permissible to call in the idea of an exceptional exertion of divine power, whether immanent or transcendent, supplementary to that which is eternally operative. It may be long before the theological mind becomes familiarized with this scientific, anti-supernaturalistic conception of the divine relation to the universe. But until this conception is embraced, theology will remain, as it now is, in a deadlock, with no possibility of advance in any direction whatever.¹⁹

¹⁸ E. CAIRD, *The Evolution of Religion*, Vol. I, pp. 153, 154.

¹⁹ *The Natural History of the Christian Religion*, p. 35.

As before, these doctrines are in the very air we breathe. Yet small effort has been put forth to lay bare their final conclusions. We have yet to reckon with the idealistic construction.

Finally, the anthropology flows from the cosmology, because man happens to form an integral part of the scheme of things. Further, "man is still man within the area of Christendom." Developed in the "natural supernatural" course of events, human nature bears with it its own characteristic "manifestation" of the immanent divine principle. So far as finite eye can see, this is the goal, the ideal end toward which the grandiose labor of the time-spirit has been moving. And, just because the goal must be called ideal, man occupies the unique position of being a direct co-worker with God. As Carlyle has it: "God mend all! Nay, by God! *we* must help him to mend it!" Through this thrilling conception most of all, possibly, the idealistic philosophy has won supporters. For it is supremely fascinating, and may be handled with amazing flexibility. Leaving free play for the teachings of modern biological science, it yet affords spacious office for the most uplifting, and ethical, interpretation of life and experience. Something akin to veritable inspiration vibrates in these plangent words, to take but a single example of the exposition:

Amidst the limitations of our earthly life, in the atmosphere of worldly interest and passion, amidst the perturbations of the life of sense, there is for the saintliest of men much to interrupt the consciousness of the presence of God within them, and to arrest the flow of that current of thought and feeling which unites the life of man to the life of God. In the struggle with their lower self they are conscious of boundless possibilities which are only feebly and fitfully realized, of hopes and aspirations to which, even when the will to realize them is present, the results in the actual life are miserably disproportionate. Nevertheless, the ideal divine-human life is not a mere dream of the pious imagination. It is not merely theoretically, as a matter of speculation, that we can conceive of the absolute union of the human and the divine, nor is the splendor of spiritual greatness, hid under this vesture of decay, only at best a dim forecast or far-off prevision. It is the very central fact of our Christian faith that once for all it has been realized, and that in the person and life of Christ we can recognize a nature from which every dividing, disturbing element has passed away—a mind that was the pure medium of Infinite Intelligence, a heart that throbbed in perfect unison with the Infinite Love, a will that never vibrated by one faintest aberration

from the Infinite Will, a human consciousness possessed and suffused by the very spirit and life of the Living God.²⁰

It happens that this is typical of the presentation whereby idealism has won upon many. I speak here of what I know at first-hand. Multitudes, these last thirty years, have had no recourse but to cut loose from dogmatic Christianity; nevertheless they have been loth to forget that they owed more than they could tell to the religion of Jesus and to the institutions of its creation, notably the church, for much that was worth while in life. To such, a message of this sort came as a water-spring in a dry land. Whether, as thus stated, it consorts with the views of God and of the universe just adduced is another affair. Moreover, it contains a question which cannot be settled until we have taken the entire point of view more seriously, and have attempted to elucidate its implications thoroughly.

Thus this English idealistic movement refuses to be treated as a dead issue, or as a blast that has passed, leaving mere wreckage of history. Indeed, one performs no more than his duty when he declares that this happens to be true in the theological sphere preëminently. A mass of what, for lack of a native title, must be called *schillernd* work has been thrust upon the market from the idealistic-theological, or quasi-theological, side. Possibly some would allege that a share of the guilt comes very near home. I do not believe for a moment that the writers have deceived themselves. But, nevertheless, sense of gain, of constructive possibility in an age of difficulty, has overcome or overlain the need for sharply outlined statement of first principles. When these receive this exposition it will be possible to draw the unavoidable conclusions, and not till then. This remains one task for the twentieth century; small matter whether, in the sequel, we resile or go farther; we shall at least know how we stand. At the moment confusion reigns too rampant for credit, if not for comfort. And at such great assize comfort cuts but little figure. There is a great call to the idealist to know and to be known. At the same time, justice demands that the philosophers bear the burden of blame with

²⁰ JOHN CAIRD, *The Fundamental Ideas of Christianity*, Vol. II, pp. 170, 171.

the theologians. For it were difficult to recall the epoch when theological thought received such scant measure from fundamental metaphysical inquiry. Theology might even plead that she could not count the cost, because philosophy, although presenting the bill at intervals and in a half-apologetic fashion, did not insist upon instant payment in full. Of course, the possibility remains that the idea may already have brought death to the sect which propagated it. But, even at this, the idea remains, rooted in such sacrifice. So that philosophers are nowise absolved from undertaking the enlightenment demanded.

THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD.

By GEORGE WASHINGTON NORTHRUP,
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In the earlier years of his work as professor of theology Professor Northrup held and taught a somewhat strict type of Calvinism. In the later years of his life he modified considerably these earlier views, but he left behind him no adequate record of either his earlier or his later opinions. He devoted himself without reserve to the instruction of his students and the building up of the institution in which he labored as professor. Though constantly engaged in teaching and preaching, he wrote comparatively little except for his classes, published little, and left still less in manuscript. The following paper, prepared to be read before a ministers' conference in the year 1897, expresses better than any other of the few papers which he left behind his more mature views.—THE EDITORS.]

THE idea of God is necessarily the formative principle of every system of theology; it furnishes the central position from which the facts of the moral universe may be observed and comprehended as a self-consistent whole. In order to gain a correct conception of the phenomena of the material heavens one must take, in thought, his position on the sun. There he would be at the center of the solar system, and would see things as they are—the sun fixed in its place and the planets moving around it in their different times and orbits. Without such a view of the central position of the sun it would be impossible for one to bring the facts of astronomy into an intelligible system. For

thousands of years astronomers looked upon the heavens, the same heavens which we look upon, and yet no one of them ever reached the true explanation of the phenomena presented. In their attempts to interpret these phenomena, "They girdled the sphere with centric and eccentric, scribbled o'er; cycle and epicycle, orb in orb." But when the truth was discovered that the sun, and not the earth, is the center around which the heavenly bodies revolve, a principle was brought to light which bound up the facts, hitherto inexplicable and discordant, into a system of exceeding simplicity and grandeur.

Similar to the conception of the central position of the sun in relation to our solar system is the idea of God in relation to the system of the moral universe. This idea is, as we have said, the determinative principle of every system of theology—the principle in virtue of which the facts and truths of the moral universe may be understood and comprehended as a self-consistent whole.

I. The fundamental idea of God is that of his absolute ethical perfection, which consists in holy love and is the essence of his fatherhood. In his last printed sermon the late President Robinson used the following language:

Let us first of all remember the two fundamental truths which Jesus Christ announced; truths out of which his whole system of moral and religious teaching has sprung. These fundamental truths are the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Christ first gave them to our race. Christ brought God down to men as a Father who cares for us in every estate and always. And how since Christ's time men have been struggling over this idea of God! We are only in our day entering into the fulness of the conception which Christ gave to our race of the divine fatherhood, of the loving, infinitely merciful disposition of God toward mankind . . . We look out upon the whole human race, and everywhere God is the Father of them all, seeking to rescue all, and we are brothers, wherever we are, and children of the universal Father.

The essential qualities of fatherhood are immanent and eternal in God. It was his fatherly nature, his benignant and gracious disposition, that moved God to go forth in acts of creation, to call into being personal agents akin to himself, capable of entering into fellowship with him and so realizing between

himself and them the relation of fatherhood and sonship ; and as a means of making himself known to men in a living and powerful way this divinely constituted paternal and filial relationship is, beyond comparison, truer and better than any of the multiplied metaphysical, juristic, forensic, and political ideas and analogies which theologians have generally used for that purpose. The Scriptures teach that the relation between God and Adam was that of father and son, for Adam is declared to be the son of God. Did God cease to sustain the relation of father to Adam after his fall ? If he did, then the analogy based on the divinely constituted relationship of father and son among men is utterly false in its application to God. For it is safe to say that there has never been in the history of the world a father worthy of the name, wise, benignant, holy, who, remaining such, ceased to be a father, or who changed in any element of his fatherly nature, when his sons became alienated, wayward, going even to the extreme of vice and dissipation. The fact is that the measure of the child's need is the measure of his power of appeal to the father's heart. For the father forecasts the son's career of misery and dishonor, his possible doom of want and despair, and hesitates at no expense or self-sacrifice to win him from his evil ways. David may be taken as a true representation of every father worthy of the name. His fatherly affection toward Absalom remained unchanged notwithstanding his unfilial conduct. When he heard of his son's death, he went into his chamber and wept, and said, "O, my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom ! Would God I had died for thee, O, Absalom, my son, my son !" — words of deep pathos, which, however, only feebly express the love and grief of the fatherly heart of God for his disobedient children.

In the Jewish theology of our Lord's time God was conceived as standing at the beginning of a long series of mediators and having no distinct dealings with men. From this dim and distant height Jesus brought God down as a Father who cares for us in every estate and always. He *habitually* spoke of God as Father, and proclaimed him as such to all on the highway or in the market-place, irrespective of social or moral antecedents.

He says our Father, your Father, my Father, thy Father, the Father.

"His most common designation is the Father without any definition or limitation." In the beginning of his ministry, before delivering what is called the Sermon on the Mount, he had occasion to go through Samaria. In conversation with a Samaritan woman of disreputable character he uses the title "Father" three times, speaking of God in his relation to the world. He says: "Believe me, the hour cometh, and now is, when ye shall neither in this mountain nor yet at Jerusalem worship the Father. But the hour cometh when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth, for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and truth." Here the word "Father" is evidently used as synonymous with "God," and is applied to him in order to mark him out as the common Father of the human race.

Our Lord's doctrine of the universal fatherhood of God is set forth clearly and fully in the Sermon on the Mount. In this discourse he spoke, not to the Twelve alone, but to a mixed multitude gathered from all the surrounding districts; "spoke to this mixed multitude repeatedly and emphatically of the great God whom they must honor and love and imitate as their Father who is in heaven." Luke says, "Jesus came down and stood in the plain"—probably a wide, open space between two mountains. Dr. Broadus suggests that he selected the place with a view to the great multitude that he was to address. We are told that a "crowd of disciples" was present—the term "disciples" being used, according to Alford and others, in a general sense to denote those who had come out to hear him more or less frequently; the same sense in which John uses the word when, referring to the effect of Christ's teaching on one occasion, he says: "Many of his disciples went back and walked no more with him." In the Sermon on the Mount, according to Matthew, our Lord uses the name "Father" seventeen times and that of "God" six times, Matthew and Luke interchanging these names, in some instances, in their reports of the same sayings.

What language could more explicitly teach that God is the Father of all men than the following : "What man is there of you who if his son ask bread will give him a stone ? or if he ask a fish will give him a serpent ? If ye then being evil know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more shall your Father who is in heaven give good things to them that ask him" ? Only the exigencies of a theological system could lead anyone to restrict the relation of divine fatherhood taught in these and similar passages to the twelve disciples who were, at this time, hardly a step in advance of the multitude in their understanding of Christ's doctrine. The multitude certainly considered the discourse as addressed to them, when at the close of it they "were astonished at his doctrine, because he taught them as one having authority."

Thayer's *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* gives twenty-four references to passages in the gospels in which Jesus speaks of God as the Father of all men.

The parable of the prodigal son, or rather of the lost son, furnishes incontestable evidence that our Savior represented God as the Father of all men, not excepting those who have sunk to the lowest depths of misery and degradation. His design in this parable was to set in sharp contrast his idea of God as Father, and the legal, pharisaic conception of God. In the language of Professor Crawford :

From first to last, the prodigal is no less really the father's son than was his elder brother. He was son before he left his home. He continued to view himself as his father's son as soon as he came to himself. He arose and came to his father as a son, confessedly unworthy, indeed, to be so called, but still addressing his aggrieved parent by the name of "father." His father welcomed him as a lost son whom he had recovered. And his elder brother murmured, not because an alien had been admitted into the family, but because a dissolute and profligate son had been restored to it. No fair interpretation can be put upon this parable that does not to the fullest extent recognize it as our Lord's doctrine that God is, in a general sense, the common Father of all mankind.

We pass now to inquire : What is the nature of this general fatherhood of God ? Our information on this point is explicit and full. "Philip saith unto him, Lord, shew us the Father and

it sufficeth us. Jesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with you and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? He that hath seen me hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou then, Shew us the Father?" "I and my Father are one." Jesus is declared to be "the brightness of the Father's glory, the express image of his person." In him dwells all the fulness of the Godhead. He was the image of the invisible God. We are, then, "to accept the Jesus of the gospels as an absolutely true and full manifestation of the divine being, and to believe without reserve that he and God are in spirit one." There is no moral dualism in God. There is in God the Father no "implacable vindictiveness," or "unwillingness to show mercy;" for, if such had been the case, he would never have been moved to make an infinite sacrifice for the salvation of men. For the atonement is not the cause of God's gracious attitude toward our race, but an expression of it. God—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—is one God, one essentially and ethically. We can have no doubt that, if the Father instead of the Son had become incarnate, he would have been known as "the friend of publicans and sinners." He would have said: "Suffer the little ones to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven." He would have exclaimed in the tender and pathetic words of Christ, as he thought of those whose wickedness was rapidly rising to its culmination: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem! How oft would I have gathered thy children together as a hen gathers her chickens under her wings, and ye would not." And had he hung on the cross, he would have been moved by the same mighty passion of love which moved Christ to pray: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." In Jesus Christ, then, in his spirit, words, and deeds, we have an absolutely true and full manifestation of the mind and heart of God as Father.

Though benignant and gracious toward all men, God is not a Father of the type of Eli, "whose sons made themselves vile and he reproved them not." Christ in his prayer said: "O righteous Father, holy Father!" A righteous and holy human father might be far more severe in dealing with his disobedient

children than a judge would be, or a mere regal sovereign. The father's severity would be determined by the greatness of his love for his children and the punishment necessary to bring them to feel and to turn from their evil ways. Jesus Christ pronounced "double-mindedness, tyranny, hypocrisy, hatred of true goodness, pitiless selfishness, and the like, altogether damnable, and every healthy conscience cannot but approve his judgment." "But the holy displeasure of God against sin, and its just punishment, do not involve the cessation of his mercy." It is no more optional with God to be merciful in disposition than it is optional with him to be wise, or omnipotent, or eternal. Mercy is an immanent and eternal quality of his nature.

But, while Jesus taught that God is the Father of all men, he also taught that men are not sons in the full and ideal sense, "except they comport themselves as sons, in obediently fulfilling the will of their heavenly Father." This truth is emphasized, not only by Christ, but by all the New Testament writers. Men pass from a lower to a higher sonship—to special, ideal sonship—when they become ethically like their Father and render him the loving and reverent obedience which is his due. The teaching of the New Testament is, then, that God is, always and everywhere, the loving Father of all men, but that men are to become sons of God in a higher and better sense by attaining his spirit of tender, patient, forgiving love. God *is* Father, does not *become* Father. He no more becomes Father than he becomes perfect. He becomes, not a Father, but a reconciled and complacent Father to men when they become ethically like him, have the true spirit of sonship, in which they cry: "Abba, Father!" It is because he is the loving and gracious Father of men that he seeks in all the ways of infinite wisdom and grace to win them to the true life of sonship. It is, indeed, true that the Scriptures regard ethical likeness to God as the specially distinguishing element of sonship. But there was never a more palpable *non sequitur* than that of the current theory which supposes that the fact that man has become unfilial in his feeling and conduct toward God implies that God has become unfatherly in his attitude and feeling toward man. Men may become

the children of the flesh or the children of the devil, as being ruled by a carnal and a devilish spirit; but God does not cease to be a Father to them; his grief and compassion are all the greater as he beholds their infinite folly and wickedness, and forecasts their miserable doom: children, whom he made in his own likeness for beatitude and highest honor, defeating the end of his love in their sublime destination; in anguish of heart he cries out: "Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth! I have nourished and brought up children and they have rebelled against me! How shall I give you up? My repentings are kindled together; turn you, turn you, at my reproof, and I will pour out my spirit upon you." Jesus teaches that men are to love their enemies and to do good to them that hate them, because, in so doing, they imitate their heavenly Father, who makes his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the just and on the unjust. When Jesus said to the Jews, "If God were your Father, ye would love me," the truth affirmed was that, if they truly recognized God as their Father—loved him supremely—they could not but love himself, the Son of God, the brightness of the Father's glory, the express image of his person; but his language contains no implication that God was not the Father of these same Jews in the sense of having toward them every feeling congruous with his infinitely fatherly heart, grief and displeasure, indeed, because of their wickedness, yet, also, "unmerited, bountiful, forgiving love."

It is our belief that no passage can be found in the New Testament which teaches explicitly, or by necessary implication, that God becomes a Father to men because of their faith in Jesus Christ, or of the new life originated by the Holy Spirit. It is said: "As many as received him [Christ], to them gave he the right to become sons of God;" "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are the sons of God;" "Now are we sons of God through faith in Jesus Christ." But it is not said that God becomes the Father of "as many as receive Christ;" that he becomes the Father of "as many as are led by the Spirit of God;" that he becomes a Father to those who exercise "faith in Jesus Christ." God does not become, he is always and

everywhere, the Father of men ; men become the sons of God, in the full ideal sense, when they become ethically like him—like him in character, spirit, and action. The teaching of this whole class of passages, which is commonly supposed to imply that God becomes the Father of men because they are spoken of as becoming his sons, is simply this, that “through Christ Christians are brought into specially close and intimate relationship with God ; they no longer dread him as a stern judge of sinners, but recognize and revere him as their reconciled and complacent Father ;” “his holy displeasure, because of their unworthy conduct, is gone, their sins are remembered no more ; possessing the spirit of sonship, they are restored to the rights and privileges of sons that were forfeited—through disobedience ; they are delivered from the bondage of the law, have immediate access to the divine presence, are heirs of God and joint heirs with Jesus Christ. Such is the glorious destination planned in the fatherly heart of God for his alienated, prodigal children—a goal which will be reached, if not by all our race, yet by a multitude which no man can number.” “If any are unsaved, it is a miscarriage for which God is not responsible and which wrings from his heart the words of bitter regret, ‘I would, but ye would not ;’” “As I live, saith the Lord, I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth.”

II. We pass to notice briefly the idea of the brotherhood of man as implied in the doctrine of the fatherhood of God.

It is a somewhat prevalent theory that the true basis of the brotherhood of man is not the fatherhood of God, but the fact of our descent from a common stock—the fatherhood of Adam. The prevalence of this view will go far to explain the almost imperceptible progress which the spirit of brotherhood has made in the world. A feebler bond of union than that of a common descent from Adam it would be difficult to imagine. It is sometimes the case that a man of splendid personality, of heroic deeds, and uplifting, inspiring words, an Abraham or a David, becomes a powerful force, creating of his descendants a brotherhood which long defies the revolutions of time and the overthrow of empires not a few. But if Adam ever did anything

worthy of admiration, or anything which would naturally awaken among men regard and love for one another as his children, the record or tradition of it has not come down to later generations. The only good thing recorded of him was the giving of names to some cattle and fowls and beasts. When tested as to his spirit of obedience, he went down before a temptation insignificant in strength as compared with those which millions of his descendants have triumphantly met. And not only this, we are told that in the day that he sinned the "divine afflatus" went out of him, and what was left of him "became carnal, sensual, devilish," of which "carnal, selfish, devilish" substance mankind are fractional parts, "absceded, cut off, by the process of propagation"—the divine agency having no direct relation to the process. If this theory is correct, no father in the world's history has inflicted evils, moral or physical, to be compared in point of magnitude with those which Adam inflicted upon his descendants. If we have in this version of facts the only basis of the doctrine of the brotherhood of man, we might well despair of the future of the race.

But the true basis of the brotherhood of man is not the fatherhood of Adam, but the fatherhood of God. Fatherhood is much more than creatorship. God is the creator of sheep and monkeys, but he is not their father. "Fatherhood implies a native kinship, on our part, to him; some likeness of our nature which makes us capable of fellowship with him." Sheep and monkeys are not capable of fellowship with God, nor could they be made capable of such fellowship by any divine operation. But God in calling man into being was moved by his fatherly love; made him in his own image—a moral personality. Man was made in the image of God in his rational intelligence, in his power of self-determination, in his capacity of moral affection, in his faculty of moral discrimination; and the lineaments of the divine image man still retains, though they are marred and obscured by sin. Man is not a son of God in the high sense of his true destination; he is a prodigal son, still a son. The original affinity of his nature with the divine is not annihilated. It is the primary, granitic basis of his being; sin is a secondary

formation. The magnificent utterance of Augustine, "Thou hast made us for thyself, O God, and our heart is restless till it rests in thee," expresses the inarticulate cry of the human heart all down the ages. In every age and in every land man is at times moved Godward by stirrings and aspirations that reveal his kinship to God—his original destination to a life of fellowship with him; stirrings and aspirations, like the ceaseless ground-swell of the ocean, in response to the presence and quickening touch of the Spirit of God. As Longfellow reminds us:

In all ages
Every human heart is human,
That in even savage bosoms
There are longings, yearnings, strivings,
For the good they comprehend not;
That the feeble hands and helpless,
Groping blindly in the darkness,
Touch God's right hand in that darkness,
And are lifted up and strengthened.

In the language of Professor Flint: "The history of religion has been essentially a process of search for God on the part of man, and a process of self-revelation on the part of God to man, resulting in a continuous widening and deepening of human apprehension of the divine." In dealing with the people of 'all nations "God determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation, that they should seek after the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him, though he be not far from any one of us."

The Scriptures teach that man still possesses, in some sense, the divine image. The injunctions not to kill or to curse our fellow-men are based on the fact that men are made in the image of God; are so made now—not merely were so made in the beginning. This is the fact, however it may be reconciled with the fall of Adam and its alleged consequence. As to the relation of Adam to the origin of human souls the Bible is silent. "The Bible recognizes the great fact of a race connection by virtue of which the individual shares in the physical and moral consequences of the life of his progenitors," but it gives no explanation of it. Propagation does not exclude divine causation;

causation is not less divine because it is natural; natural causation is divine causation. The current distinction between the natural and supernatural is a fiction. The natural and the supernatural are but diverse forms of the immediate action of the same everywhere energizing cause—God. The fall of Adam is not referred to anywhere in the Old Testament except in the third chapter of the book of Genesis—a portion of Scripture concerning the nature of which there is great diversity of opinion among biblical students; it is not alluded to by Jesus Christ, nor by any of the New Testament writers, with the exception of Paul, and by him in only two passages apparently of an incidental and illustrative character. And yet theologians since the time of Augustine have given about the same prominence to Adam and his fall and the consequences to our race as to the work of Christ and its relation to the salvation of the world. The theories advanced relative to Adam and his relation to mankind are several score—Pelagian, semi-Pelagian, Augustinian, Arminian, New School, Placean, Federal—for the most part a mass of unverified and unverifiable speculation, forming a gigantic pyramid standing on its apex. Besides the two passages referred to here there is a third passage of which great use has been made in dogmatic theology, viz., Eph. 2 : 3, "And were by nature children of wrath." But the context shows, as Professor Stevens remarks, that the passage refers, not to inherited sinfulness, but to sinfulness which has been acquired by an evil course of life.

It is here, then, that we find the true basis of the brotherhood of man. It is because all men have the same heavenly Father, to whom they are akin and with whom they are capable of coming into fellowship; because there is in them a divine constitution which may have a resurrection to life and power; because every one of them is embraced in the fatherly heart of God and is of infinite worth in his regard; it is on the ground of these facts that mankind are a brotherhood in the high and living sense. "God is our Father and treats us as sons; therefore we are to treat our fellows as brothers; for common fatherhood means common brotherhood."

III. In concluding this discussion we propose to indicate briefly some of the erroneous views of God and his ways with which Christian theology has been burdened to its great injury — views which could never have gained currency if Christ's doctrine of God's universal fatherhood had had a living hold upon the mind and heart of the church.

One of the chief causes of the failure of the theological mind of the church to grasp Christ's conception of God has been the illegitimate use of metaphysical, juristic, forensic, and political ideas and analogies, to set forth the nature and relations of God and the way of salvation. Says Professor Flint :

Metaphysical philosophy has always sought to shape and modify religious and even distinctively scriptural truths, according to its own ideas, methods, and dogmas. Jurisprudence exerted a similar influence, owing to its having been the only science that was studied with zeal and success in the Latin world when theology began to be independently cultivated by the Latin church. The Latin mind was so possessed by juristic or forensic ideas that the Latin Fathers could not avoid looking at the gospel through them. This way of viewing it is still familiar. The so-called federal school of theology, long and widely influential, exhibited the whole system of religious truth according to the analogy of a covenant — a succession of covenants between God and man — in other words, according to a conception which is essentially juristic and political, not intrinsically and properly religious.

1. One fundamental conception of God, utterly inconsistent with the idea of his universal fatherhood, is the widely current dogma of the divine sovereignty.

No competent student of the Bible can deny or doubt that it teaches the doctrine of God's sovereignty. Hence it is not the fact, but the nature, of this sovereignty that is the vital point in dispute. What is the dogma of the divine sovereignty that has dominated the theological mind of the church for fourteen centuries — the dogma expounded and defended by Augustine, Anselm, Calvin, Edwards, Hodge, Shedd, Chalmers, Spurgeon? According to this dogma the sovereignty of God is a prerogative in the exercise of which he is free and able to will the exact opposite of that which he does, in fact, will in relation to the destiny of every member of the human race; free and able to reprobate those elected and to elect those reprobated, without

prejudice to the glory of any of his perfections; absolutely free and able to bring all mankind to the felicity and glory of the heavenly world, or to consign all to the unending and unimaginable horrors of hell, the latter course of action equally with the former being perfectly congruous with his nature and for the highest honor of his name. What sort of a sovereign is this who, though free and able to save with an eternal salvation all the members of our race, acting in a manner infinitely honorable and glorious, nevertheless decrees the everlasting perdition of a large part of them? Is it the sovereign who is on the throne of the universe, whose kingdom ruleth over all, in whose hands is the destiny of every human soul, or is it a sovereign of the type of an oriental despot, of a Turkish sultan, who cuts off the heads of his subjects, or advances them to positions of honor, according to his caprice—his acts in both cases being alike perfect as acts of sheer, arbitrary will? What, let us inquire, is the true idea of God's sovereignty? The supreme category in our thought of God is his fatherhood. God is from eternity Father; he is not from eternity sovereign. He was not a sovereign till the universe was called into being. His sovereignty is to be interpreted through his fatherhood, not his fatherhood through his sovereignty. God's sovereignty is paternal, not that of a capricious and arbitrary despot. What sovereignty more absolute can be conceived of than that of a father in dealing with his children in the earliest years of life? His sole will determines everything relative to the child's well-being. But a father's sovereignty is not capricious and arbitrary, but rational, wise, benignant. The sovereignty of God is his right and power to constitute and govern the universe according to his absolute ethical perfection—his infinite, holy love, which is the essence of his fatherhood. It is as self-evident as any truth in mathematics that a perfect human father, remaining such, could not but pursue a course that would win back to virtue and happiness his wayward son, in case he knew infallibly that course to be consistent with the best interests of the universe and the honor of God. And it cannot be otherwise than axiomatically certain that the heavenly Father, of whose love for his disobedient

children the most perfect parental human love is but an infinitely inadequate illustration, will do the utmost that he can do to save every member of our race, having due regard to the universal and everlasting interests of his kingdom and the glory of his name; that he will consign no man to hell whom he could bring to heaven and remain God; no man whom he could "present faultless before the presence of his glory," acting in accordance with his absolute ethical perfection.

2. Another dogma, absolutely inconsistent with the idea of the fatherhood of God, an essential part of the system of dogmatic divinity since the days of Augustine, is that of unconditional reprobation. What is the dogma of unconditional reprobation? We know of no better statement of it than that contained in the Westminster Confession :

By the decree of God, for his own glory, some angels and men are predestinated unto eternal life and others are foreordained unto everlasting death. These angels and men, thus predestinated and foreordained, are particularly designed, and their number is so certain and definite that it can neither be increased nor diminished.

In regard to the decree of reprobation notice the following points: (a) In the first place, it is not based on the foreseen incorrigible wickedness of those reprobated; men become incorrigible because they are reprobated, they are not reprobated because of their foreseen incorrigibility. (b) Nor again is it based on their exceptional depravity and guilt, for between those elected and those reprobated there is no difference to which God has respect as a reason for his diverse decisions. (c) But the decree of reprobation is an act of sheer, arbitrary will, discriminating between an absolutely indistinguishable mass of personal units, all of whom are worthy, and equally worthy, of damnation, on the ground of prenatal depravity and guilt.

And this, we are told, is an essential part of the gospel of the grace of God—of the good news to all people preached by Jesus Christ, who was the brightness of the Father's glory, the express image of his person. If the Westminster divines had had even the dimmest conception of the fatherhood of God, this dogma which, in the language of the *Examiner*, "puts an omnipotent

devil on the throne of the universe," would have been rejected with abhorrence.

3. A third misrepresentation of God and his ways which, in our judgment, would never have been heard of, if the church had had a living idea of the divine fatherhood, is that known as the doctrine of a limited atonement, one of the most widely accepted tenets of ecclesiastical Christianity.

No truth of revelation is more certain than that the provisions of grace are universal, their universality in scope and design being made certain by the plainest declarations of the New Testament. "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him shall not perish but have eternal life." "Jesus Christ is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but for [the sins of] the whole world." "Who gave himself a ransom for all." "That by the grace of God he should taste death for every man." "Because we thus judge that if one died for all, then all died." "God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, not reckoning unto them their trespasses." But it is needless to multiply like passages of scripture.

These declarations were, however, of no avail against the logic of the dogmatic theologians: (*a*) God was conceived to be a regal sovereign. (*b*) His supreme end in creation is the manifestation of his perfections, especially his mercy and justice. (*c*) In order that he might manifest these perfections there must be a race of sinners; a Savior provided for a part, the elect, that there might be a manifestation of mercy; and the rest, the reprobate, for whom no atonement was made, consigned to hell, for the manifestation of divine justice. This theory affirms the sufficiency of the atonement for all mankind, that our Lord would not have needed to suffer one iota more if he had been appointed to save the whole world; but that God decreed to limit its design to the elect, often represented as a very small fraction of mankind, the endless misery of the rest being decreed because necessary to show, in the most impressive manner, that God is just.

Such was the prevailing view of the atonement until the

seventeenth century, when, under the influence of the teaching of Hugo Grotius, the idea of the universal provision of divine mercy gained some currency in Holland—an idea which was fully developed by the New England divines, Edwards, West, Emmons, Park, and others, and known as the governmental theory of the atonement. This view of an unlimited atonement is accepted in our day by the great body of theologians of all evangelical churches.

The doctrine of the universality of the provisions of grace is in itself considered one of immense importance as affecting our view of the character of God and the sincerity of the indiscriminate offers of mercy in the gospel. But it is a truth the theological and practical value of which is completely neutralized by the Calvinistic doctrine of election, a fact to which attention has never been called, within my knowledge, by any Baptist thinker. For election, in every type of Calvinism, necessarily implies non-election, and non-election is logically identical with reprobation. Of what avail is it to proclaim to sinners that the provisions of grace are universal, and, at the same time, tell them that they are impotent to save themselves; that regeneration is and must be the exclusive work of God, but that God determined, by an eternal and irreversible decree, to pass them by, to withhold from them that almighty and efficacious grace without which their persistence in sin and final perdition is not only certain, but inevitable, let them do what they can, even in the way of the gospel, to obtain salvation? In the language of another: "What matters it to the criminal under sentence of death that his cell and fare are somewhat improved over those of his predecessors, and that the terms in which he is addressed are a trifle more humane, so long as the great fact remains that the gallows sternly and implacably awaits him?" Modified Calvinism is, then, even with its theory of a universal provision of grace, as deep a horror as strict Calvinism with its limitation of the redemptive purpose to a small circle of the elect.

4. We pass to notice a fourth dogma, perhaps the most extraordinary in the history of the church, and one that would never have been heard of if Christ's doctrine of the divine

fatherhood had dominated the theological mind; we mean the dogma of infant damnation.

The fate of those dying in infancy is one of vast theologic as well as of practical interest, for a large proportion, probably a distinct majority, of our race pass out of the world before reaching the age of moral accountability. What was the attitude and teaching of Jesus in relation to infants? "They brought unto him infants that he would touch them. And he said: 'Suffer the little ones to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven.'" In the language of the late Dr. Shedd:

The Redeemer says this of infants as infants, and because they are infants, and consequently of all infants. When he says, Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven, he means that this kingdom belongs to them as poor in spirit, and because they are poor in spirit, and consequently belongs to all the poor in spirit.

Again, our Savior declares that the angels of the little ones "do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven, and that it is not the will of your Father that one of these little ones should perish." These and other similar words and acts of Jesus expressed the fatherly love and tenderness of God for little children. Who, when accepting his teaching, would have doubted the certain salvation of all infants dying in infancy?

What, now, has been the belief of the church as to the fate of this class? The simple truth is that theologians at large, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, have taught that some infants pass through death into perdition. Augustine held that infants dying before baptism are lost. The Roman church has always taught that infants who pass out of the world without baptism cannot attain to eternal life. "As Dante enters the first circle he hears the air trembling with the sighs of many infants." The chief divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries taught infant reprobation and the actual damnation of infants without the least doubt or mitigation. The Reformers and the churches of the Reformation did not make the salvation of infants dependent, as did the Roman church, upon baptism, but upon election. A Puritan poet, Michael Wigglesworth, of Massachusetts, about two hundred years ago, put the dogma of

infant perdition into a tripping meter and a double rhyme. He is describing the last judgment and brings the reprobate infants before the bar of justice. They plead not guilty, but the judge replies :

You sinners are ; and such a share
As sinners may expect ;
Such you shall have, for I do save
None but mine own elect.
Yet to compare your sins with theirs
Who lived a longer time,
I do confess, yours is much less,
Though every sin's a crime.
A crime it is : therefore in bliss
You may not hope to dwell ;
But unto you I shall allow
The easiest room in hell.

The salvation of elect infants was as high and large a view as the Protestant churches of the seventeenth, and even of the eighteenth, century were able to take. The nineteenth century has witnessed a great advance in the general doctrine, now almost invariably held, that all those dying in infancy, whether in Christian or in heathen lands, are saved directly from sin and admitted into heaven. Many Calvinists hold fast the dogmas of arbitrary sovereignty, the imputation of Adam's guilt to his posterity, the decrees of election and reprobation ; and yet they accept the doctrine of the salvation of all infants dying in infancy. The method of harmonizing this doctrine with their general theological scheme is very simple and ingenious. It is by the pleasing fiction, the unverified and unverifiable hypothesis, that all who die in infancy are elect. God ordains that of elect infants some shall die in infancy, but of the non-elect, or reprobate, infants all shall live to the period of responsible agency. In the light of the idea of the fatherhood of God, as taught by Christ and illustrated in his life, the dogma of infant damnation must be deemed an incredible dream of madness.

5. We will mention another misconception of the character and ways of God. The view has been and still is widely prevalent

that sin and the present degree of sin are necessary to the greatest happiness of the universe as a whole; that by consigning to perdition a part of the angels and of mankind, the rest, those kept from falling or redeemed and saved, would have a greater amount and a far higher quality of happiness than would have been enjoyed in case all had remained holy and happy forever. Accordingly God, having in view the greatest good of a given number, chose the existing plan of the universe because it would insure the existence of sin and the requisite amount of sin, and now proceeds, according to his eternal purpose, to select a given number of our race, no better and no worse than the rest, whom he sends away into everlasting punishment, the particular individuals and the number to be chosen for this doom being determined by the fact that they will furnish such a manifestation of the divine justice as will enhance most powerfully the felicity of the recipients of divine favor. Such is, in substance, the theory that has been accepted, in manifold forms, in the history of the church.

Is it credible that, if theologians had believed God to be the Father of all men, they would have entertained, for a moment, such a theory as this? What sort of a father, think you, would he be who should deliberately form his plan of family government with the view of insuring the flagrant disobedience of his children, in order that, by inflicting severe punishment for life upon a part of them, he might greatly enhance the happiness of the rest, their gratitude and joy being far more profound as contrasted with the miserable condition of the other members of the family which might have been their own? It needs no discussion to show that the only fathers who could act in the way here indicated belong to the class of which Herod and Nero are types. There is no father worthy of the name who would not infinitely prefer to see all his children obedient and happy, with a measure of happiness however low, than to see a part of them obedient, and happy with a degree of happiness however high, at the expense of the lifelong wickedness and misery of the rest, or even of one member, of his family. And to our mind it is axiomatically certain that God, the infinitely

wise, benignant, and holy Father of all spirits, did not proceed and never could have proceeded, in determining the eternal destiny of his children, on the principle avowed in this widely accepted theory. In fact, the whole basis of the theory, the assumption that the pains of the damned will enhance the blessedness of the saved, is utterly unscriptural and to the last degree irrational.

Dr. Bellamy, who died 1790, one of the three most powerful and influential of the earlier New England theologians, Jonathan Edwards and Samuel Hopkins being the other two, enters into an elaborate mathematical calculation on this subject. He shows to his own satisfaction that if there were 300,000,000 angels, and one-third of the number should fall, the remaining 200,000,000 would enjoy 9,600 million times more happiness than would have been enjoyed in case all had remained obedient and happy. Thus he exclaims, with delight, we have "as clear gain" an increase of the happiness of the universe 9,600 million times due to the perdition of 100,000,000 angels.

6. We notice as a sixth and last point the requirements laid down as essential to salvation in some of the most widely accepted creeds.

The Athanasian creed was prepared in the fifth century, had great influence all through the Middle Ages, was accepted by the Reformers, and was made a part of the confessions of faith of the Protestant churches. This creed states, in the first place, that in order to be saved one must believe the Catholic faith; in the second place, it sets forth what the Catholic faith is concerning the Trinity and the person of Christ. The doctrine of the Trinity is unfolded in a series of positive and negative statements involving seventy-two propositions, and the doctrine of the person of Christ in twenty, making ninety-two abstract, metaphysical, transcendental propositions pertaining to the nature of the Supreme Being and the constitution of Christ's person. The creed declares that these propositions must be heartily believed on pain of everlasting perdition. There is not probably a person before me who would have the least chance of salvation according to the conditions of this famous and widely accepted

creed. Is it credible that men who had a living conception of God as a Father, infinitely reasonable and benignant, could have believed that he had prescribed such absurd and impossible conditions of salvation, the hearty acceptance of a mass of metaphysical propositions which only the most highly disciplined and penetrating thinkers could understand? What should we think of a father who should threaten his son ten years old with severe punishment if he did not heartily accept the speculations of Plato, the *Principia* of Newton, or the great argument of Bishop Butler? Would he not be declared to be an utterly unreasonable and arbitrary despot? So it would have been impossible, except under the influence of the idea of God, not as a Father, but as a being of arbitrary sovereignty, that men could have believed it possible for him to fix such conditions of salvation as those specified in the Athanasian creed.

The foregoing dogmas—arbitrary sovereignty, unconditional reprobation, limited atonement, infant damnation, the perdition of some moral agents to enhance the happiness of the rest, the absurd demands of creed-scription—these dogmas, and many others of a like nature, constituting an essential part of ecclesiastical Christianity, are, in the judgment of the author of this paper, a wide departure from the Christianity of Christ. The Christianity of the New Testament passed into expression through the metaphysical ideas and categories of the Greek mind and through the juristic and political ideas of the Latin mind. We see in the Roman Catholic hierarchy the true Christ and the true church buried under mountains of error. The Protestant churches of the Reformation threw off a large part of these errors, but not all of them. We should go on with the reformation and complete the work of emancipation. What the world needs is a Christian theology, a theology built out of the unique and luminous ideas of God, man, and the world given in Jesus Christ. And the formative, determinative idea of this theology will be Christ's doctrine of the fatherhood of God, including in fatherhood those immanent, eternal, ethical perfections of God manifested in Jesus Christ who was the image of the invisible God, the brightness of the Father's glory, the express image of his person:

1. Fatherhood in creation : God constituting personal agents for beatitude, with a nature akin to his own, and so capable of entering into conscious fellowship with him.

2. Fatherhood in moral government : God dealing with all in holy love, doing all he can wisely do to bring all to their true destination, a state of confirmation in holiness and happiness.

3. Fatherhood in redemption : God providing a way, at infinite cost to himself, whereby he can exercise his forgiving and renewing grace toward sinners, in a way consistent with his absolute ethical perfection.

4. Fatherhood in retribution : God, being unable, in the plenitude of his power, wisdom, and love, to win all to the true life of sonship, out of regard to the unfallen and the redeemed, cannot but shut up the incorrigible, the morally incurable, the waste material of the spiritual universe, in some region away from the realms of light.

CRITICAL NOTES.

THE GOSPELS AS A SOURCE FOR THE LIFE OF CHRIST.

DURING the last seventy years there has been an almost unintermittent succession of "lives of Jesus." The series of what we may call modern "lives of Christ" opens with the celebrated work of the rationalist Paulus, published in 1828, which he characteristically entitled *Das Leben Jesu als Grundlage einer reinen Geschichte des Urchristentums* (two volumes). In 1835 Strauss issued his *Leben Jesu*, in which he dealt with the contents of the gospels as myths, rejecting not only the miraculous element pleaded for by orthodox supernaturalism, but also the naturalistic explanation of miracles which rationalism had sought to establish. Neander, in 1837, and Lange, in 1844 ff., endeavored to reply to Strauss by elaborate vindications of the historical accuracy of the gospels as sources for the life of Jesus. One of the ablest of this historico-critical school was Weisse, who, in his *Evangelische Geschichte, kritisch und philosophisch bearbeitet* (two volumes, 1838), accepted Mark's gospel as most accurate and generally trustworthy, distinguishing, however, even in it, portions as historical and others as unhistorical. Since that period almost every year has witnessed the appearance of lives of Jesus by German, French, English, and American authors, and presenting all conceivable points of view, from the purely rationalistic to the most severely orthodox. But whatever the point of view of the writers of those lives might be, and whatever their views of the character and credibility of the canonical gospels might be, in this at least they were all agreed that the gospels claimed to be the one adequate source of the life of Jesus, and that from them, or at least from the residuum left after the application of the approved critical tests, a life of Jesus as he was, or as he was conceived of by the evangelists, might be drawn up. It is, of course, quite evident that, if we are to have a biography of Jesus, the materials for it must be sought in contemporary documents, such as the canonical gospels profess to be. But the question may very properly be raised as to whether our gospels are, or even profess to be, biographies, or collections of materials for biographies, of Jesus. If they do not afford material for such a biography, if there be important constituent parts of a biography for which we obtain nothing in their

pages, then no such materials exist, and the construction of a life of Jesus in the sense of a biography is impossible.

Quite recently the discussions occasioned by the Ritschlian development have led such men as Martin Kähler, of Halle, to consider the question as to whether this "life of Jesus movement" is warrantable, whether it is allowable for the extremely energetic and able propagandists of that school to bring forward their historical Christ as the Jesus of biography, and to set up the story of the man Jesus as the whole Bible, rejecting all else as mere dogmatism. Attention must here be called to a distinction, to which we must return later on: If Christ is more than a mere man in respect of his nature, task, and present position, he is superhistorical, and in such a case, but only in such a case, the historical Jesus as presented in the gospels is of incomparable worth. With this presupposition kept steadily in view, we cannot have too many details of his earthly life. We shall rightly cherish every tradition regarding him, and will grudge no expenditure of toil and care in sifting the documentary sources which tell of his doings or sufferings. But when we come to attempt the construction of a consistent conception of his human consciousness and personal development, keeping hold all the while of the presupposition of his superhuman nature, task, and rank, we soon find ourselves short of materials. We come upon something which necessitates our going back to obtain information about its genesis, but our documents give us no help. We need something to explain an act, a line of thought, an unexpected appearing, a sudden disappearing; but our gospels afford us no materials, nor do their writers betray any consciousness of having failed to collect such details as might have been expected from them. From the documents which we have it is evidently as impossible to construct a psychological biography of Jesus as it is to produce a geographical and chronological journal of his doings from the cradle to the grave.

The great diversity which characterizes the lives of Jesus constructed from the gospels ought of itself to give rise to the question as to whether these gospels were ever intended to be sources of a biography. To mention only a few of this class of works, restricting ourselves to those that are accessible to readers of books in the English language only, we have the writings of Strauss, Renan, Ewald, Keim, Weiss, Farrar, Hanna. All these biographies of Jesus admit that their only source is the gospel narrative, each of them constructing his "life" from what he regards as the true constituents of that primary and only source.

Among these we have at least one who accepts almost nothing, and one who accepts absolutely everything. It is, perhaps, easy to discount the work of such extreme men as Strauss and Renan—the one so utterly unsympathetic, and the other so lacking in depth and ethical appreciation. But, even when we have to do with believing critical historians, we see how they differ from one another, and how entirely different in form, as well as in matter, their productions are from the work of the simple believer who reproduces his evangelical sources without the application of any critical test. Surely this quite naturally and necessarily raises the question as to whether those gospels which, when so used, can be interpreted in so many ways, were ever intended to be so used. We do not call attention at this point to the meagerness of the information of this sort supplied by these gospels, but to the question that arises as to the historicity of the detailed narratives. It is surely quite evident that the canonical gospels lay themselves open to the possibility of such critical treatment simply by this, that they propose to themselves an altogether different task from that of providing material for a biography. It is the presupposition of the supernatural, the assumption that alongside of and under the human there is a super-human power, which renders our gospels liable to attack, and their narratives, when thus dealt with by naturalistic criticism, subject to such serious curtailment. It is simply the miraculous element in the gospels that gives offense. If it is simply material for a biography that we are in quest of, the application of criticism in order to get rid of this is quite legitimate. It is the natural, not the supernatural, that we require for a biography. And so, if we grant the Ritschlian claim for a merely historical Christ, for a Christ of biography, whose life can and must be told like that of any other man, then we can raise no objection to the critical elimination of the miraculous element from the gospels. Those who undertake to construct a biography of Jesus—using this term in its strict and accurate sense—can make use only of the natural element in the gospels. The residuum available will be found meager enough. Every trace of eternal preëxistence; of incarnation in the sense of God becoming man, as distinguished from the idea of man becoming God; of absolute sinlessness, as not merely a negative, but also a positive quality; of power to work miracles, of resurrection, of continued personal existence, must of necessity disappear. This can be of no service to, and can have no validity for, those who hold by the historical Christ of the Ritschlians. And when we have subtracted all these from the gospels, what have we left? Is there anything remaining

out of which we may construct a biography or anything else? So far as I am aware, no Ritschlian has yet attempted to construct a life of Christ. We have a Ritschlian encyclopædia (Heinrici), a Ritschlian history of doctrines (Harnack), Ritschlian dogmatics and dogmatic discussions in abundance; also a perfect flood of Ritschlian treatises on all varieties of christological questions; but no Ritschlian life of Christ. Why is this? Is it not just because everyone is reluctant to undertake the task of making bricks without straw? This is at least one good result of the consistency and regardlessness of consequences with which the Ritschlian school has carried out its naturalistic principles, and it has caused men at last to acknowledge that, whatever else the gospels may be useful for, it is certainly not for providing materials for the biography of the historical man Jesus.

A biographer may follow either of two courses. He may, on the one hand, give full details of the particular facts which go to make up the whole life-career as viewed from the outside. In that case we would require in sources a rich abundance of materials regarding all the periods of the life, and all the situations with regard to other persons and things into which the life-activities of the individual had brought him. We have sometimes volumes of collections published professing to be storehouses from which some future biographer may draw his materials for a well-balanced life of some individual who played an important part in history. An example of this is found in Canon Robertson's *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, in several volumes, and in these volumes anyone who undertakes to write about Becket's life will find gathered together all original documents, informative or illustrative, known to exist. Or, on the other hand, the biographer may seek psychologically to treat of the causes that underlie certain phenomena of conduct. For such a task sources of a somewhat different kind are necessary. Incidents must be related which reveal special qualities of character or disposition, or illustrate what may be regarded as the individuality of the man. These, at least, are the incidents which the psychological biographer will use in order to make his sketch true to the life. Now, it must be quite evident that the gospels are not sources for the life of Jesus in the former sense. No attempt is made by any of the writers of these works to produce anything like a complete narrative of the facts of the life. It was not the want of materials that caused this. Every here and there in the synoptic gospels we have allusions to unrecorded discourses and index-like summaries under classified

headings of crowds of miracles, which clearly imply that the writer could have enlarged his work almost indefinitely by recording facts known to him which he passed over. It simply did not lie within the scope of his work to chronicle the details of the earthly life of the man Jesus, and he is neither writing a biography nor providing materials for any future biography. It is equally clear that the evangelists make no attempt to account for the human life of Jesus on psychological principles. We do not, for example, find them endeavoring to determine the natural temperament of Jesus as a man in order thereby to account for the prevailing tone of his discourses, his treatment of those who came to him for healing or instruction, the attitude he assumed toward his opponents, or the views that he expressed at different periods regarding his divine mission and the method of its accomplishment. In the biography of a man with such a career as that of Jesus we should rightly have demanded some attempt to account for the procedure of the subject of it, when that procedure stands in need of such elucidation, as in the case of Jesus it notoriously does. We should estimate the success of the biographer according to the measure in which his delineation of the emotional, intellectual, and moral character of his subject affords a satisfactory explanation of the facts. Neither, then, as a chronicler of the facts of the life nor as a psychological accounting for those facts can our canonical gospels be regarded as in any true sense a biography of Jesus, or as a collection of sources affording materials for such a work.

The actual purpose for which the gospels were written is stated by John (John 20:31): "These are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name." This statement, which, of course, primarily applies to the fourth gospel, affords a thoroughly correct explanation of the purpose of the writers of the first three gospels. Hence it is quite evident that what the gospels actually do offer is not material for a biography of Jesus, but a picture of the Son of man from the point of view of faith in the Son of God, drawn by believers for believers and for those who wish to believe. If this fact be only fairly faced and accepted, all ground is taken away from the popular cry, often so ignorantly, or at least so inconsiderately, repeated: "Back to the gospels in order to get back to Christ!" The only sort of plausible excuse for such a cry lay in the assumption that in the gospels we have a purely biographical sketch of the man Jesus, a simple transcript of his words, and a purely objective report of his doings, as distinguished from the

more or less *tendency*-representation of him which we have in the epistles, in which we have estimates of him and of his teaching by believers largely influenced by their own deliberate and mature beliefs. The attitude of the evangelists is precisely that of the writers of the epistles, and their work is nothing less than a reproduction of the historical foundation on which the doctrinal superstructure of the epistles has been reared. And this reproduction, we must remember, was made in full view of, and therefore implies presumably full approbation of, the contents of that doctrinal superstructure. The incidents of speech and action which they report they do, indeed, guarantee as facts which actually took place, which, as real occurrences, serve as characteristics of the life in which the whole Christian system has its roots; but they write as men who are already thoroughly convinced of the doctrinal significance of that life to which those incidents belong. In their thoughts and in their writings the historical Jesus is assuredly and of necessity the same as the Christ of Christianity. Only on the supposition of a distinction between these two, the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith, can we have in the gospels, or from material supplied by the gospels, a biography of Jesus.

The question here arises as to the legitimacy of the use now commonly made of the phrase "the historical Jesus" or "the Christ of history." In christological literature the phrase has come to have a well-defined application. By Dorner, and theologians of a similar tendency, it has been used to indicate the Christ depicted in Scripture, as contrasted with the ideal Christ of the Hegelian speculative theology. It was employed to designate the Christ as set forth in the whole of the New Testament Scripture, in the epistles as well as in the gospels. This surely was a most legitimate use of the phrase, and as thus employed it supplied a very convenient and highly useful technical term. What the speculative theology offered was an ideal biography constructed from materials gathered from the gospel narratives, but selected from them, amplified, and interpreted according to the standard furnished by the consciousness of the biographer in its conception of the ideal man. It was assumed by the speculative theologians that this Christ is only ideal, realized, it may be, in the history and development of the race in its totality, but of necessity never attaining a complete and perfect form in the life of any individual man. In contrast to this ideal Christ, the so-called mediating theologians, as well as theologians of the more strictly confessional and orthodox school, were wont to call attention to the Christ of history

as the Christ of the gospels and of the whole New Testament. This Christ of history, they maintained, was also the Christ of faith. But now, notwithstanding the fact of this easily appreciable and generally accepted usage of the phrase, we find it commonly employed by Ritschlians, and theological writers more or less influenced by Ritschl, to indicate something that the so-called historical narratives cannot give, something that stands out as distinctly differentiated from anything that traditional reports, oral or written, can ever give. In one of the most interesting sections of a well-known work of one of the most winsome and edifying of all the writers of that fruitful school¹ we have a clear explanation of the Ritschlian use of this phrase. "When we speak," says Hermann, "of *the historical Christ*, we mean that personal life of Jesus which speaks to us from the New Testament, viewed as the disciples' testimony to their faith. Historical research can never give this nor take it away, and when we have it we know that we are at one with the living church in possessing that gift of God which brings about our redemption." There is a wonderful warmth of expression, fitted to cheer the heart of the most pronounced evangelical, in Hermann's declaration that there is nothing so necessary in Christendom as the preaching of Christ. But he soon makes it plain that the historical Christ of which he is thinking may be preached and believed in altogether apart from the acceptance of the so-called evangelical facts on the strength of New Testament narratives and doctrines. The story of the virgin-birth of Jesus as the incarnate Son of God, of his teaching this or that other truth, of his having done this or that other miracle, even that of his raising the dead and that of his own rising from the dead, ascending into heaven, and ruling now with God, however impressively delivered, is no gospel, and, if offered as such, is a great hindrance to faith. If we can believe it, it may help to draw our attention to Jesus; but belief in all or any of these narratives or doctrines is not necessary to acceptance of a belief in "the historical Christ." It would not, perhaps, be quite fair to say that "the historical Christ" may be *in no way* connected with the Jesus of history. But certainly with the Ritschlians it is not what Jesus was in historical relations, it is not what he said or what he did in his earthly, temporal life, but only the inner life of Jesus as it appeals to me and awakens in me a certain feeling, that constitutes for me the historical

¹ HERRMANN, *Der Verkehr des Christen mit Gott*, dritte Auflage, Stuttgart, 1896. English translation: *The Communion of the Christian with God*, London, 1895, p. 64, Book II, chap. I, sec. 15.

Christ. Now, this is surely not only an illegitimate use of the term which has been already in use for something quite different, but, what is far more serious, the violent expulsion from the realm of fact and reality of that which this term had been employed to designate. The historical Jesus, meaning by that the Jesus of Nazareth of the four canonical gospels, no longer exists; at most nothing recorded of him is more than a historical probability, so that no one may rest his faith on the whole of the record or any part of it. Only the general teaching of the evangelist as to the glory and grace of Jesus, the general effect of the impression regarding him which they leave upon the mind, is of any weight, and this only in so far as it awakens in me a spirit capable of appreciation like theirs. At the root of this Ritschlian conception of the historical Christ lies the assumption that the gospels are, and were intended to be, a biography of Jesus. It is only when they are regarded from this point of view that their contents must be subjected to ordinary historical criticism, which, in the most favorable case, can yield only the highest degree of historical probability. Hence on the principles of Ritschlianism there can be no doctrine of inspiration in any real sense. The credibility of the New Testament writers can only be on the same plane with that of other historians. Even when the results of criticism are most favorable, the credibility of the gospels can differ only in degree, and not in kind, from that of other ancient chroniclers. But this way of going to work is justifiable only on the hypothesis that we have simply ordinary men to deal with in the favorable circumstances of contemporaries and eye-witnesses of the events of a purely human life, or the reminiscences of other men of the same type who had opportunities of converse with such. If it were so that the evangelists profess to give a colorless account of what they had seen and heard, or of what had been told them, we might then fairly apply to their writings the same critical method which we make use of when we turn to the monkish histories of hermits, martyrs, or mediæval saints, and discount all that from the mere observer's point of view is evidently the contribution of an excited and ill-regulated fancy, or the conviction of a judgment credulous or easily imposed upon. But, as we have seen, especially from the explicit declaration of John, this by no means expresses the purpose of their writing, nor does it represent the claims which they put forth in behalf of their statement.

The error which vitiates a great deal of the historical and critical work of the Ritschlians consists in this, that they insist upon treating

the New Testament writers, not from the standpoint of the writers, but from their own. Any critical treatment of the narratives of the gospels and the christological doctrines of the epistles which rejects or minimizes the miraculous or supernatural, while seeking to reserve certain incidents as historically or biographically true, offers as a residuum something that has no real existence. Neither evangelist nor apostle reports any one saying or any one act of the man Jesus which may be used in a biography of Jesus, that is, in the life of Jesus from the naturalistic point of view. It ought to be remembered that, whatever the uncertainty of the evangelists or apostles who had been disciples of Jesus may have been previous to the resurrection, at the time when they wrote the canonical gospels or their prototypes he was to them beyond all question the Godman, and it is from this standpoint that they wrote throughout. The Son of God, as his sonship is conceived of by the New Testament writers, is God. It would be blasphemy to think of, or to imagine the possibility of, writing a biography of God. We can tell what God has done in creation and providence and redemption, but no one has ever supposed that, when he has told all he knows or has learned about God's thoughts and God's works, he has written a life of God, or ever gathered materials for such a work. It is absolutely true that the world itself would not contain the collections for a task of that kind. And just because the New Testament writers can never think of Jesus but as God, they know that a life of him in the sense of a biography is impossible. If the attempt were made, they feel sure "that even the world itself would not contain the books that should be written."

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THE DAY OF YAHWEH.

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THE origin of the idea of the Day of Yahweh must be sought in the pre-prophetic stage of Israel's history. The first appearance of the conception in the Old Testament is in the prophecy of Amos, where it is clearly defined and formulated. The idea which Amos found already existing and occupying a large place in the thought of the people was apparently a conception of the day as a time when a period of great glory and prosperity was to be inaugurated for Israel. Naturally such a day was greatly desired. Whence came this idea? It seems to be a development of several ideas in combination. One of these is the conception of a divine mission which early took possession of the consciousness of Israel.¹ Tradition exhibits many traces of such a conception. The founders of the nation and all her great leaders are said to have had in mind a unique position for Israel among the nations. Utterances to this effect are common in the J and E documents,² and, belonging as they do to some of the earliest of Israel's historical records, they are not probably wholly without basis in facts. They may, therefore, be properly taken as evidence for the existence in very early times of a hope for a glorious future of the nation as Yahweh's representative in the world.

In further support of the existence of some such ambition as this may be urged the presence of similar hopes among Semitic peoples in general.³ The national character of Semitic gods seems best explained on the supposition that small and weak families, clans, and tribes submitted to the dominion of larger and more powerful communities because of some necessity, such as conquest, lack of food, or need of protection and assistance against powerful enemies. In such a union the superiority of the god of the more powerful body of people was acknowledged, and the god of the weaker people was reduced to subordinate rank. As this process continued, a nation gradually came

¹ Cf. FRANTS BUHL, *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY*, Vol. II, p. 767.

² *E. g.*, Gen. 12:2 ff.; 18:18 ff.; 27:29; 28:14; Exod. 19:5 f.; 34:10; Numb. 23:9; 24:9, 17.

³ W. R. SMITH, *The Religion of the Semites*, 2d ed., pp. 75-81.

into existence, and the original tribal god developed into a national god.⁴ But the fact of his having reached this dignity did not rob him of his original expansive force; his nature remained essentially the same, and his ambition for power would carry him on to universal dominion, were his adherents sturdy and aggressive enough to attain that goal. It was therefore the natural and proper desire of every Semitic nation to extend the influence of its own particular god to the farthest possible limit. This could best be accomplished through the conquest of new territory over which the sway of the god might be established. Hence wars of conquest, which were at the same time religious wars, were of unceasing occurrence.

Assyrian records furnish the best illustrations of this spirit of expansion in political and religious affairs. The wars of Assyria were preëminently religious wars. Every king in every campaign declares himself to have been incited, emboldened, and prospered by his nation's gods. Kings felt and declared themselves to be the agents of the gods, and regarded it as one of their chief duties to widen the dominion of the gods and to manifest their power.⁵ Esarhaddon, for example, well expresses the animating spirit of Assyrian warfare thus: "The names of the great gods they invoked together and trusted to their power. I, however, trusted in Ashur, my lord, and like a bird out of the mountains I captured him and cut off his head. *In order to exhibit the might of Ashur, my lord, before the eyes of the peoples*, I hung the heads of Sanduarri and Abdimilkuti upon the necks of their great men."⁶ The inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I., Shalmaneser II., Tiglath-pileser III., Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Ashurbanipal, and others are full of illustrations showing the place and influence of religious ideas in connection with the national territorial development.⁷ The evident desire was that Ashur should be acknowledged as the supreme deity throughout the known world. The kings certainly regarded him as such and commonly spoke of themselves as kings of the four quarters of the world over which Ashur had given them dominion.⁸

⁴ So MENZIES, *History of Religion*, pp. 79 ff.; D'ALVIELLA, *Idea of God*, pp. 20 ff.; *et al.*

⁵ Cf. MCCURDY, *History, Prophecy and the Monuments*, Vol. I, pp. 63 f.; SAYCE, *Early Israel and the Surrounding Nations*, pp. 248 f.

⁶ The Six-Sided Prism, *Cylinder A*, col. i, ll. 43 ff.

⁷ Cf. Sennacherib, *Taylor-Prism*, col. i, ll. 10 ff., 63; ii, 42 f.; iii, 42; iv, 43; Esarhaddon, *Cylinder A*, col. ii, l. 45; iii, 7-12, 40-48, 53; iv, 19-25, 38-47; Ashurbanipal, *Annals*, col. iv, l. 34; viii, 8 ff.; ix, 112 ff.; *etc.*

⁸ For the same idea see the closing tablet of the Dibbara Legend, translated by JASTROW in *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 535, and by W. MUSS-ARNOLT in

The amazingly rapid spread of the religion of Mohammed is another illustration of the efficient service rendered by religious ideals in the furtherance of political development. The religious and ethical principles upheld by Mohammed were certainly purer and more vigorous than those of the earlier Arabic religions supplanted by him, and his success was, no doubt, largely due to this fact; but it seems probable that the old Semitic idea of a national god upon whose people there rested an obligation to extend his dominion had much to do in arousing the extraordinary zeal and energy with which the new religion was propagated, and that chiefly by force of arms. For such a religion and such a god success was the best recommendation; a recital of the triumphs already achieved was one of the best arguments for inducing still other peoples to acknowledge the supremacy of the new religion and the new god. Moreover, confidence engendered by successes already won carried the victors on to fresh contests and victories for their god.

In view of such corroborating testimony from without, it is not strange to find evidence within Israel of a similar laudable ambition for Yahweh and of a hope for the time when he would bring great glory to his people. That this hope originated at a very early date is evident, since it appears strongly in the earliest literature. Moreover, as suggested by Professor McCurdy,⁹ the possession of such a hope is a necessary presupposition to any satisfactory explanation of the fact that Israel was able to obtain and hold for herself a home among the tribes of Canaan, poorly disciplined as she was and beset by foes on every side. Her strong faith in Yahweh's power and in his purpose to bring glory to himself through Israel gave Israel courage in the face of all sorts of dangers and difficulties. Hence it is that every forward step during the period of the conquest and the years immediately following seems to have been preceded and accompanied by a great revival of zeal for Yahweh. Furthermore, the course of Israel's early national history was not unfavorable to the growth of this idea of a glorious destiny. Beginning with Saul and continuing through the days of Solomon, victory and prosperity had come to Israel in no small measure. Even in later centuries the reign of David was looked back upon longingly as a sort of golden age, and ideals of the future were shaped in accordance with the glorified and magnified traditions of the Davidic

R. F. HARPER's *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature* ("The World's Great Books," Aldine edition; New York: D. Appleton, 1901), p. 314.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 110 f.

days. Solomon extended his influence so far, established his kingdom so securely, and equipped himself so splendidly as to be the source of envy and wonder to all surrounding peoples. He was in a fair way to make Israel a world-empire such as Assyria and Babylon later came to be. After the check consequent upon the division of the kingdom, northern Israel, under the able leadership of the house of Omri, gradually reasserted herself. This new development was retarded by the long war with Syria, but by the time of Jeroboam II. Damascus was subdued, and Israel had attained prosperity and power second only to those enjoyed during the age of David and Solomon. History thus seemed to justify the popular hope of a gloriously bright future.¹⁰

In addition to this, the work of the earliest prophets tended in the same direction. All the prophets up to the time of Amos, with the possible exception of Elijah, seem to have foretold success and glory for their people.¹¹ They constantly emphasized the fact that Israel was Yahweh's people, and that, if Israel remained faithful to him, he would and must lead her on to victory.

Thus far we have found the hope of a great future for the nation through Yahweh's help to have been (1) fostered by tradition; (2) an outgrowth of the general Semitic conception of a God-given commission to enlarge the sphere of the divine authority; (3) presupposed as a source of inspiration and courage in the great work of the conquest of Canaan; (4) developed and strengthened by its apparent partial realization in the progress of the nation's history; and (5) enforced impressively upon the national consciousness by the nation's prophets, the spokesmen of Yahweh, the nation's God. In view of these facts the existence of such a conception of Israel's national destiny in the eighth century B. C. seems certain. It was not a conception of an exalted ethical and religious content, for ethical and religious standards were as yet comparatively low. It was rather the conception of a mission, one of the chief ends of which was to bring glory to those who fulfilled it.

A second and important element in the formation of the early idea of the Day of Yahweh was the conception of Yahweh which then prevailed.¹² The people were not far removed from polytheism, as is shown, among other things, by the frequency and ease with which in after

¹⁰ Cf. G. A. SMITH, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, Vol. I, pp. 49 f.

¹¹ Cf. 1 Kings 20 : 13, 28 ; 22 : 6, 11, 12 ; 2 Kings 2 : 13-19 ; 13 : 14-19 ; 14 : 25.

¹² Cf. R. H. CHARLES, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism and in Christianity*, pp. 85 f.

years they took up with idolatrous rites; by the survival of the plural form **אלהים**; by the use of *teraphim*; by the incident of the calf-worship at Sinai; and by traces lingering in many words and customs.^{12a} The intermediate stage, monolatry, was essential as a stepping-stone to monotheism, and the religion of Israel in the eighth century was of this kind. Israel's God was only one among many gods; the name Yahweh as a proper name distinguished him from Chemosh, god of Moab, Milcom of Ammon, Baal of Phœnicia, and the gods of other surrounding peoples. This monolatrous worship persisted far into the prophetic period, monotheism not being fully accepted and established in the thought of the nation until the days of the exile.¹³ The difference between Yahweh and other gods was but dimly realized in the early days of Yahwism. The points of resemblance between the worship of Israel and that of Canaan were more noticeable than the points of difference, and the constant endeavor of Israel's religious leaders was to keep the people from taking over so much of Baal-worship into the Yahweh-worship as to destroy the distinctive character of the latter. The preservation of true Yahweh-worship was essential to the development and continuance of national life and individuality. The Yahweh-religion was almost the only unifying influence which held together the heterogeneous and widely scattered elements of Israel. Yahweh's especial function was to be the deliverer of Israel in time of danger. He was emphatically a war-god, and it was as such that he was honored by Israel. He had proven his superiority to the gods of Egypt at the time of the exodus; and again, in the attack upon Canaan, he had demonstrated his superiority to the Canaanitish Baalim by conquering them and their people. This was, indeed, the only kind of superiority that Israel was as yet prepared to appreciate. Her existence during the greater part of the pre-prophetic period was one constant struggle to maintain her place against the peoples of Canaan, and a god who could not, or would not, render efficient service in this contest was not likely to command her respect and adherence. The victories of Israel over her enemies were necessary, not only to her

^{12a} Cf. BAUDISSIN, *Studien sur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Heft I, pp. 55-65.

¹³ See Judg. 6:31; 9:13; 11:24; Gen. 28:20 f.; Exod. 15:11; 18:11; 1 Sam. 26:19; 28:13; Amos 9:7; Ezek. 8:12; 9:9; etc. For a fuller treatment of the matter consult SMEND, *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte* (2d ed.), pp. 193-200; MONTEFIORE, *Religion of the Ancient Hebrews* ("The Hibbert Lectures," 1892), pp. 228, 268 f.; MCCURDY, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 370 f.; W. R. SMITH, *The Prophets of Israel* (new edition), pp. 59 ff.; SCHULTZ, *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. I, pp. 175 f.; BUDDÉ, *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, pp. 210 f.

national existence, but also to her retention of the Yahweh-religion. The work of Elijah in his fearless opposition to Baal-worship, and the work of Elisha as the source of the inspiration, wisdom, and patriotism in the conduct of the war with Damascus which enabled Israel to achieve final victory, sealed Israel to Yahweh in closest allegiance.

Though the recognition and acceptance of Yahweh as Israel's God did not involve the denial of reality to the gods of neighboring peoples, but permitted them to be regarded as real deities holding relations with their worshipers similar to those existing between Yahweh and Israel, yet Yahweh was supreme in Israel and in everything relating to Israel, and thus, when the interests of Israel clashed with those of her neighbors, it was to be expected that he would bring about the triumph of his own nation. However, the recognition of the reality of the gods of the nations was a great hindrance to Israel's full realization of the true nature of her mission to the world. It shut off almost entirely the outflow of the altruistic spirit and left the conception of Israel's destiny to find embodiment in hopes for Israel's supremacy among the nations and Yahweh's dominion over the gods. It was a self-centered mission, a destiny founded on ambition for Israel, and jealousy for the honor of Yahweh.

Another source of light upon the origin of the idea of the Day of Yahweh is found in the political relations of early Israel with outside nations. After the fierce struggles connected with the early days of the settlement in Canaan, Israel seems to have adopted a policy of conciliation toward the Canaanites in whose land she was an unwelcome intruder. The battle led by Deborah and Barak was the last great conflict with the people of the land. Deadly enmity gave way little by little to peaceful intercourse. Conciliation was Israel's wisest course; dwelling in the midst of a numerous people far more advanced in civilization than herself, and ready to take advantage of any and every opportunity to drive her out of their territory, it was necessary for her to strengthen herself in every possible way. She therefore gladly admitted "strangers" into her ranks and threw open to them all the privileges of Israelites.⁴⁴ She gained much by accretions resulting from such a policy and by the friendly feeling thus cultivated toward neighboring tribes.

But, though Israel succeeded thus in bringing her immediate neighbors into harmony with herself, she was not suffered to develop

⁴⁴ For a discussion of the whole question of the place of "strangers" in Israel see BERTHOLET, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden*, pp. 1-67.

her resources in peace. Her whole life up to the eighth century was one almost continual struggle for existence. Occupying, as she did, the most fertile oasis in northern Arabia, she was subjected to the onslaughts of less fortunate tribes who coveted the rich possession for themselves. Prior to David's time contests were waged with the Moabites, Ammonites, Amalekites, Philistines, Midianites, Edomites, and Syrians, deliverance being wrought for Israel under the leadership of Ehud, Shamgar, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, and Saul. David's reign was a period of war and conquest resulting in great renown for Israel. The territory acquired by David began to revolt and slip away under Solomon's administration. The long struggle with Syria began in the reign of Baasha of Israel, and continued with bitter hostility down through the reigns of Jehoahaz and Jehoash. In addition to this there were skirmishes with the Philistines in the days of Nadab of Israel; war with Mesha, king of Moab, in the time of Jehoram; revolt and reconquest of Edom under Joash and Amaziah respectively. Moreover, Assyria appears upon the scene as collector of tribute from Jehu. The last great war, that with Damascus, was a long drawn-out agony for Israel; but at last Yahweh sent Israel a savior in the person of Assyria, and she enjoyed a brief respite from fighting. The feelings of an Israelite, as he looked back upon his nation's long struggle, can scarcely have been amicable toward those with whom he had waged so many conflicts. He rejoiced in the downfall of Damascus, and would have taken equal pleasure in the discomfiture of other hereditary foes. Revenge was a far sweeter thought to him than forgiveness, and one more likely to stir his enthusiasm and arouse his zeal.

The bearing of the preceding discussion upon the question of the origin of the idea of the Day of Yahweh may now be briefly summarized. The people of Israel in the eighth and ninth centuries had inherited and developed the idea that they were destined by Yahweh for great things. They thought themselves certain of attaining political preëminence. They were to be instrumental in demonstrating to the nations the superiority of Yahweh, Israel's God, over all the gods of the nations. With a conception of Yahweh as but one—howbeit the greatest one—among many gods, it was necessary for them to prove his greatness to the surrounding peoples who were in like manner proud of their own respective gods. Yahweh had repeatedly shown himself to be efficient and worthy of all confidence as a war-god. It was along this line that his superiority was to be proved

to the nations. Yahweh had shown his pleasure in Israel and had manifested his power in recent days by overthrowing Damascus, her bitterest foe. How natural that the great majority in Israel should feel encouraged and should hope for the speedy coming of the day when Yahweh should manifest himself in behalf of his people and bring disaster and destruction to all their foes, thereby proving his own supremacy over all other gods and the superiority of his chosen people over all the peoples of other gods! The *popular* conception of the Day of Yahweh was, in short, that of a great day of battle on which Yahweh would place himself at the head of the armies of Israel and lead them on to overwhelming victory over all their enemies.¹⁵

In the hands of Amos this conception underwent a transformation. As heretofore it had been instrumental in stimulating the national spirit and life, so now, purified from its grosser elements, it is made to contribute to the development of the religious and moral life of the people. Instead of being the day of Israel's glorification at the expense of her enemies, it now became the day of her humiliation

¹⁵ The view of HOFFMANN, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (= *ZATW.*), 1883, p. 112, that in the popular conception the Day of Yahweh was looked upon as a *feast* day has no support aside from the fact that the context of Amos 5:18 ff. takes up the question of feasts, and this is not sufficient to establish the usage in view of the indications favorable to the view adopted here. For other instances of יום in the sense "day of battle" see Isa. 9:3 = כיום מדין, and Hos. 2:2 = יום זרעאל; cf. Obad., vs. 11 = יום אחיז, and Ps. 137:7 = יום ירושלם. The Arabic يوم is frequently used in the same sense; see the Qurân, Sura 45, vs. 13, where the expression "days of God" is interpreted by Arabic commentators as meaning days when God overthrows the infidels in battle. SCHULTENS, *Liber Jobi cum nova versione . . . et commentario perpetuo, etc.*, Vol. I, pp. 54 f., quotes in support of this usage the following passage from *Hamasa*:

من راي يومنا ويوم بني التيم
اذا التف صبغة بدمه

"Who saw our day and the day of the sons of Teim,
When the dust was made coherent with its blood?"

and from Omar ibn Keltoum: فما ابقت الايام ملال عندنا "Nor have the days [*i. e.*, days of battle] left any resources in our possession." W. R. SMITH also (*Prophets of Israel*, Lecture III, note 15) refers to a section on the "Days of the Arabs" in the *Id* of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, Egyptian ed., Vol. III, pp. 60 f., from which he cites the phrase "the days of Tamîm against Bekr" (*Id*, p. 80) in illustration of the fact that among the Arabs the day of battle was often named after the combatants. See also the Arabic illustrations of the same usage cited by Gesenius in his commentary on Isa. 9:3, and by STEINGASS, *Arabic Dictionary, sub voce*.

and chastisement at the hands of Yahweh. It was a complete reversal of all the hopes which Israel had so long centered in this day. The first announcement of the new doctrine (Amos 5: 18 ff.) must have fallen upon the people with startling suddenness; it was a rude awakening from a pleasant dream.

The new conception of the day introduced by Amos was the outgrowth of the new idea of Yahweh which had taken possession of him. It was the practical application of his thought of God to the conditions of his age. For him Yahweh's predominant characteristic was righteousness (Amos 5: 4-6, 24); and this called for a corresponding righteousness on the part of Israel. The peculiar relation she sustained to Yahweh only increased the obligation upon her to be righteous (Amos 3: 2). In the presence of this demand for moral integrity Amos saw Israel's fearful depravity. Northern Israel had probably never before enjoyed such outward prosperity and political prestige as at this time.¹⁶ Hints are not wanting in Amos of the great wealth and luxury of the times (Amos 3: 10, 12, 15; 5: 11; 6: 4-8). But it was altogether too manifest that this was secured largely at the expense of the poor, and that cruelty and vice of every description abounded (Amos 2: 6-8; 3: 9, 10; 5: 10-13). Even the women had sunk to the lowest depths of degradation (Amos 4: 1-3), and the political leaders, as well as the religious leaders, were foremost in wickedness. Yet amid all this moral desolation, having no conception of Yahweh's demand for righteousness, the people prided themselves on the fact that Yahweh was with them, and that evil therefore could not overtake them.¹⁷ Realizing the righteousness of Yahweh and the wickedness of Israel as fully as he did, Amos was forced to the conclusion that nothing short of Israel's destruction would satisfy the demands of Yahweh's justice. As the instrument for the execution of Yahweh's judgment upon Israel, his attention was naturally turned to the invincible Assyrian army, whose victorious progress was ever drawing nearer and nearer to the borders of Israel. The nation was ripe for destruction; the destroying agent was close at hand; therefore the Day of Yahweh must be coming full soon—perhaps even in his own generation. It was to be the close of the existing degenerate age rather than the opening of a new and glorious one, as the people had fondly hoped.

¹⁶ Cf. 2 Kings 14: 25-28, and McCURDY, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 308 f.

¹⁷ Amos 5: 14 is suspected as a later insertion by Valetón, G. A. Smith, Volz, Nowack, Löhr, *et al.*; but in any case the blind confidence in the protecting presence of Yahweh which is there attributed to Israel was characteristic of that time; cf. Mic. 3: 11 and Judg. 6: 13.

. With such a message Amos addressed northern Israel. Wellhausen has called attention to the artistic and dramatic way in which he introduced his startling announcement.¹⁸ By denouncing the neighboring peoples and foretelling their destruction he raised the hopes of his listeners that the Day of Yahweh was about to come upon their foes, as they had long desired, only to dash those hopes to the ground with startling suddenness when he announced to them that judgment was about to fall upon them themselves. "Woe unto you that desire the Day of Yahweh," says Amos; "wherefore would ye have the Day of Yahweh? It is darkness and not light. . . . Shall not the Day of Yahweh be darkness and not light, even very dark and no brightness in it?" This statement was followed up and reinforced by the declaration of Yahweh's hatred of their luxurious and superstitious worship, and his intention to drive Israel into exile because of her sins. In the face of incredulity, jeers,¹⁹ and threats, Amos persisted in his message. That day is to be ushered in by terrible portents in earth and heavens. Mourning and lamentation will take the place of the songs and feasts of the present. No one will be able to deliver himself from the universal calamity; all the workers of iniquity will perish. Not a ray of light illumines the darkness of the Day of Yahweh as described by Amos.²⁰ He saw that the popular idea of it as a time for Israel's glorification was deeply wrought into the life of the nation and was

¹⁸ *Die kleinen Propheten*, on Amos 2:14 ff.

¹⁹ Amos 6:3. CHEYNE, *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah. A New English Translation*, p. 135 [= Polychrome Bible, or *SBOT.*], seems to regard this passage as testifying to the existence of two opposite views concerning the Day of Yahweh among the people in the time of Amos—the one looking forward to it eagerly as a time of joy for Israel, the other regarding it as an evil day, but supposing it to be still distant. If this was the case, all that Amos did was to adopt the darker view already existing and endeavor to convince Israel of its near approach. It seems more natural, however, to take this utterance of Amos as addressed to those who received his doctrine of the Day of Yahweh skeptically and ironically, blindly trusting in their present ease and security, and refusing to credit gloomy forebodings concerning a coming disaster of which they can see no signs. Cf. the interpretations of this passage given by Wellhausen, Gunning, Mitchell, Driver, and G. A. Smith.

²⁰ The promise of Amos 9:8b-15 is from a later hand. The argument against these verses is set forth in detail by VOLZ, *Die vorexilische Jahweprophete und der Messias*, pp. 22-4; cf. G. A. SMITH, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 190-95. Among many others who assign them to a later time may be cited Wellhausen, Stade, Smend, Cheyne, Cornill, Marti, Nowack, Löhr, SCHWALLY, *ZATW.*, 1890, pp. 226 f.; PREUSCHEN, *ZATW.*, 1895, pp. 24-7; TORREY, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XV, pp. 153 f.; J. TAYLOR, article "Amos" in HASTINGS' *Dictionary of the Bible*. For a defense of the authenticity of the passage see DRIVER, *Joel and Amos*, pp. 219-23.

fraught with great danger to the higher interests of Israel, so that nothing less would do than to transform it completely and present it from an entirely new point of view. He must draw the thoughts of the people away from illusive hopes and fix them upon stern realities.

In the formulation of his doctrine of the Day of Yahweh Amos did not break away completely from the past. He utilized some elements of the popular conception already existing, viz., the thought that Yahweh was to manifest himself personally in judgment; that this would occur on a specific day; that this day would be a day of battle; that wonderful phenomena on earth and in the heavens would accompany the day; that in connection with the judgment punishment would fall upon the enemies of Israel and of Yahweh; and, above all, that it would be the time when Yahweh would vindicate himself in the sight of the whole world. But a radical departure from the popular idea is seen in the essential content of the new doctrine in accordance with which Yahweh's vindication involves Israel's discomfiture rather than her triumph. This was the necessary outcome of the new conception of Yahweh arrived at by Amos, for whom Yahweh's love of righteousness was greater and stronger than his love for his people. The effect of the application of this new idea of God to the doctrine of the Day of Yahweh was to lift the doctrine to a far higher plane and to make it subserve ethical and religious ends no less efficiently than it had thus far subserved the purpose of national and political development. The doctrine henceforth becomes one of the most powerful arguments of the prophets in their appeals to the people of Yahweh to forsake evil and cleave to that which is good.

Following the lead of Amos, the prophets continued to use the idea of the Day of Yahweh as a factor in the work of developing a purer national life and a keener moral sense. The pre-exilic prophets, however, with the exception of Zephaniah, did not give the idea a prominent place in their teaching. The term "Day of Yahweh" appears neither in Hosea, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, nor Jeremiah, and but a few times in the genuine utterances of Isaiah," while Amos himself mentioned it only for the purpose of combating the erroneous popular conception in regard to it and of putting an entirely different meaning into it. This avoidance of the use of the term was due, perhaps, to a desire to refrain from calling to the remembrance of the people the

" Isa. 2:12 ff.; cf. 5:18 f.; 7:18 ff.; 9:8—10:4; 17:4 ff.; 22:5 ff.; chap. 13 and 34:8 are of later origin; see the commentaries of Duhm, Marti, and Cheyne on Isaiah.

perverted idea which it represented, an idea so strongly entrenched in the minds of the people that expulsion by direct attack seemed inadvisable; hence the earlier prophets chose the more indirect and effectual method of teaching correct fundamental ideas about Yahweh, the acceptance of which would drive out false conceptions of the Day of Yahweh.

Though the immediate successors of Amos avoided the use of the term for the most part, yet its content as formulated by Amos was taken up by them and strenuously enforced upon the nation. No important contribution was made to the idea by Hosea, Micah, or Isaiah; they adopted the view of Amos without essential change. The day of Yahweh's visitation continued to be thought of as a time for the punishment of Israel's sins.²² Isaiah's doctrine of the Remnant, however, opened the way for the announcements of a blessed future from later prophets. Nahum's vision is confined to a picture of the overthrow of Assyria; it is a rehabilitation of the popular conception of the Day of Yahweh, with a change in the reason assigned for the destruction of Israel's foes; it is no longer merely because they are foes to Israel and Israel's God, but because they are *wicked*.²³ This view was stated still more fully and forcibly by Habakkuk at a somewhat later date.²⁴ In the words of Professor Charles: "According to the primitive view, Yahweh was bound to intervene on behalf of his people on the ground of the supposed *natural* affinities existing between them, whereas, according to the view of Nahum and Habakkuk, his intervention must follow on the ground of *ethical* affinities;

²² The passages in the books named after these prophets which present pictures of a bright future in connection with the coming of the Day of Yahweh are regarded by an increasing number of scholars as of late origin. See, e. g., VOLZ, *Die vorexilische Jahweprophetie und der Messias*; NOWACK, *Die kleinen Propheten*; WELLHAUSEN, *Die kleinen Propheten*; W. R. HARPER, *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1-15; STADE, *ZATW.*, Vol. I, pp. 161-72; CORNILL, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*; CHEYNE, *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, and *SBOT.*, Part 10; DUHM, *Das Buch Jesaja* ("Handkommentar z. Alt. Test."); MARTI, *Das Buch Jesaja* ("Kurzer Hand-Commentar z. Alt. Test."), and article "Hosea" in *Encyclopadia Biblica*; HACKMANN, *Die Zukunftserwartung des Jesaja*.

²³ Chap. 1:1-2:3 is assigned to a later date by Bickell, Gunkel, Cornill, Nowack, *et al.*, chiefly on the basis of its form and structure. However, all agree that this opening section gives a description of the Day of Yahweh fully in keeping with the spirit and contents of the rest of the book.

²⁴ Chap. 3 is quite generally regarded as a later addition; so, e. g., Kuenen, Cheyne, Cornill, Wellhausen, Nowack, Driver, A. B. Davidson, G. A. Smith.

for Israel and the gentiles are related to each other as the righteous, צדיק, and the wicked, רשע (Hab. 1:4, 13)."⁵⁵

The prophecy of Zephaniah was concerned with the Day of Yahweh as no previous one had been; it is the dominant thought everywhere present in his utterances. His conception agrees with that of Amos in that it supposes the day to be close at hand (1:7, 14), and to be a day of gloom and terror bringing judgment (1:2-6, 15 ff.), which is to fall primarily upon Yahweh's people, but also upon their enemies (1:7-18; 2:4-15). But Zephaniah goes farther than any of his predecessors, if we may suppose 3:8 to have come from him, in that he makes the judgment well-nigh world-wide. It is not, however, strictly speaking, a universal judgment, since certain "guests" are evidently excepted (1:7), and, furthermore, all are clearly not on the same level before Yahweh, for Judah is still regarded as Yahweh's people, and given blessings and privileges at the expense of her enemies.⁵⁶ Out of this wide-reaching judgment a remnant of poor and afflicted people who trust in Yahweh's name, do no evil, and refrain from deceit is to remain and continue the relation between Judah and Yahweh.⁵⁷

Jeremiah's work furnishes a good illustration of the prophets' dependence upon history. After his first utterances, which seem, like the words of Zephaniah, to have been called forth in connection with the Scythian invasion, little or nothing was heard from him until about the time of the battle of Carchemish, where Nebuchadrezzar appeared as the coming conqueror of western Asia. Jeremiah at once grasped the significance of this event and sounded the alarm for his people, continuing to preach repentance as the only way of escape from complete overthrow until the day his words were fulfilled. He did not call this coming calamity the Day of Yahweh, as Amos had done on a similar occasion in northern Israel, and as Zephaniah had already done in Judah. In the present state of the criticism of the book of Jeremiah it is difficult to determine just what the exact teaching of Jeremiah on

⁵⁵ *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, p. 94.

⁵⁶ PROFESSOR CHARLES' treatment (*op. cit.*, p. 98) of Zephaniah's teaching concerning the Day of Yahweh is based largely on the doubtful passages 2:8-10 and 3:8-10. Moreover, the treatment is inconsistent in that part of its conclusions is based upon the authenticity of these verses, while part is based upon the supposition of their being interpolated.

⁵⁷ Zeph. 3:14-20 is considered late by most interpreters, e. g., Oort, Stade, Kuenen, Schwally, Wellhausen, Budde, Cornill, Nowack, G. A. Smith. 2:8-11 is regarded as late by Oort, Wellhausen, Schwally, Budde, Nowack, G. A. Smith. Wellhausen and Schwally reject 3:8-10, and Budde, Nowack, G. A. Smith, 3:9, 10.

this subject was.⁴⁸ But it seems to have included a simple, yet scathing arraignment of Israel's wickedness and a call to immediate repentance. He lays greater emphasis than any of his predecessors upon the religious life as distinguished from the ethical. The sins he rebukes are idolatry, sun-worship, human sacrifice, a superstitious multiplication of sacrifices and offerings to Yahweh in the hope of thereby securing his favor, a blind trust in the inviolability of Jerusalem with its temple, and failure to keep the covenant and ordinances of Yahweh; see, *e.g.*, 7:4-10; 11:13; 15:4. He soon saw that Judah had gone too far in her downward path to be able to return, and that destruction was therefore inevitable. He looked upon Nebuchadrezzar as Yahweh's servant (27:6 ff.), through whom he was about to bring Judah and all the nations to judgment (25:15-26). He makes a great advance in that he admits the enemies of Judah to a share in Yahweh's mercy; those who repent and learn Yahweh's ways will be restored to their own lands after their punishment; only the nations that refuse to obey Yahweh will be completely destroyed (12:14-17). However, the judgment is still national rather than individual in character; Jeremiah seems to have only introduced the thought of individualism into the religion of Yahweh and to have left the full working out of the idea to his successors.

The eschatological, apocalyptic tone of Zephaniah's threats of woe is almost entirely lacking in Jeremiah's preaching. He knows of no personal appearance of Yahweh upon earth, no extraordinary departure from the laws of nature, no threats of sudden visitation. His thought of Yahweh's activity and personality seems more spiritual than that of earlier prophets, and his presentation of the future is more sane and rational.

The pre-exilic conception of the Day of Yahweh was preëminently that of a day of judgment — a gloomy, forbidding event, fraught with

⁴⁸ All messianic passages are referred to a later time by VOLZ, *Die vorexilische Jahweprophete und der Messias*, pp. 68-80. SCHWALLY, *ZATW.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 177-217, denies chaps. 46-51, and much of chap. 25, to Jeremiah. CORNILL, *SBOT.*, Part II, assigns to later times: 10:2-16; 17:19-27; 19:1-20:6; chaps. 26-28, 34, 36-44, and 50-52, and many glosses besides. GIESEBRECHT ("Handkommentar z. Alt. Testament") allows to Jeremiah only 1:1-17:18; 18; 20:7-18; 22-24; 25:3 ff., 15-26; 27; 32:6-17a, 24-44; 35; much of the remainder he attributes to Baruch. NATH. SCHMIDT, article "Jeremiah" in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, regards as genuine only chap. 1; 2:2-13, 20-37; 3:1-5; 4:19 ff.; 7:3-9:21; 10:19-21, 23-25; 13(?) ; 15:5-9; 16:2-13; 18:1-17; 19:1 f., 10 f.; 20:1-6; 21:1-10; 22:2-5, 10-19, 24-27; 23:9 ff.; 24; 28; 32:14 f.; 34; 37:1-10, 11 ff.

punishment for Israel. The character of the times and the spirit of the people made it necessary for the prophets to take this view of the day whenever they touched upon the subject of Israel's future. They felt themselves to be reformers sent to a "wicked and adulterous generation," and they devoted all their energies to the work of arousing the people from their moral stupor and convincing them of their awful condition and of the near approach of punishment. To this end they uttered the threats of chastisement and painted the scenes of disaster so often associated with the thought of the Day of Yahweh. In a low stage of religious development messages of doom are often the most effective means of reaching men's minds and hearts. Mohammed's preaching was largely made up of this sort of material, and even Christian preachers have found it useful. Not that the early prophets deliberately employed this method of arousing the national conscience, though the form of expression is no doubt often embellished by rhetorical device intensified by oratorical fervor. They were giving expression rather to heartfelt convictions forced upon them by observation of social and political conditions and illuminated by the spirit of Yahweh. They strove earnestly to convince the nation of the truth of their message. Sometimes, as in the case of Zephaniah, they turned their attention to Israel's neighbors and proclaimed their destruction, perhaps with a not unnatural feeling of satisfaction; but primarily their preaching against the nations seems to have been for the purpose of warning Israel and calling her attention to the need of reformation, if she would avoid a similar fate. Nahum alone of the pre-exilic prophets reverts to the original pre-prophetic conception of the Day of Yahweh, and even though he does base his exultation over Assyria's approaching downfall upon ethical rather than natural grounds,⁹⁹ we cannot but feel that he stands on a lower moral plane than his predecessors and contemporaries in the prophetic office.

It was not till Israel was already feeling the bonds of captivity that Jeremiah changed his tone and began preaching words of encouragement and hope to Israel. Then he cheered her with promises of return from captivity and of restoration to her former glory. In this return and blessing northern Israel was also to have a share. A new covenant of love was to be established between Yahweh and his people, a covenant engraved upon their hearts; and the nation was to become a source of wonder to surrounding peoples because of her prosperity (33:9).

⁹⁹ Cf. CHARLES, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

In thus painting the future of Israel bright, Jeremiah was followed by practically all succeeding prophets. The fall of Jerusalem and the exile of the people marked an epoch in religious as well as political history. As long as Jerusalem remained standing, the old superstitious belief in its charmed life continued, and prevented the people from coming to a true understanding of the relation existing between Yahweh and themselves. Hence both Jeremiah and Ezekiel had constantly reiterated the announcement of the coming destruction, and had thus prepared the people to understand, in some measure at least, the significance of the shock when it came upon them. The great disaster completely dissipated all false confidence, and opened the way for the propagation of new and grander conceptions of Yahweh and his will.

In connection with many other new teachings, the thought of Israel's restoration to Yahweh's favor was emphasized by both Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and this thought served to keep the disheartened people from deserting Yahweh and allying themselves with the successful gods of Babylon or lapsing into indifference, skepticism, and practical atheism. The Day of Yahweh is given a larger place in Ezekiel's thought than in that of Jeremiah, and this is natural in view of the fact that Jeremiah sought to reform the nation, and so to avert the impending disaster, while Ezekiel, especially after 586 B. C., concerned himself chiefly with the future of his people. Ezekiel conceives of the Day of Yahweh throughout as a day of battle quite in harmony with the pre-prophetic representation; but prior to 586 B. C. it is a day of battle on which Yahweh inflicts terrible punishment on Israel because of her sins (7:9 ff.; 13:5); after that date it becomes a day of battle on which Yahweh triumphs gloriously over the heathen world (30:2 ff.; 34:12; 39:8 ff.). The visitation of Yahweh upon Israel for the purpose of her purification is historically mediated, the Babylonians being the agents of Yahweh, just as the Assyrians had been thought of by Amos and Isaiah, and the Scythians by Zephaniah. The judgment upon Israel is also a national one as heretofore, but there is at least a suggestion (11:17-21; 21:25) of the idea of a judgment day for the individual, an outcome of Ezekiel's belief in the individual responsibility of each soul before Yahweh. The result of the chastisement of Israel will be her purification from sin and her loving allegiance to Yahweh, who will restore both branches of the nation to their homes and unite them under the rule of the messianic king. In connection with and preparatory to the deliverance of Israel, judgment is to fall

upon the nations hostile to Yahweh, and especially upon Egypt (chaps. 30-32), the latter being singled out, no doubt, because of the prominent part it had played in bringing about Israel's calamity.

After restored Israel is established in the favor of Yahweh, the great final Day of Yahweh will come upon the heathen world (chaps. 38, 39). The description of this day has in it apocalyptic elements, and is also conceived in a spirit of particularism, two things developed to their full extent in later Judaism. The forces of the heathen world are represented as gathering upon the mountains of Israel for the great battle against her. Under the leadership of Gog, prince of the land of Magog, the hosts assemble from all quarters till they seem like a storm, like a cloud covering the land. But they are permitted to assemble by Yahweh only that he may destroy them. Without any effort on the part of Israel they are to be annihilated. Violent earthquakes will overwhelm them with terror; in their confusion they will set upon and slay one another; pestilence will smite them, and Yahweh will rain fire, hail, and brimstone upon them. By this will all peoples be made to know Yahweh, Israel's Holy One. All that Israel has to do is to go forth and clean up the land after the conflict; seven months will it take them to bury the slain and seven years to burn their weapons, so great will be the slaughter.

In so far as Ezekiel's Day of Yahweh has to do with the nations, there is little advance beyond the original pre-prophetic idea. It is altogether a time of destruction for them, and that because they have presumed to regard lightly Israel and Israel's God. There is not a promise made to them, nor a hope of any description held out to them. Everything is done for the sake of Israel and Yahweh. This is a natural result of the harsh treatment that Israel received in her exilic experience, and is the point of view occupied by all the prophets of this period. Ezekiel evidently gives up the old idea of *one* day, and seems to have in mind rather an extended period of time. There are at least three definite and distinct stages in his "day," viz.: (1) a day upon Israel when Jerusalem falls; (2) a day upon Egypt and the nations when Israel is restored; and (3) a final day upon the representatives of the whole heathen world. The beginning of the formation of the dogma of the Day of Yahweh is manifested here in the absence of historical agents as mediators of the judgment upon Gog and his host, and in the universal character of the judgment inflicted upon Gog. In all previous judgment scenes the nations made to suffer the wrath of Yahweh have been those who have in

various ways brought upon themselves the wrath of Israel, and they have been distinctly cited by name. But here the statement is broad and indefinite; it is a judgment upon the representatives of the non-Israelitish world as such.

Not a prophet from the time of Ezekiel on through to the close of the activity of the prophets failed to show marked interest in things pertaining to the Day of Yahweh and the future which it was to usher in. Sometimes they used the terrors of the day as a scourge with which to whip the nation into line with their own lofty ideals of morality and religion; but more frequently they used it as a source of consolation and hope for the people in the midst of their discouragement and misery, presenting it in vivid colors as a time when Israel was to enter gladly upon the enjoyment of a glorious future.

In Ezekiel the day is noteworthy chiefly for the fact that the prophet conceives of it as the time when Yahweh will take vengeance upon his foes. The thought of vengeance was sweet to Israel during and after her bitter experience as a captive in a strange land. The true prophets were through every experience unswerving in their loyalty to Yahweh, and they believed, in later times at least, that his dominion was to be extended over the whole earth. But they had not yet succeeded in emancipating Yahweh from bondage to the people of his choice. Yahweh's supremacy over the world was only to be brought about in connection with the political exaltation of Israel, his own peculiar people, in triumph and power over all her enemies. They must be overthrown before Israel could attain the place necessary for her as Yahweh's representative in the earth.

A similar spirit to that prevalent in Ezekiel is exhibited in Isa. 13:2—14:23.³⁰ The Day of Yahweh here is preëminently, if not exclusively, a time when Yahweh's fury is to be poured out upon Babylon. The nations will gather against her, and the Medes especially will be stirred up against her—a pitiless and terrible people that cannot be turned from its purpose by the most lavish bribery. Babylon will be utterly destroyed, with all the horrors and barbarities of oriental warfare. The approach of this awful day, which is near at hand, will be signaled by an eclipse of the sun, moon, and stars, and

³⁰ This passage is assigned to the close of the exile by Duhm; CHEYNE, *Introduction*, pp. 67-78; G. A. Smith, Skinner, Marti, *et al.* The ode in 14:46-22 is claimed for Isaiah by WINCKLER, *Allorientalische Forschungen*, Vol. I, pp. 193 f.; so also W. H. COBB, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1896, pp. 18-35; for a criticism of this position see CHEYNE, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1897, pp. 131-5.

by a great earthquake, shaking both earth and sky, and spreading terror everywhere. As a result of it, Judah will be restored to her own land, and the very peoples who have hitherto scorned and oppressed her will escort her home with honors and henceforth yield themselves as her servants. The old relation of taunter and taunted will be reversed; Israel will now make sport of fallen Babylon.

Isa. 42:13-17 is another picture of the Day of Yahweh which comes from this period. The manifestation of Yahweh will be in wrath against the nations, but will result for Israel in deliverance from captivity and return home under the guidance of Yahweh.

The same tone predominates in the prophecy of Obadiah, which belongs to the period of the exile.³¹ The Day of Yahweh is "near upon all the nations," and Edom in particular is to receive just punishment for her unfeeling conduct toward Israel in her day of trouble. The destruction of Edom is to be accomplished, as in Isa. 11:14, by the united people of Israel. As Edom formerly oppressed Israel, so will Israel now oppress her, even to the point of annihilation. While Edom is thus blotted out of existence, the holy people left in Zion will take possession of Edom, Philistia, Ephraim, Samaria, Gilead, as far north as Zarephath, and of the cities of the south. Over all this Yahweh will reign as king.

Amos 9:8-15, which exhibits a similar sentiment toward Edom, may belong to this period.³² It gives great prominence to a description of the abundant material prosperity which Israel is to enjoy as the favored one of Yahweh in the era inaugurated upon his great Day.

The future of Edom and that of Israel are presented in striking contrast in Isa., chaps. 34 and 35, prophecies which seem to reflect the experiences of the latter part of the exile.³³ The Day of Yahweh is described as about to come upon all the nations, and especially upon Edom, bringing fearful slaughter. As usual, it is to be accompanied by wonderful and terrible signs in earth and sky. The very soil of Edom is to suffer, and by its barrenness and desolation serve as a

³¹ For a defense of the exilic origin of Obadiah see G. A. SMITH, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, Vol. II, pp. 167-72.

³² See footnote 20.

³³ These chapters are assigned to the later days of the exile by Dillmann, DRIVER, *Introduction*, 6th ed., p. 226, and Giesebrecht. G. A. Smith and Skinner place them after the beginning of the exile, but do not venture upon an exact date. Cheyne assigns them to the years 450-430 B. C., while Duhm and Marti put them at some time in the second century, but before the subjugation of the Edomites by John Hyrcanus in 128 B. C.

memorial of the great day; given over to thorns, thistles, wild beasts, satyrs, and the Lilit, it will be deserted of men and consumed by unending fire. But ransomed Israel will return to Zion; all her afflicted will be made whole; flowers and streams will unite to make the homeward journey pleasant; and every difficulty and danger will be removed from the way.

The hard experiences of the exile, and especially the attitude of the Edomites, seem to have given rise in this period to a spirit of bitter hatred of the nations, such as had never before existed. There is a feeling that Yahweh must vindicate his honor and his righteousness in the sight of the nations, but it seems at times as though this were overshadowed in the mind of the prophet by a desire for revenge and retaliation upon the foes of Israel. Yahweh had so long been thought of as inseparably connected with Israel and her interests that even now, in spite of the adoption of a monotheistic conception of God, it seems that the vindication of Yahweh can be only through a terrible judgment upon Israel's foes and an exaltation of Israel to a position of power and superiority over the nations.

The idea of the universality of the character of Yahweh, who was acknowledged in Israel, in consequence of her exilic experiences, as the only God of all mankind, bore fruit but slowly in the thought of the people. One result of the adoption of this larger conception of God was a gradual change in the thought of the Day of Yahweh. The necessity of Israel's vindication in the eyes of the world was by no means lost sight of, but alongside of and instead of the feeling of bitterness which had reveled in a contemplation of the destruction of outside nations there grew up a feeling of satisfaction in the thought of a possible conversion of the nations to Yahweh through the agency of Israel, his messenger to the world.

In Haggai and Zech., chaps. 1-8, no very definite statements are made concerning judgment upon the nations. Express mention of the Day of Yahweh is made by neither prophet. Echoes of it are heard in Hag. 2 : 6 f., 20-22, and Zech. 2 : 9, which passages are apparently reflections of the disturbed state of the Persian empire caused by the revolts against Darius. There is but scanty reference, moreover, to a work of preliminary purification in Israel to be performed by Yahweh before the full tide of prosperity can turn toward her (Zech. 3 : 9 and chap. 5). In the main, Israel's future is one to be desired rather than feared; she has already received her judgment and expiated her sins through the sufferings of the captivity. The only further judgment

that may be expected is that upon the nations, and little attention is given to this; for the prophets are chiefly interested in the effort to restore the temple and thereby to arouse hope in Israel for the future. The effect of the judgment upon the nations will be, as usual, the exaltation of Israel in the eyes of the world. Instead of the little company of inhabitants now in Jerusalem, an overflowing population will be found therein. Yahweh himself will dwell there, and "City of Truth" will it be named. Yahweh's people will be gathered home from all lands to enjoy the rich fruitage of their own land as blessed by Yahweh. Best of all, so glorious will Israel become that many nations will seek Yahweh and join themselves to him in that day (Zech. 8: 20-23).

The view of the future given in Isa. 2: 2-4, *cf.* Mic. 4: 1-4, is quite in keeping with that seen in Haggai and Zechariah. It contemplates a submission of the nations to the dominion of Yahweh, an exaltation of Jerusalem and its people in the sight of the world, Jerusalem as the center of the world's worship and the source of all instruction, and the inauguration of an era of peace. These ideas fit this period well and make it probable that this prophecy belongs here.³⁴

The high hopes kindled by Haggai and Zechariah were not at once realized. After the completion of the temple, things went on practically as they had before; there was no wonderful manifestation of Yahweh's power on behalf of Israel; crops were no better; outsiders were no less scornful and malicious; Israel was apparently no nearer the attainment of her ideal. As a result of the reaction caused by this state of affairs, Israel sank deeper and deeper into despair. Even those hitherto most faithful now began to doubt Yahweh and to question whether after all it was worth while to worship him. To this disappointed and discouraged people the words of Malachi were addressed. They were aimed especially at three classes: (1) those who had become skeptical, doubting Yahweh's love for Israel and his righteousness; (2) the corrupt priesthood; (3) those who had contracted

³⁴ So Hackmann and Marti. A post-exilic origin is favored also by STADE, *ZATW.*, Vol. I, pp. 165 ff.; IV, p. 292; Wellhausen, Mitchell, CORNILL, *Eint.*, pp. 137 f., 182; Volz, Cheyne, Nowack, *et al.* Duhm maintains Isaiah's authorship; so also BERTHOLET, *Die Stellung der Israeliten . . . zu den Fremden*, pp. 97 ff. RYSEL, *Untersuchungen über die Textgestalt und die Echtheit des Buches Micha*, pp. 218-24, makes it originate with Micah. G. A. Smith maintains the possibility of its origin in the eighth century or in the beginning of the seventh. The view held by Hitzig, Ewald, Kuenen, De Goeje, *et al.*, that it is an older prophecy incorporated into both Isaiah and Micah, is now generally abandoned.

foreign marriages. A worldly spirit possessed all classes, and the fear of Yahweh was not in their hearts.

These facts determine the nature of the conception of the Day of Yahweh in Malachi. It is a day of judgment upon the wicked in Israel. No word of condemnation is spoken against the heathen. In fact, the book boldly asserts that the nations are truer worshipers of Yahweh than is Israel herself. The Day of Yahweh is upon Israel only, and its preliminary work now, as always, is one of purification. But such is Yahweh's love for Israel that he will send his messenger, even the great Elijah, before the great and terrible day, to warn the wicked of approaching destruction and save them from the wrath to come. No historical agent appears here as executor of the divine purpose, but, as in Ezekiel's representation of the overthrow of Gog, Yahweh himself does the work of destruction. The idea of a day of battle upon which Yahweh overthrows the enemies of himself and of his people for the sake of his own honor is here lost sight of; the judge and the culprit are the only parties considered; there are no spectators. The prophet does not go so far as to put gentiles on an equal footing with Israelites and to make righteousness, irrespective of nationality, the only requisite for divine favor, but leaves the gentiles completely out of consideration. Yahweh's Day is not only a time for the destruction of the wicked, but also the opening of a glorious age for the righteous. But the prophecy of Malachi does not dwell upon this phase of the day; the apparent aim of the book is to bring about a reform in worship and in other practical affairs, and the dark and terrible side of the Day of Yahweh is presented with the purpose of causing a halt in the wicked career of Israel.

From the time of Ezra on, a new environment was created for prophecy—an environment in which prophecy, in its real sense, could not live. The adoption of the written law as the rule and standard of life left little scope for prophetic activity. Everything was controlled by the legal and priestly spirit; the prophets themselves were priests at heart. The whole tendency of the priestly system was toward exclusiveness, and consequently the Jews withdrew themselves more and more from association and fellowship with outsiders, especially in religious matters. The Samaritan schism, with its accompanying rivalry and animosity, also tended to embitter the Jews against their neighbors.

To this period, perhaps, belong such utterances as those in Isa. 61:2; 63:1-6; 65:1-66:24.³⁵ Here the spirit of revenge appears at

³⁵ So Duhm, Cheyne, Skinner, and Marti.

its worst. The remnant of Israel is promised all the blessings within the gift of Yahweh, while his enemies are to suffer every affliction and to perish by fire and sword. Those of them who escape will go to distant nations that have not heard of Yahweh and tell them of his deeds. Then will all the nations join in escorting Israel's exiles back and in rendering worship to Yahweh at the stated times in Jerusalem.

Some time after Ezra, Joel prophesied amid a scene of desolation and sorrow.³⁶ Swarms of locusts had devoured the fruits of the land; all food and drink were cut off; drought had combined with the locusts to render destruction complete. Even the regular offerings of the temple could no longer be kept up, and this was the climax of calamity in Joel's thought. He looked upon all this as an announcement of the approaching Day of Yahweh (1:15). In view of this he issued a call for a general day of fasting in Israel, and exhorted all to humble themselves in penitence before Yahweh and appeal to his mercy, in order that the destructive scourge might be removed and the terrible Day of Yahweh withdrawn. The expectation of pardon is grounded in the thought that Yahweh's honor in the sight of the world forbids him to destroy his own people utterly (2:17).

The day of fasting seems to have been observed and to have had the desired effect, for there follows immediately a description of returning prosperity, with promises of abundance in the coming days (2:18-27). After the realization of material blessings of every kind, the spirit of prophecy is to be imparted by Yahweh to the whole nation, regardless of age, rank, or sex. The Day of Yahweh, which was an occasion of dread when near at hand, can be looked forward to at a distance as a joyful day—a dreadful day still, but for Israel's enemies, not for Israel. All who depend upon Yahweh will escape in that day. The scattered exiles of Judah will be gathered from all places whither they have been driven, and will be restored to Mount Zion. All the nations—among which Tyre, Sidon, Philistia, and Edom are especially mentioned—are to be summoned together for war in the "valley of Jehoshaphat," in the "valley of decision." There, in truly apocalyptic fashion, will they be annihilated by Yahweh because of their "violence done to the children of Judah." But Judah

³⁶ The post-exilic origin of Joel is granted by most recent interpreters; e. g., Wildeboer, Nowack, G. A. Smith, *et al.* place it in the second Persian century. DRIVER, *Joel and Amos* (*cf.* article "Joel" in *Encyclopædia Biblica*), puts it about 500 B. C., or possibly in the century after Malachi. Wellhausen makes it a late post-exilic work; *cf.* HOLZINGER, *ZATW.*, Vol. IX, pp. 89-131. For a recent defense of the early date see G. G. CAMERON, article "Joel" in HASTINGS' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

is to abide forever, and Jerusalem from generation to generation; she shall be holy, and strangers shall no more walk her streets. This world-judgment is apparently aimed by Joel at the peoples that have roused the enmity of the Jews in their mutual intercourse. The words "all nations" evidently cannot be taken literally, for the men of Sheba are still to survive (3:8).

Joel's Day of Yahweh was no longer a danger actually threatening the nation; as a result of the beginning made by Ezekiel and the further development, especially in Malachi, it was now a well-established *dogma*. No specific sins of the people of Israel are cited as occasioning the approaching calamity, and the offense of the gentile world is merely that of being hostile to Judah. No historical agent is used in carrying out the will of Yahweh upon the nations; he himself accomplishes their end by awful catastrophes in the natural world. Judah alone is to escape the terrors of that day, and her deliverance is due, not to her moral character, but to the fact that she acknowledges the sovereignty of Yahweh. The whole conception is eschatological and apocalyptic rather than prophetic, and it is dominated by the most intense particularism.

The same general apocalyptic style and spirit are characteristic of Zech., chaps. 9-14, which section probably comes from the troublous times of the Greek period, when the successors of Alexander were struggling among themselves for the possession of Syria, and the Jews were suffering the consequences of the strife.³⁷ The feeling which exists toward outside peoples is the same as that in Joel; the same

³⁷ In support of this date see especially STADE's epoch-making articles in *ZATW.*, Vols. I, pp. 1-96; II, pp. 151-72, 275-309; and R. ECKARDT in *ZATW.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 76-109. Cf. also KUIPER, *Zacharia IX-XIV, Eene exegetisch-critische Studie* (1894); DRIVER, *Introduction*, 6th ed., pp. 346 ff.; WILDEBOER, *Die Litteratur des Alten Testaments*, pp. 354 ff.; CORNILL, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, pp. 193-200; NOWACK, *Die kleinen Propheten*, pp. 346-54; G. A. SMITH, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, Vol. II, pp. 449-62. STAERK, *Untersuchungen über die Komposition und Abfassungszeit von Zech. 9-14*, agrees with Stade in the main, but dates 11:4-17 and 13:7-9 from the year 170 B.C. KUENEN, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Vol. II, pp. 386 ff., takes the position that chaps. 9-11 and 13:7-9 are made up of old fragments from the eighth century which have been worked over, supplemented, and arranged in their present form by a post-exilic editor, while 12:1-13:6 and chap. 14 originated about 400 B.C. WELLHAUSEN, *Kleine Propheten*, and ZEYDNER, *Theologische Studien*, Vol. XII, pp. 73 ff., assign chaps. 9-14 all to the Maccabæan period; so also RUBINKAM, *The Second Part of the Book of Zechariah*, with the exception of 9:1-10, which he assigns to the time of Alexander. For a recent defense of the unity of the entire book see G. L. ROBINSON, "The Prophecies of Zechariah," in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. XII, pp. 1-92.

enemies are threatened with woes, viz., Syria, Phœnicia, Philistia, and Egypt, with the addition of Greece, in a prominent way, natural in the later times. There is the same need of an initial work of purification in Israel as was demanded by Joel at first. But the punishment of Jerusalem that the Day of Yahweh will bring is, indeed, drastic; all nations will gather against her and capture her, subjecting her to the horrors of pillage and destroying half her population. But their triumph will be short-lived, for Yahweh himself will interpose with a terrible plague and will set them to slaying one another. As in Joel, Yahweh personally destroys the opponents of Israel, and adds to the awfulness of the occasion by working wonders in earth and sky.

After this inaugural work of destruction, a time of blessing opens up for Israel. However, a period of mourning is predicted for her, during which her people will weep for their former rebellion against Yahweh. This is a new thought in connection with the Day of Yahweh, and is not at all fully or clearly set forth; it is too general and indefinite to admit of accurate exposition. All idolatry is to be abolished and—what sounds strange, indeed—prophecy will cease to exist. Whereas Joel's ideal was that all of Yahweh's people might be prophets, this anonymous dreamer regards them as quite out of harmony with the blessedness and holiness of the days to come. He holds prophecy and deception to be practically synonymous terms—a sad commentary on the prophecy of his day. The dispersed Jews will be reassembled from all corners of the earth and brought back to Judah and Jerusalem. The earth will yield abundantly, and there will be no more curse upon it. Yahweh will be universally acknowledged as Lord and King, and Jerusalem, his dwelling-place, will be the gathering point of all nations; for everyone surviving from the slaughter of the nations will go up thither annually to keep the Feast of Booths. This is the most striking feature of the priestly character of this apocalypse, which is even more marked than that of Joel. Over all in Jerusalem will reign the messianic king who shall speak peace to the nations and have dominion over all the earth.

Zech., chaps. 9–14, does not present a coherent picture of the Day of Yahweh. It consists of a series of abrupt and fragmentary sketches of special features of that day, which are not easily brought together into a harmonious view. The same general ideals prevail as in Joel, but the particularism is not quite so intense, for, after being severely punished to bring them to their senses, the nations are given a part in the worship of Yahweh, though evidently not on an equal footing with

the inhabitants of Jerusalem, while Joel has no place for them after their great overthrow on the Day of Yahweh. Zech., chaps. 9-14, does not make use of the term "Day of Yahweh;" all its views of the future are introduced by "in that day;" but that he has in mind the well-known Day of Yahweh is evident from 14:1, "A day is coming for Yahweh, etc." The idea seems, however, not to be limited to a single day, but to embrace a period of indefinite duration.

Two sections from the book of Isaiah seem to belong somewhere in the latter part of the post-exilic age, viz., chaps. 24-27 and 19:16-25.³ The former is thoroughly in sympathy with Zech., chaps. 9-14, in almost every respect. The writer lives in a time of trial and suffering, but "in that day" all this will be done away. The nations will then receive their deserts; Judah will be saved, her exiles restored to her, and her reproach taken away in the eyes of all the world. Jerusalem will be the center of worship. In this apocalypse the universalistic element is less emphasized than in Zech., chaps. 9-14, there being only one reference to the nations as destined to enjoy the blessings of Yahweh (25:6 ff.).

In Isa. 19:16-25, while there is the usual prediction of woe upon the nations as they are represented in Egypt, it is, nevertheless, distinctly stated that this is only of a disciplinary nature, and that in consequence Egypt will repent and turn to Yahweh. Then follows the most generous and universal teaching in all prophecy. Egypt and Assyria—the apocalyptic name for Syria—representing the whole heathen world, are to share equally with Israel in the worship and service of Yahweh and in the enjoyment of his favor. "Blessed be Egypt, my people, and Assyria, the work of my hands, and Israel, mine inheritance." Not one advantage is assigned to Judah or Jerusalem. It is not even necessary to come up to Jerusalem to worship, for there will be an altar in the midst of Egypt. There will be constant intercourse between Egypt and Syria, and the two peoples will worship Yahweh together oblivious of all past enmity.

The book of Daniel, while it does not make reference to the Day of Yahweh by name, is nevertheless a gathering up of the fruitage of that idea. It is rather a record and an embodiment of the influence of

³ Isa., chaps. 24-27, can scarcely be definitely assigned with certainty. Ewald, Delitzsch, Dillmann, Kirkpatrick, Driver, *et al.* put it in the early post-exilic period. Kuenen, Cornill, SMEND (*ZATW.*, Vol. IV, pp. 161 ff.), Wildeboer, Cheyne, *et al.* assign it to the second Persian century. Duhm, Marti, *et al.* date it about 128 B. C. Chap. 19:16-25 is dated about 160 B. C. by Duhm and Marti, while Cheyne and Kittel assign it to the years 323-285 B. C.

the idea than the representative of any further change or development in the idea itself. It conceives of the Jews as occupying the position of supremacy in the world of the future, and of God's kingdom as finally overthrowing all others. The sinfulness of the nation and her unceasing opposition to God are alone responsible for her present trials and misfortunes. When chastisement has done its work of purification, God will deliver his people by his own power and exalt them above all peoples. Not only those living at the time of this consummation will be partakers of its glory, but the righteous Jews of former ages will arise from their graves and share in the happiness of these days. This thought of the resurrection, found also in Isa. 26 : 19, is rather an individual than a national conception such as the Day of Yahweh was, and its origin and development are to be connected with the growth of the idea of individualism as taught by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, rather than with that of the Day of Yahweh. But it is a national conception and supplements the thought of the Day of Yahweh in so far as it is due to a desire to add to the numbers and influence of the people of Israel in the time of glory upon which they are about to enter.

Through all the development of the idea of the Day of Yahweh in the Old Testament there clung to it certain characteristic features, some of which passed on into the later form of the idea found in the New Testament. They were never all equally prominent at one time, but received different degrees of emphasis according as the circumstances of the times and the thought of the nation changed. The very existence of the idea itself was a constant testimony to the fact that the nation felt its inability to work out its own destiny and trusted to Yahweh to complete the task. The ideal of its destiny changed much as the centuries passed, but the consciousness of the need of divine aid in attaining to this ideal grew ever more vivid and the activity of Yahweh in connection with it ever more prominent. There was also a recognition of the fact that the present age was only temporary, and must give way to a better and more glorious one which should abide forever. To inaugurate and establish this new era it was necessary that Yahweh himself should come to earth in person and institute the new order of things. This idea of the coming of Yahweh was very crude and anthropomorphic in the first stages of the idea of the Day of Yahweh, but as the thought concerning God became truer and more exalted, the coming of Yahweh was gradually thought of in a more and more spiritual sense. Connected with this coming of Yahweh was

constantly pictured a series of great catastrophes in the natural world; marvelous portents on land and sea, in air and sky. These convulsions and shocks were just as numerous and conspicuous at the end of the development of the idea as at its beginning — indeed, rather more so after the Day of Yahweh began to take on apocalyptic coloring. This idea of wonders and horrors in the natural world accompanying a revolution in the moral and spiritual world was a natural outcome of the Hebrew conception of the physical universe, which took no account of universal and inviolable natural laws, but thought of Yahweh as directing the movements of the physical world in the most direct and personal way; it was his ordinary custom to punish religious backslidings by withholding the products of the soil. Nature, religion, and morals were directly and closely related to each other through Yahweh, and nothing was more natural than that a great change in the latter sphere should be introduced and accompanied by momentous actions in the former sphere.³⁹

The coming of Yahweh was always thought of as being for punitive purposes. Sometimes emphasis was laid upon the guilt of the nations as being the occasion of the punishment, sometimes on that of Israel. Usually both came in for a share of the chastisement, though more severe upon one than the other; but at times, carried away by indignation with his own people, the prophet lets the nations go unpunished, as in the case of Malachi; at other times the prophet's bitterness of feeling against the nations is so great that he exhausts himself in uttering denunciations and threats against them, letting Israel go free; such is the case with Nahum and several of the exilic prophets. But in any case the chief end of the day was accomplished in the revelation it made to the whole world of the holiness, majesty, and might of Yahweh, Israel's God. The time of the coming of the day was always left indefinite, though for the most part it was conceived of as near at hand, at most distant only a few years. But definite and specific predictions were not common with the prophets in any of their work, and they followed the prophetic custom with reference to this subject, leaving it in a state of indefiniteness that could not but add to the terrors which they so generously and vividly described — there was no telling when this awful visitation might fall upon the earth! Until the very latest days this coming was always conceived of as connected with some great historical movement of the times. Assyrians, Scythians, Babylonians, Persians, and Greeks were each in succession, as they

³⁹ Cf. STADE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Vol. II, pp. 225 f.

appeared on the stage of world-history, heralded by the prophets as Yahweh's agents and instruments in administering the punishments of his great day. It is not till the incoming of apocalyptic prophecy with Malachi and Joel that these historical agents are ever dispensed with, but thereafter Yahweh is represented as personally executing his own decrees.

The last common characteristic of importance is the fact that the Day of Yahweh was always represented as introducing a new *political* state. The prophets were also patriots; they were no less loyal to Judah than to Yahweh; patriotism and religion were inseparably blended in them. Thus, even after the most universal type of monotheism had taken hold of the prophetic consciousness, they were wholly unable to think of Israel in the new kingdom of God otherwise than as the acknowledged head of the nations of the world. Jerusalem is to become the religious capital of the world, the abode of Yahweh, Israel's God, whither all the peoples shall come to do him homage. From a position of the slightest political significance in the world, Jerusalem and Judah are to be exalted to the place of greatest renown. The Day of Yahweh was always preëminently a vindication, in one way or another, of Israel, Yahweh's own people.

It appears as a result of this study that the development of the idea of the Day of Yahweh in Israelitish history was marked, not so much by the addition from time to time of new features, as by the expansion and deepening of elements already present, at least in germ, at the time of the origin of the prophetic conception. The great growth of the idea of God out of which the Day of Yahweh grew and with which it was ever vitally connected, necessarily affected the teaching of the Day tremendously. So likewise did the great change that manifested itself in reference to Israel's conception of her destiny as the people of Yahweh, as that conception changed gradually from one of political supremacy to one of religious and moral preëminence.

But the instrument of all this change both in constituent elements and in the idea as a whole — that which under divine guidance forced Israel's prophets and people to enlarge and enrich their conception of the Day of Yahweh — was the historical experience through which the nation was compelled to pass. No single prophetic conception better illustrates the prophet's relation to the history of his times than does this idea. It reflects clearly from generation to generation the political and social environment of the nation, adapting its form and content at all times to the demands of the historical situation, of which the prophets were always the best interpreters.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

UN SIÈCLE: Mouvement du Monde de 1800 à 1900. Paris: Oudin. Pp. xxvi + 914.

THIS imposing volume is the work of thirty-three writers, philosophers, scientists, and artists, who under the direction of Monseigneur Péchenard, rector of the Catholic University at Paris, have undertaken to describe the triple movement of politics, science, and religion during the nineteenth century. The work is dedicated by His Holiness, Leo XIII., *Regi Saeculorum Immortali*. It has, therefore, a unique place among the many books devoted to the era just completed. Although the readers of this JOURNAL will be chiefly interested in the 218 pages that treat of the religious movement, it is important not to overlook the Catholic coloring which gives to the other parts a peculiar illumination. It displays the century as St. Peter's used to be displayed at Eastertide, bedecked with Roman lamps. The articles on "The Social Question in the Nineteenth Century," on "The Roman Church and the Political Currents of the Age," and on "Education" are particularly noteworthy. But many others of great value exhale the odor of a penetrating Catholicism. This, however, is not always obtrusive. In the essays upon the sciences it is, indeed, just perceptible. In those upon literature, the fine arts, and music it is a subtle *souffçon* merely.

The third part, which treats of the religious movement, contains eight essays of unequal value, that upon "Religion and Religions," by Father de la Broise, S. J., and that upon "Dogma and Catholic Thought," by Father Bainvel, S. J., easily surpassing all the others in ability and interest. An article upon "The Non-Christian Religions" by Baron de Vaux reduces the conclusions of religious philosophers to "the theory of the spontaneous production of religions" and "the theory of their equivalence." He concedes to the former "that peoples, like individuals, may have natural dispositions leading them unequally toward Catholicism." But of the latter he affirms that it is "an incoherent phantom." And to assist the young apologists of the church in combating this theory he treats (1) of primitive beliefs, (2) of the metaphysical religions of India, and (3) of religions the principle of which is social and ethical: to wit, Judaism and Islam. The essay of

Canon Pisani on "The Separated Christian Churches" treats of the eastern schismatics and of Protestantism. In the latter those phases only are mentioned that seem advantageous to Rome, while the existence of Protestantism outside of Germany and England is hardly recognized.

The article on "The Conflicts of the Church" is a capital instance of how history should not be written. It is difficult to characterize serenely the portion of it that relates to Italy. The author did not know, or he suppressed, essential facts. His inadequate statements are true enough; but the omissions make the final impression false. No one could gather from them the real nature of the struggle. The following declaration, however, it may be wise to ponder: "The Italian Catholics have *received orders* not to take any part, as electors or elect, in the politics of the kingdom."

Count d'Haussonville pleads frankly for the reestablishment of the ancient union of church and state in works of charity and benevolence. Private enterprise is inadequate. State beneficence is bureaucratic. The church alone, with its disciplined and admirable army of brotherly kindness, can properly dispense the public bounty and thus temper the liberty of modern society with fraternal helpfulness. The perpetuity of misery is a fact with which political economy must reckon; the alleviation of misery is the perpetual duty of charity.

The essay on "The Inner Life of the Church," which opens splendidly, runs speedily into rhetorical tenuity and a glorification of the papal hierarchy. It contrasts sharply with the subtle and powerful articles of the Jesuit fathers. The first of these, by de la Broise, notes the following tendencies in the thought of the century: (1) the current of absolute negation persists; (2) deism is disappearing; (3) the characteristic current of the age has been "religion freed from dogma." This is due to Kant and reveals itself in four forms: positivism, the religion of the heart, agnosticism, idealism. But each of these when examined proves untenable. Each is a dream-religion. Humanity is awaking and will soon see things clearly. Then it will choose frank atheism or revealed religion. Nevertheless these dreams are significant, and the adequate religion must synthesize all that they suggest; and a great deal more. To the Kantians and the Hegelians religion is an idea, a sentiment, a creation of the human soul; it must, therefore, always be relative. To the Catholic, on the contrary, religion is the expression of the relations between man and God. All religions are false in which these relations are conceived falsely. Men have so

conceived them and gone astray. God has recalled them by Jesus Christ, who has confided the means of salvation to a human society, the Catholic church. This, far from claiming to be the only possible form of religion, would not so much as exist if it had not been positively established.

The essay of Bainvel on "Dogma and Catholic Thought," after a rapid survey of Catholic theology, attacks boldly the biblical problem. The position is that of Augustine. No church without the Scriptures; no Scriptures without the church. The following, however, is noteworthy:

"The Catholic church continues to regard the Bible as one of the principal sources of 'the Christian demonstration,' but the absolute inerrancy of the sacred text is not the basis of proof. We do not pretend to impose the Bible as without error; it is a question of studying it under the direction of the church, in the light of faith. The Catholic position is that no affirmation of the sacred author of Scripture can be convicted of falsity, *i. e.*, shown to contradict an established truth of science." "Catholics do not reject blindly the critical labors of the age." "Many questions are pending; but they are debatable among Catholics. For example: How far does the practical and doctrinal aim of a book authorize us to see in its historic aspect a pure symbol? To what extent may we accept contemporaneous doubts as to the redaction or authorship of a certain book? How far does the incorporation of a document into an inspired text guarantee its statements, and under what conditions may we concede the existence of error? On these questions, and on many others of a most delicate character, Catholics are divided: some have adhered to the old positions, while others have abandoned all that they could without heresy."

"Not everything is progress in the tendencies of our new theology, our preaching, and our asceticism; but we have an incontestable superiority through the penetration of the historic and scientific spirit into Catholic theology and thought."

"The Expansion of the Catholic Church" is discussed by Father Sertillanges; the paragraphs upon Canada and the United States are especially significant. Cardinal Richard, archbishop of Paris, concludes this notable collaboration with an eloquent discourse upon unity. The Church of Rome is the unique tree of God's planting. "*Si l'humanité cherche le repos, qu'elle vienne se grouper à son ombre.*"

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THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO DARWIN. By WOODS HUTCHINSON.
Chicago: Open Court Pub. Co. Pp. viii+241. Paper, \$0.50.

THE author disclaims any purpose to furnish a system of ethical or religious thought, or the germ of a new religion. His is merely "an attempt to get a bird's-eye view of a few of the influences affecting human hope and human happiness from the standpoint of that view of and attitude toward the universe which is best expressed by the term Darwinism." He seeks to show that this attitude possesses a broad and secure basis for courage and happiness in the present and hope for the future. He would have us believe that the natural is as wonderful, as beautiful, as divine as the supernatural. "Darwinism has no quarrel with religion, only with its excesses."

Some of the chapters are devoted to such topics as these: "The Omnipotence of Good," "The Holiness of Instinct," "The Beauty of Death," "Love as a Factor in Evolution," "The Value of Pain," "*Lebenslust*."

Not denying the gospel of Plato, which places the emphasis on reason and salvation by *Gnosis*, and not denying the gospel of Jesus, which places the emphasis on moral will and salvation by *Pistis*, moral faith, the author would make the gospel of Darwin, which emphasizes the right and worth of instinct, appetite, passion, and the function of these even in salvation itself, complementary and corrective of the former two. If Plato found divinity in the intellect, and Jesus in the feeling and willing side of human nature, Darwinism finds divinity also in human instincts and impulses. The function of reproduction is as divine and holy as that of prayer, for example. Even pleasure has a right to be for its own sake, end as well as means. God in all life, even in what men in their asceticism and false spiritualism have affected to despise and to put outside the pale of religiousness—that is the message of this book. The author has rendered a real service. To be sure, in my opinion, honoring and trusting instinct as he does, he is inconsistent in discrediting the instinct of immortality. His doubt on this subject colors and saddens the whole discussion. While the reviewer cherishes an immortal hope and can say something, not to prove, but to justify it, he yet recognizes that the effects of belief in a future life as conceived by not a few have often been and still are injurious to the moral and practical life of the present. It is possible for this book to render a service as a corrective at this point also. All in all, "the message of the gospel according to Darwin is in truth good news, glad tidings." It is the merit of this book to have made

that proposition good. It is a book that the preacher and teacher should read.

GEORGE B. FOSTER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

FOUNDATIONS OF KNOWLEDGE. In three Parts. By ALEXANDER THOMAS ORMOND. New York: Macmillan, 1900. Pp. xxvii+528. \$3.

FOR two reasons this is one of the most noteworthy books of the year in the subject of philosophy. First, the author, like Mr. Bradley, Mr. Bosanquet, Professor Royce, and others, refuses to join any school of thought, and seeks to prove that reality, the absolute or the transcendent, by whatever name it be called, is not truth or goodness or beauty, but a unity of the three. Secondly, while recognizing and using the psychology of the day, he believes that it merely lays the foundations of philosophy. As against what he regards as the one-sided philosophies of Hegel and Spencer, he returns to Kant, with a leaning to Lotze. Not that he accepts Kant, but finds in him the most consistent precursor of the modern psychological view that truth is to be obtained by an analysis of primary psychical conditions.

After an interesting historical retrospect, and critical references to sensationalists, rationalists, mystics, dialecticians, ontologists, and Mr. Bradley's *Appearance and Reality* ("one of the most notable contributions to contemporary metaphysics," p. 30), Professor Ormond, following Professor Dewey, argues that the simplest possible psychical state contains all the fundamental elements of experience, namely, discrimination, purpose, and feeling. "Just as it is possible to prove the absurdity of postulating absolute homogeneity of any state of matter that can be conceived as actual, so the supposition of an absolutely homogeneous consciousness, if we attempt to conceive it as real in any given case, will prove to be self-contradictory" (p. 37). Starting from the primary pulse or germ of conscious activity (Part I, chap. iv), the author proceeds (Part II) to evolve the "structural terms" or "categories" of knowledge. He passes in review in successive chapters space and time, quantity and quality, cause, substance, and community or interaction, treating the "presentative" or "reflective" categories before the "volitional" or "dynamic." The theory that cause is, "from the genetic point of view," volitional is at least curious. "A boy or a savage endows things [which resist his will] with wills, and translates their experience into an exact counterpart of his own. . . .

As the boy grows older, he no longer endows the inanimate with conscious will, but the notion of agency persists as the essential feature of the notion of cause" (p. 163). This looks like the retention of a superstition after its inadequacy has been recognized. From the presentative and volitional categories the author passes on to the æsthetic category of congruity or unity, which is thoughtfully explained as implicit in the categories which precede. All three kinds of categories are concerned, so the author continues, almost exclusively with the objective world. Hence arises a fourth class of structural ideas, named individuality and personality, referring to the subject and also implied in the psychical germ.

One whole province remains to be explored, the nature of the transcendent (Part III), and for the proper understanding of this topic the first two parts are necessary. The difficulty which faces Professor Ormond here is how to think the transcendent as involved in experience and yet as in any rightful sense transcendent. The author solves the problem by means of the idea of "absolute experience," and lays down the proposition that "the transcendent is only transcendent in its relation to our finite relative experience, but is included in the notice of an absolute experience" (p. 366). Having thus established the transcendent as real, he treats of it with great fullness and interest under the titles: "The Transcendent Object (Cosmology)," "The Transcendent Subject (Psycho-Theology)," "The Transcendent Ground of Religion" (three chapters), and "The Transcendent Ground of Ethics."

Professor Ormond's book has the signal merit of compelling attention and provoking discussion. But it is possible to ask if he has not borrowed too largely from genetic psychology, and if it really simplifies the problem to start from the imaginary experiences of a psychical germ. At any rate, he finds it necessary at times to appeal to a developed or actual experience (pp. 263, 264).

It would be interesting, too, to ask if the author's view that society is a community of interacting *socii* (pp. 269, etc.), any more than Plato's earlier theory, escapes the criticism that it is the theory of contract in a new guise. Plato turns the edge of criticism by regarding developed society as the individual's true and wider self; but this explanation is hardly open to genetic psychology.

Another subject of controversy would be the author's doctrine of belief, and his approval of Professor Baldwin's definition that belief is the "personal indorsement of reality." This theory, when applied to

the absolute, will have to defend itself against the charge of flippancy. It is, perhaps, more to the point that the absolute should indorse us than that we should indorse the absolute. At any rate, no half doctrine is sufficient.

But the central theme of the book is the nature of the transcendent and the finite. "The real," says Professor Ormond, "must always greatly transcend any finite experience, and there will be outlying regions of reality which it has not compassed, and doubtless never will" (p. 66). In the face of the author's repeated criticisms of Spencer it is impossible to translate this sentence into terms of the unknowable, but it is sometimes difficult to catch the precise element of difference. On the other hand, no position is more consistently developed than that the transcendent is in experience. How the transcendent can be beyond experience and at the same time in experience is the crux of the work. A way out of the seeming contradiction is suggested by the author himself, when he says that "the relative is not seen to be relative except when viewed as an aspect of a larger and profounder world" (p. 59). If the method suggested here were consistently adopted, the opposition between subject and object, so persistent in psychology, might be resolved and the nature of the transcendent disclosed without violation of the principle of experience. But retaining the opposition of subject to object, and not, as it seems to me, realizing the value of his own principle, Professor Ormond concludes that the transcendent in judging rejects the false and in willing rejects the bad. Referring to the "primal activity of the absolute," he says that "it becomes necessary to suppose that the act in which anything originates and becomes real will have a negative moment or aspect, in which the hypothetical opposite or inconsistent will be present in conception, and will be negated in an act of judgment, as false, and in an act of will, as bad" (p. 373). Here the absolute is so far from being really absolute that it adopts toward the false and the bad an attitude which does not do justice to our own deepest experiences. There is, then, no absolute, and we pass from faith to skepticism. And yet no such one-sided inference can legitimately be drawn from the breadth, scope, and insight of Professor Ormond's truly important work, which ought to furnish a distinct stimulus to the study of philosophy.

S. W. DYDE.

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THEISM: A Survey of the Paths that Lead to God ; chiefly in the Light of the History of Philosophy. By JNO. J. TIGERT. Nashville: Publishing House of the M. E. Church, South, 1901. Pp. 370. \$1.25.

THIS little volume claims to be the fourth or fifth edition of a manuscript which the author has been working over in one way and another since 1884. It furnishes a really valuable contribution to the profound subject which continuously commands the attention of thoughtful minds. Its method is, in large part, that of discursive critique of other writers, quotations from whom occupy a noticeable proportion of the contents of the book. This feature detracts somewhat from the independence and originality of the treatise as a whole, but not from the sterling excellence of the several discussions. After a fair statement of the question, and a showing that the existence of God is a fact capable of rational demonstration, rather than an intuitive truth, Dr. Tigert presents in a very clear and readable manner the Cartesian form of the ontological argument, and also the arguments from causation and from design. The latter part of the volume contains an able restatement of the argument from the universal causal efficiency of God, and is followed by a discussion of the "knowledge of things" and of the "theory of knowledge." The author rejects the Anselmic form of the ontological argument, showing that it starts with a thought, not with a reality, and therefore it can logically end only with a thought. But Des Cartes starts with the fact of his own existence and proceeds logically to the conclusion that the concept of God is essentially a revelation of the Perfect One to the conscience of mankind. This conclusion is confirmed by the "historical argument" that man is in fact a religious being ; and the instinct of divine worship, while easily distinguishable from the doctrine of a connate or intuitive knowledge of God, is evidence that man as such has "a God-appetency that must be satisfied by some religious cultus." In connection with the cosmological argument it is maintained that the only true cause must be a first cause. An infinite series of causes cannot be a complete cause. Furthermore, causation in its real nature is essentially and solely explicable as being the intelligent activity of personal Will. "The infinite God is needed as much to explain the existence of an atom or of a dew-drop as he is to explain the existence of a sun or a system" (p. 122). And so it is made to appear that the immanent Cause of all the forces and changes in the universe is the living presence of the supreme, all-pervading personal Power whom we call God. All cosmic phenomena

and change, even to infinitesimals, are explicable only by the ceaseless efficiency of the divine Will.

MILTON S. TERRY.

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LIFE AND LETTERS OF THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY. By his Son, LEONARD HUXLEY. Two volumes. New York: Appleton, 1900. Pp. xii + 541. Eight portraits, and five other illustrations. \$5.

FOUR great names of English-speaking scientists give luster to the nineteenth century: Agassiz, Gray, Darwin, and Huxley. It would be hard, indeed, to find four who have left so indelible an impression on their age as these four. Three were great teachers, inspiring disciples without number; three were great lecturers, simplifying without falsifying science, so that the common people heard them gladly; the fourth was the creator of a new biology, whose theories were as heartily opposed by Agassiz as championed by Gray and Huxley. Of all four we now have biographies, told mainly through their letters. In none is the revelation of character more complete, and in none will the interest be greater, than in the volumes before us.

Many a good soul fairly shudders at the name of Huxley; a synonym, it seems, for the most blatant infidelity and one almost to be written, in pious shrinking, H——y. But this idea will be dissipated by acquaintance; and, however much we may dissent from Huxley's theological views, of which more anon, we are compelled to admire the ardor and tenacity of purpose, the straightforwardness in thinking, the fairness, the intense honesty, the overmastering love of truth, which characterize the man. Mistaken he may have been—to err is human—but wilfully blind, never. Prejudiced, perhaps, he was—we are all responsive to environment—but never without full endeavor to eliminate the personal factor. Shortcomings, of course, there were—though the spirit is willing, the flesh is weak—but never slackness.

If there was anything in which Huxley excelled and to which he desired above all to help his fellows, it was clearness and precision in thinking. For himself he found the scientific method universally applicable, and he had little patience with mere speculation or metaphysical abstractions.

I know nothing of Necessity, abominate the word Law (except as meaning that we know nothing to the contrary). . . . I believe in Hamilton, Mansell, and Herbert Spencer so long as they are destructive, and I laugh at their

beards as soon as they try to spin their own cobwebs. (I, 261.) I have champed up all that chaff about the ego and the non-ego, about noumena and phenomena, and all the rest of it, too often not to know that in attempting even to think of these questions the human intellect flounders at once out of its depth. (I, 234.)

Clearness of thinking doubtless contributed largely to a rare lucidity in writing and speaking, which it may well be the ambition of the younger generation to emulate. But in these letters numerous phrases and allusions show that he was thoroughly familiar with the English Bible and Shakespeare; classical terms and occasional quotations from the best French and German literature testify to his early training and wide reading. In a strong plea for the proper teaching of English literature in the universities he writes:

In my boyhood we were familiar with *Robinson Crusoe*, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, and *Gulliver's Travels*; and though the mysteries of "Middle English" were hidden from us, my impression is that we ran less chance of learning to write and speak the "middling English" of popular orators and headmasters than if we had been perfect in such mysteries and ignorant of those three masterpieces. (II, 302.)

Knowing these things, we discover the secret of his forceful and graceful style.

Clear thinking is perhaps at the bottom of his unusual insight. When the protoplasm of plants and animals had only just been recognized as of the same general character, he pointed Spencer (1861) to the essential identity of the functions in a few sentences (I, 248) that would have obviated many a false "contrast" had they been heeded. They are fully in line of our present conceptions.

Even before English manufacturers were losing their grip on the markets—a situation which is almost a panic today—Huxley warned them in words that were prophetic:

I do not think I am far wrong in assuming that we are entering, indeed, have already entered, upon the most serious struggle for existence to which this country has ever been committed. The latter years of the century promise to see us embarked in an industrial war of far more serious import than the military wars of its opening years. On the east, . . . , on the west, an energetic offshoot of our own stock, grown bigger than its parent, enters upon the struggle possessed of natural resources to which we can make no pretension. . . . Many circumstances tend to justify the hope that we may hold our own if we are careful to "organize victory." But to those who reflect seriously on the prospects of the population of Lancashire and Yorkshire . . . to those who remember the cotton famine and reflect how much

worse a customer famine would be, the situation appears very grave. (II, 163.)

When many of his countrymen were Southern sympathizers, he pointed out that slavery was as bad for the master as for the man, or worse. When most men saw in science an antagonist of the church, he wrote Kingsley :

If . . . the Church of England is to be saved from being shivered into fragments by the advancing tide of science—an event I should be sorry to witness . . . —it must be by the effort of men who, like yourself, see your way to the combination of the practice of the church with the spirit of science. (I, 238.)

And that is precisely the combination which the church catholic is finding essential today.

Nature study is a phrase to conjure with at the opening of the twentieth century ; in "Scientific Education," and other educational addresses in 1869, Huxley urged the same sort of instruction as "one of the best ways of imparting to children a preliminary knowledge of the phenomena of nature." This is only one out of many contributions to educational theory and practice. Besides his example as an inspiring teacher, he wrote and labored year after year to improve all grades of schools. The English people owe him more for his educational work than they have yet recognized. It would not be a rash prediction that some of his ideas, which the nineteenth century was not ripe for, the twentieth will see adopted.

Perhaps Huxley is best known as a debater, though the reputation was distasteful to him and he disclaims intellectual pugnacity. His honesty of thinking led him to hate mental shuffling and lame logic, and his facile pen no doubt led him into many a temptation that a less skilful champion might not have felt. It was his crime to be, it is his glory to have been, the chief advocate in England of the theory propounded in Darwin's *Origin of Species*. In this country Gray took up the cudgels ; but while Gray encountered stout opposition, Huxley faced such a storm of wrath and flood of contumely as might have overwhelmed a less resolute and clear-headed champion. But he kept his temper, held his opponents to the issue, and won. More to him than to any other man is due the fact that the *Origin of Species* was not hooted out of court, and the recognition of Darwin's great contribution to philosophical biology postponed for a generation. The *Letters of Darwin, Gray, and Huxley* ought to be read together for the history of this great fight.

Huxley coined the word "agnostic" to express his attitude in religion. Of the four men I have named at the outset, two maintained an active faith in the Christian religion, two did not. It is pertinent to seek the causes. Perhaps they lie too deep. On the surface, however, is the fact that it was the two Americans who avowed their faith, the two Englishmen who denied it. Was it the greater intellectual freedom within the churches of this country which permitted Agassiz and Gray to combine "the practice of the church with the spirit of science," a freedom which then the Church of England forbade? Perhaps the ecclesiastical atmosphere stifled a peculiarly sensitive intellectual organism. Yet Huxley was distinctly religious, though certainly not orthodox. Regarding questions about which many have firm faith, Huxley simply said: "I have no knowledge — the evidence is not sufficient." To assert belief, he averred, is the most sacred act of a man's life, and he could only say *I believe* when the evidence was adequate. The teachings of Jesus he venerated, though he saw little of them in current Christianity, which seemed to him much more Judaic and Pauline than Christian. The moral height attained by Jewish prophets without the support of faith in a future life seemed to him a religious phenomenon which nineteenth-century religionists should emulate. In a letter to Kingsley, written after the death of his boy, he speaks more unreservedly of his religious status than elsewhere. So throughout his letters he reveals himself, and those who would understand and admire the man must read them, brimming as they are with wit and wisdom, delicious personal turns, and incisive comment on men and affairs.

I forbear to speak of Huxley as an investigator, great as he was. That belongs to another audience.

Many questions we should like to ask which the *Letters* leave untouched. Though we are disappointed sometimes by the son's reticence, we take gratefully what is given, and recognize in Huxley a great, most transparently honest, sincere, and loving soul, to whom Jesus might tenderly have said: "Thou art not far from the kingdom of God."

CHARLES REID BARNES.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

FAITHS OF FAMOUS MEN. By JOHN KENYON KILBOURN. Philadelphia: Coats, 1900. Pp. 379. \$2.

THIS volume is made up of quotations setting forth the religious views of more than five hundred of the most distinguished scientists,

statesmen, educators, philosophers, theologians, literary men, soldiers, business-men, liberal thinkers, and others. The editor has arranged these excerpts alphabetically (by authors) under nine heads: God, creation, the Bible, Christ, immortality, the millennium, the intermediate state, and the resurrection. The very laudable purpose of the book, as set forth in the preface, is twofold: (1) to let these great men, often misquoted and misunderstood, speak for themselves; and (2) to bring about a spirit of toleration on the part of leaders in the church. Should the book accomplish this object, even to a small extent, it would seem that the compiler's work had not been in vain. There are, of course, limitations and defects in the work, but most of these are due to the nature of the task in hand. Thus the extracts, though usually quite copious, are necessarily torn from the context in which they originally stood. Often the most orthodox things a man has written are selected, rather than the things which express his deepest and most central convictions. And, finally, the alphabetical arrangement has made a sort of encyclopædic heterogeneity not altogether conducive to consecutive reading. The volume will, no doubt, be of most value to the busy pastor who desires to have at hand an abundance of material, by the best writers, on the subjects enumerated above.

WM. R. SCHOEMAKER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE HISTORY OF THE DEVIL AND THE IDEA OF EVIL FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY. By DR. PAUL CARUS. Chicago: Open Court, 1900. Pp. xvi + 496. \$6.

THIS is a sumptuous volume. A large (almost royal) octavo, printed with wide margins on good paper, illustrated with about 300 cuts, many of them full-page, and this not counting the many beautiful half-tone green etchings at the beginning and end of sections, tastily bound in black with illustrated front cover; book and title are well suited to please the eye. The type is good, not too heavily leaded, and misprints are not numerous. Hence the reader approaches the volume almost biased in its favor.

The subject, too, is catching. Only one topic could be of profounder interest to humanity. The devil and the idea of evil—the interest is both practical and philosophical. What is the treatment Dr. Carus gives this theme?

In the main the method is historical. After a brief, partly metaphysical, introduction, the author provides a chapter on devil-worship.

He then proceeds to a review of the religions of Egypt, Accadian and Semitic Babylonia, Persia, the Hebrews, and of the historic faiths of India. Next he considers the intra-canonical writings and the Gnostic circles of ideas. Early Christian ideas concerning demons and evil, as set forth in canonical and apocryphal writings, are then reviewed, particular attention being paid to the doctrine of hell in both literature and art. The eschatology of Greece and Rome next comes in for consideration under the heading "The Idea of *Salvation* in Greece and Italy"! We find, then, a sketch of Scandinavian and Teutonic demonology with their effects upon Christianity. The chapter on "The Devil's Prime" defies summarizing, ranging from Moses' performance before Pharaoh to the modern Indian ghost dance, but is principally concerned with witchcraft. The Inquisition furnishes material for a long chapter. Two more are occupied with the devil in the literature and belief of the age of the Reformation, followed by one on the devil in verse and fable. "The Philosophic Problem," in fifty pages, with a fair index, closes the volume.

Such is the matter of the volume. What is its value? A great deal of information new to most laymen is offered. None of this is first-hand; it is drawn from sources available to all students of the subject. Yet, for those who do not know what the comparatively recent science of religion has brought together the book is serviceable. Worthy of praise is the author's industry in collecting illustrations. In fact, these tell the story more clearly than does the text. They alone are worth the price of the book.

But if, as was the case with the reviewer, the reader hopes to find traced to their origin the ideas of evil and devil, he will be disappointed. That the student of religions can now do this with close approximation is one of the fruits of the science, but it is not done here. Perhaps that was not Dr. Carus' aim; if it was, he has failed, for two reasons—lack of arrangement and introduction of irrelevant matter. For instance, whatever may be said of the Hindu trinity, what relation has the Christian Trinity to either devil or evil? Yet many pages and pictures deal with the Christian Trinity. As an example of misarrangement, take the chapter on "The Dawn of the New Era." This seems intended to deal with intra-testamental times; then why drag in Jacob Boehme centuries ahead of his times?

A blemish on the work is the author's dogmatism. Is it true that Waitz, Lubbock, and Tylor warrant the conviction that "devil-worship *naturally* precedes the worship of a benign and morally good deity"

(p. 6)? or that "religion *always* begins with fear" (p. 14)? or that there was monotheism in Egypt and Babylonia (p. 49)? or that the Arabic gospel of the infancy is "documentary *evidence*" of the eastern origin of the Magi (p. 59)? or that "the wisdom literature shows many traces of Indian influence" (p. 147)? or that "during the first century of the development of the Christian church the ideal of a God-mother was *abandoned*" (p. 148)? Did not the Semites "rise" till long after 3000 B. C. (p. 29)?

The author's philosophy (or his English) puzzles the reviewer. What does this mean: "(God's) nature does not consist of indifferent generalities, but exhibits a distinct *suchness*. Indeed: all *suchness* in the world, in physical nature as well as in the domain of spirit, depends upon God as here defined" (p. 4)? (*Italics are all ours.*)

Minor blemishes are found. "Bell-Merodach" (p. 41) rings false; the horrible word "resurrected" occurs pp. 163, 247; *ταρώταρας* for *ταρταρώσας* is found p. 200; *ἀνασκοποῦσθαι* means, not "crucify," but *impale* (p. 211). After all, the illustrations are the best part of the volume.

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THE SPIRITUAL LIFE: Studies in the Science of Religion. By
GEORGE A. COE. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1900. Pp
281. \$1.

THE second title to the volume represents its character better than the first. It is not a treatise or essay on the spiritual life, but a careful study of certain groups of religious phenomena from an empirical point of view. It is one of the best—certainly the most lucid and interesting—of those studies which approach the facts of religion by the methods of psychology. It stands for a distinct epoch in the study of religion—the reinforcement of philosophical and theological discussion of the problems of the spiritual life by the methods of science.

Perhaps the most valuable and original contribution in the volume is on the relation between temperament and religion. Why do certain persons experience striking religious transformations and others labor in vain for such experiences? Why do certain forms of religious expression appeal to one class of persons and not to another? What conditions underlie the different attitudes of the sexes toward the conventional religious forms? Dr. Coe's analysis is clear, and his array

of evidences is convincing that the differences are due in part to constitutional and temperamental causes.

Dr. Coe and his students went to work in a critical and painstaking way to secure the data used and to test the reliability of their conclusions. In determining the relation between constitutional peculiarities and religious phenomena attending conversion, or, in cases in which conversion was not experienced, even when sought after, the relation of this fact to temperament, the method was as follows: Persons were asked to write answers to printed questions regarding their experiences.

"These answers were supplemented in various ways: First, personal interviews were had with a large proportion of the persons examined. The cross-questioning which these interviews made possible not only cleared up doubtful points in the papers, but also elicited many new and important facts. Second, a large proportion of the subjects were placed under careful scrutiny by myself and others, with a view to securing objective evidence as to temperament. These observations were guided by a carefully prepared scheme of temperamental manifestations. Third, interviews, based upon the same scheme, were had with friends and acquaintances of certain of the persons under examination. Finally, in order to get at the facts of suggestibility, hypnotic experiments were made upon all the important cases that were accessible." (P. 109.)

The classification of temperaments was made according to Wundt's scheme of the rapidity and strength of mental processes, and also by judging whether sensibility, intellect, or will was the most prominent faculty, and by estimating the place of each of these three faculties in respect to promptness and intensity. The persons who looked forward to a marked transformation through conversion were divided into two classes, those who experienced it and those who did not. "Where expectation was satisfied, there sensibility is distinctly predominant, but where expectation was disappointed, there intellect is just as distinctly predominant." In the inquiry as to the possible relation between striking transformations and suggestibility, thirty-one of the persons studied were hypnotized. They were observed as to their "passive suggestibility" or "spontaneous auto-suggestion" while under hypnotic influence. Of fourteen persons who expected a striking transformation and experienced it, thirteen are of the passive type. Also, with only one clear exception, the twelve persons whose expectation was disappointed belong to the spontaneous type. In summing up these coincidences, Dr. Coe adds:

Would you understand the emotional aspects of religious experiences? Do not ascribe them to the inscrutable ways of God, but to ascertainable differences in men's mental constitutions; do not theorize about divine grace, but study the hidden workings of the human mind. (P. 140.)

These conclusions and others are made to ramify into the most practical aspects of the religious life. They include a study of divine healing, the employment of suggestion in revival meetings, a comparison of the religious traits of men and women, a psychological analysis of sainthood, a study of some adolescent difficulties, and a study of the psychological aspects of hymnology and prayer-meeting songs. The book should be welcomed, not only by psychologists, but also by religious workers. It will be edifying to both. Its effect must be to increase the insight, skill, and efficiency of those in active service.

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ARISTEÆ AD PHILOCRATEM EPISTULA cum ceteris de origine versionis LXX interpretum testimoniis. Ludovici Mendelssohn schedis usus edidit PAULUS WENDLAND. Leipzig: Teubner, 1900. Pp. xxviii + 229. M. 4.

PROFESSOR WENDLAND has supplied a long-felt want in the present work. He has succeeded to the labors of Professor Mendelssohn, of Dorpat, who had made preparations for an exhaustive edition of the letter of Aristee, which his untimely death prevented him from completing. With the assistance of the collations made by Mendelssohn and Lumbroso, and with help from other scholars, Wendland has produced a thoroughly satisfactory and readable text. Some obscurities in the language may yet be removed by emendation, but little improvement is likely to accrue from collation of fresh manuscripts. The present text is based upon the readings of seven manuscripts, and full use is for the first time made of the important extracts of Eusebius and the paraphrase of Josephus. But perhaps the most useful part of the work consists in the happy emendations by which several errors which have affected all the known manuscripts and the Eusebian text have been removed. We may specially mention 18:12, *ἔτι γὰρ ἐπιταγῆς οὐσης οὐθὲν ἂν ἐσπάνυζε* ("had there been any injunction;" MSS., *ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς οὐσης*); 28:19, *ὥστε ὑπολαμβάνειν* (MSS., *ὡς τύπον λαμβάνειν*); 50:15, *ὅσαι γὰρ πόλεις ἔθεσιν ἰδίαις συγχρῶνται* (MSS., *εἰσὶν οἱς*); 78:22, *ἐγὼ δ' εἰ πεπλέονακα* (MSS., *ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπα πλείονα καὶ, the*

emendation is supported by a passage from Diodorus). It is to be hoped that Professor Wendland will treat at greater length elsewhere, as he suggests that he may, the difficult and important questions of the date of the work and the amount of truth underlying the story, obviously legendary in part, of the origin of the Greek Bible. With regard to the date, Wendland, for reasons briefly stated here (pp. xxvi f.) and in the introduction to his translation of the letter in Kautzsch's *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, concludes that it falls between 96 and 63 B. C. Several of the questions put to the seventy translators by Ptolemy suggest that the rule of the Ptolemies was in its decline, the court titles (*ἀρχισωματοφύλακες* and the like) were probably the creation of the second century B. C., and the names of the seventy recall the age of the Maccabees. There are certainly good reasons for believing that Schürer's date (about 200 B. C.) is too early, as that recently proposed by Willrich (about 33 A. D., *Judaica*, pp. 118 ff.) is unquestionably too late. But the wide discrepancy between these dates shows that the question is as yet far from settled. Wendland's text is followed by a complete and carefully edited collection of the *testimonia* or allusions to the story made by Jewish and Christian writers up to the fifth century. An exhaustive index of the language, indicating parallel usages in the Septuagint and the papyri, adds to the usefulness of the volume.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

LONDON, ENGLAND.

EXODUS. Erklärt von LIC. DR. H. HOLZINGER. (= "Kurzer Handkommentar zum Alten Testament," herausg. von Karl Marti, Abteilung II.) Tübingen: Mohr, 1900. Pp. xx + 155. M. 3; bound, M. 4.

THE plan of this series, in excluding the publication of the Hebrew text and its translation, allows more room for the presentation and expansion of critical and exegetical material. In this thin book we find a surprising amount of matter demanding careful consideration. The *Einleitung* discusses the "content and construction," the "sources," the "editing," the "newer literature," and a tabular summary of the contents of Exodus according to their sources.

The body of the work is properly subdivided, and the matter in each minor subdivision consists of (1) compact textual notes, in which the variant readings of the important versions are cited, and also a few emendations made by the author; (2) the critical analysis of the

text, and reasonably full discussion of the differences of opinion among leading critics; and (3) an exegetical section, where in larger type there is a more or less popular discussion, though full of Greek and Hebrew words, of obscure and difficult words and portions of the text.

The author's treatment is full of interest, although he does not always arrive at a definite and satisfactory conclusion. He is not yet ready to accept any proposed explanation of the word Moses (מֹשֶׁה), not even the Egyptian *mes, messu* (p. 6). On the tetragrammeton (Exod. 3:14) we find a fine-print summary of the principal views hitherto set forth. Holzinger apparently follows Dillmann and derives it (יְהוָה) from a Qal form, with the meaning "the one who brings down," "the ruling one," possibly a weather-god, as Stade (*Gesch. Isr.*, Vol. I, p. 429, note 1). Tiele, Stade, and Budde have found the origin of Yahweh among the Kenites. But up to the present moment neither the proposed explanation of the name nor the origin of Yahweh offers any adequate explanation of the character attributed to him by the Jews.

In his analysis of the Passover and the exodus passage (Exod. 12:1—13:16) he finds remnants of every known source and several glosses (e. g., וַפִּסְחָה, vs. 21, and עַרְבָּן, vs. 22). While in the main divisions he agrees with Driver, Addis, and Bacon, he still finds phrases and words that must be sundered from their connection if properly attributed to their original sources. The variants of the versions are also abundant in this section. The troublesome words translated in the margin of the Revised Version "between the two evenings" (בֵּין הָעֶרְבַּיִם) have called out numerous explanations. The Samaritans and Karaites understood it to be the time intervening between sunset and darkness; the Pharisees and the rabbis thought it referred to the time between the first going down toward the west (about 3 o'clock) of the sun and its disappearance. The usage at the temple, and that described in the Talmud, is the latter. A similar custom is current among the Arabs at Mecca. But the Passover was a night feast, and the slaying of the lamb occurred just as the sun went down. The form of the above word is not a genuine dual, but an extension of the ending ׀. The translation would then be (similar to יוֹמָם "during the day") "within the evening time." The author has no adequate solution to give to the large number of the Israelites in 12:37, nor to the reputed length of Israel's sojourn (in vs. 40) in Egypt. The sabbath question receives discussion of especial interest; and the "Book of the Covenant" is treated through four pages of fine print—both giving largely

a summary of previous discussions. The commentary reveals, on the part of the author, great industry, good judgment in proportioning the material, and careful philological work. If there is one general criticism to be made on the work as a whole, it is that the author too often leaves the reader in doubt as to the best position in his mind on the grounds of the evidence.

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LE PROPHÈTE OSÉE. Par CHARLES MERCIER. Lausanne: Bridel, 1900. Pp. 123.

THIS is an admirable piece of work. M. Mercier has succeeded in making Hosea live before the eyes of his readers, and in enabling them to appreciate the sad life and the lofty faith of this ancient preacher of righteousness. Books like this, which undertakes to do for the French public what—to mention a few among many—the works of W. R. Smith, G. A. Smith, and Valeton have done for the English, Dutch, and German public, cannot fail to do an immense service in removing the popular distrust of the so-called “higher criticism.”

The author divides his discussion into two parts: (1) “The Person of Hosea,” including his life, his times, his work, and his predecessors; and (2) “The Preaching of Hosea,” dealing with the sin of Israel, as manifested in the cultus, the social and political demoralization, and the lack of the knowledge of Jehovah; and the love of God, as shown in his punishment of sin and in his appeals to repentance and his offer of salvation.

M. Mercier adopts the view of Valeton, Wellhausen, and others with regard to the narrative in chaps. 1–3. He is very conservative on the subject of editorial additions and interpolations, rejecting only 1:7 and 2:1–3 (Eng. trans., 1:10—2:1). He declines to give his assent to the theory of Kuenen that the prophets of the eighth century were the originators of “ethical monotheism.” He holds, however, that the religion of the contemporaries of Amos and Hosea was really only monolatry or at best a practical monotheism, and says that “the preaching of Amos and Hosea marks a step of great importance because that in it the national God Yahweh becomes the one God, the sovereign Judge, and the sole Ruler of the universe.”

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EINLEITUNG IN DAS NEUE TESTAMENT. Von THEODOR ZAHN.
 Band II. Leipzig : A. Deichertsche Buchh. (Georg Böhme),
 1899. Pp. iv + 656. Zweite, vielfach berichtigte Auflage,¹
 1900. Pp. iv + 658. M. 13.50.

READERS of this JOURNAL need no characterization of the author of the *Kanongeschichte*, the "prince of conservative scholars." Least of all is it needful, after the judicious praise accorded Vol. I of this monumental work, to reassert that, from the author's unquestioned scholarship and recognized services in investigation of the New Testament canon, "it can hardly fail to be regarded as the most important one from the conservative point of view." We are concerned rather with an estimate of the degree of success with which the assaults of criticism on the positions of traditionalism have been met.

For the impression of the volume as a whole is that it belongs, whatever the intention of its renowned and scholarly author, to the department of apologetics, and not of the history of biblical literature. It is not so much a historico-critical inquiry as an adroit and able defense of traditional views. The polemic heat of Salmon is wholly absent ; there is the vastly superior quality of immense and comprehensive scholarship, patient, orderly industry, cool and systematic marshaling of the last minutiae of attainable facts—but it is the argument of the advocate, not the verdict of the impartial judge. The advocate is wise enough to realize that his case will only be injured by any appearance of bias or overstatement ; yet who that has personally studied through the relation of Jude and 2 Peter can justly accord to §§ 42-44 any higher epithet than "specious" or "plausible"? Is it the impartial investigator, or the special pleader, who employs all the resources of scholarship to make it appear that in 2 Peter 3 : 1 there is no reference to any known epistle ; that in 3 : 15 again the writing of Paul referred to is an unknown one ; and that τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς means only religious "books in general"? Is it possible that Professor Zahn thinks he is giving an impartial exegesis of 2 Peter 3 : 16 f.? And does he help his case by declaring that in 1 Peter 2 : 6 ἐν γραφῇ "means only 'in einer Schrift' "?

Our author's scholarship shows to better advantage where it works unfettered. Today orthodoxy no longer demands that Hebrews shall

¹ Simultaneously with the revised edition of the second volume appears also a similarly revised edition of the first volume. See Vol. II, p. 663, of this JOURNAL. The "Berichtigungen" referred to in the title of the revised edition consist in the case of both volumes mainly of correction of type-errors, especially in figures, and the modification of some of the notes. The text remains substantially as in the first edition.

be defended as the work of Paul. One may even with impunity consider it to have been written after the destruction of Jerusalem and to a non-Palestinian community. In §§ 45-47 we have an able and impartial discussion of Hebrews, resulting in the usual *impasse* as to authorship, but in 80 A. D. as the date, and Rome as the home of the recipients. The defense of 1 Peter §§ 38-40 makes also a more favorable impression on the score of impartiality than that of B. Weiss, because the fruitless attempt to invert the relation of literary dependence on Romans and Ephesians is frankly abandoned, and the undeniable Paulinism of the writing accounted for by admitting a decided partnership of Silvanus in the writing (1 Peter 5:12). Judicious concession thus removes a fatal objection to the authenticity of 2 Peter, which cannot have been written by the same hand. *Per contra*, the necessity of denying the references of 2 Peter removes what is probably the oldest bit of external evidence for the apostolic authorship of 1 Peter, evidence which can ill be spared. On the whole, the reinforcement of the defenses of 2 Peter at the expense of 1 Peter will strike many as a rather dubious gain.

The least satisfactory part of the *Einleitung* is the discussion of the synoptic gospels. The treatment of the Papias fragment in the section (§ 51) on tradition as to Mark and his gospel shows the same regrettable *parti-pris*. We are referred to a careful discussion in note 13, and to the author's articles in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1866, 1867, on Papias; but the statement that Papias "had opportunity of seeing and hearing Aristion in person" (p. 206), and that he had the same personal relations with the presbyter John, should not be made without reference to Eusebius' appended qualifying clause, "At least he quotes," etc. "Jedes gesunde Sprachgefühl" is to be our guarantee that the term *πρεσβύτερος* in the fragment is applied to the apostles (who are called, however, *μαθηταὶ τοῦ Κυρίου*), in the phrase *εἰδὲ πον καὶ παρηκαλουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους· τί Ἀνδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν κτλ.* We lay ourselves open (with Edwin Abbott, Weiffenbach, and others) to the charge of having an unsound linguistic instinct, but acknowledge that Papias seems to us to describe his informants as followers, not of the apostles, but of men of the apostolic generation (*πρεσβυτέροις*) who could report "what Andrew, or Peter, . . . or any other of *the disciples of the Lord*, had said," these reports being *τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων λόγους* which Papias *ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων* (through the medium of the *παρηκαλουθηκότες τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις* who came his way) *καλῶς ἔμαθον*. This view is not

only more consonant with what we know of Papias' date, his informants (*e. g.*, the daughters of Philip), the character of his information, and his application of the title *πρεσβύτερος* to Aristion (*var. lec.* Ariston), but certainly agrees better with the general use of the term *πρεσβύτερος* by his contemporaries. Against the emendation of Haussleiter, to which Zahn inclines, removing the difficulty of the two appearances of the name John, once among the *μαθηταὶ τοῦ Κυρίου*, and a second time in a separate class along with Ariston as a mere *πρεσβύτερος*, by an arbitrary striking out of the words *ἢ τὶ Ἰωάννης*, the reviewer ventures to set his own (*Journ. of Bib. Lit.*, 1898), in place of the second *οἱ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθηταί*, reading *οἱ τούτων μαθηταί* (*τω* for *κυ*). Still simpler would be the adoption of the Syriac text (ed. of Bedjan, 1897), which omits the clause altogether.

Exposition of the Papias tradition is followed by comparison of the gospels. That our Greek Matthew is largely dependent on Mark cannot indeed be denied. But the apostolic origin of our first gospel may be rescued by the supposition that Mark first borrowed practically all his material from an Aramaic Matthew substantially identical with our Matthew, only omitting the discourses.

The brief and clear refutation (p. 323) of the oral-tradition theory, the favorite *Verlegenheitshypothese* of English conservatives, is thoroughly worthy of Zahn's scholarly insight and courage. Clearing away this unserviceable defense, he has only to explain why Mark should have omitted the discourse material, and this at first sight might seem no more serious difficulty than the two-document theory confronts. In reality we have only to notice how Zahn himself struggles with the facts, to see that the objection is fatal. Mark, we are told, omitted Matt., chaps. 1, 2, because it was his purpose to write *εὐαγγέλιον*, and narratives of the birth and infancy are not properly included. The Sermon on the Mount was omitted by him for the same reason. It did not correspond to the preaching of Jesus as characterized in Mark 1:14 f.! *Sie ist nicht Evangelium* (p. 324)! Imagine a writer preparing a gospel for the Græco-Roman world on the basis of a Matthew such as we have, but in Aramaic, and omitting nine-tenths of the discourse material, including the Sermon on the Mount, as *nicht Evangelium*! If the readers were already in possession of the discourses through a *logia* source, or otherwise, such a course would be conceivable. But this is just what Zahn denies, and his synoptic theory becomes thereby untenable.

The use of Mark by Luke is, of course, admitted; but Matthew was unknown to him either in Aramaic or Greek. One wonders how the

discourse material not found in Mark, but common to Matthew and Luke, is to be accounted for. The old stalking-horse of oral tradition must undertake the task, in spite of the bold repudiation on p. 323! The change of order in the temptations, Luke 4: 1-13, is supposed to show that the dependence is not literary, because it would be "inconceivable" if Matt. 4: 1-11 had lain before the author in written form! Discourses in verbal duplicate like the Baptist's preaching, Luke 3: 7-9: 17 = Matt. 3: 7-12, Jesus' ejaculations in Luke 10: 21-22; 13: 34, 35 = Matt. 11: 25-27; 23: 37-39, might be transmitted "without the aid of writing" in so stereotyped a form as fully to account for the resemblances (p. 404). Can it be, we ask again, that this able scholar is really giving us his unbiased judgment on the question? Surely every student who has the common material before him in parallel columns will be forced to say: This is not criticism, but special pleading.

That the Johannine writings must all be what tradition reports was, of course, a foregone conclusion. The reader is interested, however, to see what answer Zahn's ingenuity will offer to the objection of the extraordinary differences in doctrine and style between the Apocalypse and the other Johannine writings. But the two pages (624, 616—rev. ed., 617 f., 619 f.) allotted to this discussion tell us little. The mere occurrence of the name $\delta \lambda \acute{o} \gamma \circ \varsigma$ (quite without a $\lambda \acute{o} \gamma \circ \varsigma$ doctrine) in Rev. 19: 13 outweighs, it is said, all the apparent differences in doctrinal standpoint, while the difference in style is partly due to the new subject-matter, partly to the fact that the writer in both gospel and apocalypse is reproducing words and thoughts not his own.

Zahn's great work represents beyond question the latest word of conservatism in reply to the criticism of the nineteenth century, and as such is indispensable. Could it be considered the last word of critical science, the situation were discouraging indeed—a century of effort devoid of results. But what it gives us is not the verdict, but the argument for the defense, and as such it is a marvel of learning and skill.

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TEXTKRITISCHE BEMERKUNGEN ZU MATTHÄUS. Von F. BLASS.
["Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie," 1900,
4. Heft.] Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. M. 1.60.

THE contributions of Professor Blass to the solution of critical questions in New Testament literature have been very stimulating, for

the reason, no doubt, that he boldly addresses himself to speculative inquiry as to the sources of the received text. His most recent studies have led him into the field of the synoptic problem, and the tendency as well as the methods of his work may be fairly judged from his observations upon Matt. 3:16, as taken without abridgment from the pamphlet under review, βαπτισθεὶς δὲ (or καὶ βαπτ.) ὁ Ἰησοῦς εὐθὺς ἀνέβη (or ἀν. εὐθὺς) ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνεψύχθησαν οἱ οὐρανοί, καὶ εἶδεν πνεῦμα θεοῦ καταβαίνον ὡσεὶ περιστεράν, ἐρχόμενον ἐπ' αὐτόν:

In this passage it is at once noteworthy that the very obvious fact of his coming up out of the water is expressly narrated in the chief clause, and again that the εὐθὺς which one might have expected with the clause ἀνεψύχθησαν οἱ οὐρ. is here a very forced usage and one entirely contrary to Matthew's style, although it is frequent enough in Mark.¹ Now, the Sinaitic Syriac has it thus: "And when he had been baptized and had come up out of the water;" or in Greek perhaps: καὶ ὅτε βαπτισθεὶς ὁ Ἰ. ἀνέβη κτέ. This does away with the difficulties mentioned, but it leaves a third and still greater one, namely, the obscurity as to the subject of εἶδεν, or, worse still, the appearance as though it were Jesus. This is not only contrary to John 1:32, according to which it is the Baptist who saw, but also contrary to the best-attested form of the declaration from heaven, vs. 17: οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου κτέ. If it is Jesus who sees and hears, and to whom the entire revelation is made, the voice must then declare, as in Mark (and in Matthew, according to Codex D and others): σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου.

In Mark 1:10 the words are: καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναβαίνων ἐκ (marg. ἀπὸ) τοῦ ὕδατος εἶδεν κτέ., where εὐθὺς evidently goes with εἶδεν. This word therefore, in any case, has been transferred from Mark to the text of Matthew.

But we must now take into account as well the preceding vs. 15: τότε ἀφήσιν αὐτόν, filled out from the Curetonian Syriac (C^a) with the words βαπτισθῆναι καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη ὁ Ἰ., and from the Sinaitic (S^a) with only βαπτισθῆναι. The additional words in S^c (C^a?) presuppose that some copyist missed the account of the baptism, and how can he have done so if vs. 16, βαπτισθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς κτέ., followed?

From all this I conclude that we must consider the entire passage βαπτισθεὶς . . . ὕδατος as an interpolation formed on the basis of Mark. The passage then closes up and flows on without the least break: τότε ἀφήσιν αὐτόν. Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνεψύχθησαν οἱ οὐρανοί, καὶ εἶδεν (John the Baptist) πνεῦμα θεοῦ κτέ.

This is exceedingly interesting and very plausible reasoning, but is nevertheless entirely specious. Of the seven, or possibly eight, points upon which Dr. Blass rests his conclusion there is not a single one

¹ εὐθὺς without variants is found only this once in Matthew, his ordinary word being εὐθέως.

which is not open to serious question. In the first place, the *εὐθὺς* clause is very much in place, coming as it does, in the best-attested texts, between the *τότε* clause and the *καὶ ἰδοὺ* clause as a natural link in the chain of circumstantial evidence given by Matthew, here and elsewhere, to Christ's care in fulfilling all righteousness. Thus the *εὐθὺς* itself belongs precisely where it stands, with *ἀνέβη*, and the "forced usage" is that suggested by Dr. Blass. The matter of the added vowel in *εὐθὺς* is not of moment, but, the shorter form being so exceptional in Matthew, points possibly toward his independence rather than toward his dependence in authorship. The probable use of *δτε* in Sin. Syr. serves to emphasize the circumstantial and time element already noted. The subject of *εἶδεν* is Jesus beyond debate, as is also the case in the parallel passage in Mark, and this is not contrary, but complementary, to the record in John 1:32. Moreover, it is not contrary to vs. 17—*οὗτός ἐστιν*—but rather again a proof of its origin in Matthew, the "interpreting evangelist." The "best-attested" text here, even according to Dr. Blass, does not coincide with Codex D. The statement, finally, that *εὐθὺς* "in any case has been transferred" from Mark to Matthew, and the supposition that the fuller form of the Curetonian and Sinaitic Syriac texts "presuppose that some copyist missed the account of the baptism," are, like the conclusion our author reaches, entirely gratuitous.

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DIE VIER EVANGELIEN IM BERICHTIGTEN TEXT, MIT KURZER
ERLÄUTERUNG ZUM HANDGEBRAUCH BEI DER SCHRIFTLEK-
TÜR. Von BERNHARD WEISS. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900.
Pp. ix+604. M. 12.

PROFESSOR WEISS' preface occupies five pages, his introduction seventeen, his text of the four gospels and his brief explanations, the former on the upper half of the page and the latter on the lower half, 587 pages. The preface states the principles of textual criticism which the author has followed, with which readers of Professor Weiss' critical works are familiar. The absolutely original text cannot now be restored, but from a comparison of the four gospels the chief classes of errors can be discovered, for variations came in most abundantly through the assimilation of one gospel to another. The introduction deals briefly with questions of (technical) introduction to the four gospels: (1) Our present Greek Matthew was written shortly after the

destruction of Jerusalem by a Jew of the dispersion, who drew his material from the Logia of Matthew and the second gospel. (2) Mark wrote his gospel in Rome in the latter part of the sixth decade of the first century, for materials making use of the Logia of Matthew and the reminiscences of Peter. (3) Luke wrote before 80 A. D. for gentile Christians of Italy, using as sources: (*a*) the Logia of Matthew, (*b*) oral traditions, (*c*) the second gospel, and (*d*) a Palestinian document, particularly in the account of the passion and resurrection. (4) The fourth gospel was written by John the evangelist at Ephesus near the close of the first century, not with stenographic precision repeating the words of Jesus, nor yet with a purpose of delineating a new Christ, but with the design of showing the Christ personally known and personally interpreted by the Spirit to the evangelist, in such a manner as to appeal to the cultured and speculative minds of his time. The explanations of the author—a specimen of masterly condensation—explain paragraphs, parallels, and literary relations, rather than single words. This is supplementary to Dr. Weiss' commentaries in the Meyer series, and not superfluous repetition.

But the chief value of this volume lies in the text itself. Twelve years ago the author said to his present reviewer that there was no better text of the New Testament than Westcott and Hort's (= WH). Here, however, is one which the author must now regard as superior. It is important, therefore, to compare this text with that of Westcott and Hort. Professor Weiss uses capitals only for proper names (but gives *σατανᾶ*, ὄρους τῶν ἐλαιῶν, ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμῆως, ἀγρὸς αἱματος, κρανίου τόπος, where WH use capitals). WH employ capitals in quotations from the Old Testament; for *Κύριος*, when meaning Jehovah; for *Χριστός*, when anarthrous; for the initial of all direct quotations, the beginning of all paragraphs, of all sentences after a space and many other sentences. Professor Weiss makes fewer paragraphs than WH (in Matthew, 48 to WH 73; Mark, 40 to WH 51; Luke, 43 to WH 79; John, 39 to WH 46); but punctuates very much more freely, especially with commas and colons, setting off attributive and participial clauses, and nouns in apposition, with commas, and introducing direct quotations and most dependent sentences with colons. In spelling Professor Weiss, in comparison with WH, shows a disposition to use the more regular forms (*ἐλθέτω*, ἦλθον, ἔρρυψαν, εἶπον, εἶδομεν, etc., instead of *ἐλθάτω*, ἦλθαν, ἔρρυψαν, εἶπαν, εἶδαμεν, etc.); a preference for diphthongs (*e. g.*, *κεραία*, *ἐξαίφνης*, *ἀναΐδειαν*, *φωτεινόν*, *σκοτεινόν*, *δάνειον*, *Καισαρείας*, etc., instead of *κερέα*, *ἐξέφνης*, *ἀναΐδιαν*, *φωτινόν*, *σκοτινόν*, *δάνιον*, *Καισαρίας*, etc.). Professor

Weiss uses the smooth instead of the rough breathing on Ἑζεκίας, Ἀννα, Ἑσρώμ, but the rough instead of the smooth on Ἱεροσόλυμα, Ἡλεία, Ἱερεμίας, Ἑλμαδάμ, Ἦρ, and Ἱερεϊχώ. He has a disposition to omit iota subscript (*e. g.*, in all infinitives of contract verbs in ᾶω, in Ἡρώδης, and λάθρα). He employs the dieresis in Ἡσαίας, Καϊάφα, Καϊνάν, Ναὶν, Βηθσαιῶν, πρωίας. In the genealogical table given by Matthew he prefers Ἀσά to Ἀσάφ, Ἀχαζ to Ἀχας, Ἀμὼν to Ἀμώς; in Luke's list, Μελεᾶ to Μελεά, Μενᾶ to Μεννά, Ἰωβήδ to Ἰωβήλ, Μεθουσαλα to Μεθουσαλά; he prefers Ναζαρέθ throughout to Ναζαρέτ; and in Matt. 28:1, Μαριάμ to Μαριά (ἡ Μαγδαληνή). Changes in reading, too numerous to give in detail, relate to voice, mood, tense, case, and substitution. A few examples from the gospel of Matthew may indicate their general purport: 7:18, ἐνεγκύν for ποιύν; 10:16, εἰς μέσον for ἐν μέσῳ; 10:25, τῷ οἰκοδεσπότῃ for τὸν οἰκοδεσπότην, τοῖς οἰκιακοῖς for τοὺς οἰκιακοὺς; 12:22, προσηγήθη . . . ος for προσήνεγκαν . . . ον; 17:23, ἀναστήσεται for ἐγερθήσεται; 24:24, πλανῆσαι for πλανᾶσθαι; 27:4, ἀβῶν for δίκαιον.

This book is an evidence of close, scholarly toil by one whose long years of devotion to these subjects qualify him to speak as an authority; and yet one misses the marks of critical dubiety, which enable the reader of WH to weigh and decide for himself between variant readings. Here the author's judgment stands alone and unchallenged by alternatives. Here, too, one misses the capitalization and indentation of poetical quotations from the Old Testament. But one is helped to see the logical connection of thought and the relation of part to part by the new paragraphing and punctuation; and this, after all, is the best assistance which can be rendered an exegete.¹

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DER SCHRIFTSTELLERISCHE PLURAL BEI PAULUS. Von KARL DICK. Halle: Niemeyer, 1900. Pp. iv + 169. M. 3.60.

It is a pleasure to read this study, the steps of which are so clearly conceived and logically carried out. Exegetes and grammarians have

¹ The following errata in the Greek text of the synoptics may be listed with those already given by the author: p. 19, l. 5, read Ἀχαζ for Ἀχαξ; p. 40, l. 8, καὶ for καὶ αὐ; p. 103, l. 14, λαλοῦντες for λαλοῦντες; p. 175, l. 4, καινὴ for καινή; p. 193, l. 8, μέizon for μέizon; p. 206, l. 4, Ἡρώδῃ for Ἡρώδῃ; p. 208, l. 3, αὐτοῖς for αὐτοῖς; p. 249, l. 1, ἀκούσας for ἀκουσας; p. 266, l. 1, ἦσαν for ησαν; p. 275, l. 11, ἀπο- for ἀπο; p. 348, l. 1. ὅ for ὅ; p. 421, l. 7, βαρηθῶσιν for βαρηθῶσιν.

dealt very lightly with the question of Paul's use of the "author's plural," having given hardly more than a personal opinion, so that one cannot feel satisfied with their conclusions, not knowing the steps by which those conclusions were reached, while the latest opinion on the subject, that of Zahn (*Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 1896), viz., that in the Pauline writings every "we" denotes an actual plurality, necessitates a thorough study of the question, since it would compel such a radical change of opinion in regard to matters considered settled.

In the first main division of the study Dick discusses "the witness of later Greek for the author's plural," and finds that it was used in (1) the classical age, (2) the literary language, and (3) the common language of the later time, (4) the patristic literature, (5) the non-Pauline literature (Hebrews and 1 John) of the New Testament.

In the second main division the use by Paul of the author's plural is discussed, first as to its existence (the theories of Zahn and Laurent being here tested); secondly, as to its extent, in the letters which Zahn holds to have been written in the name of several persons, and in those which he considers to have been written by Paul alone.

At the close are given the five points considered proven :

1. The possibility of the occurrence of the author's plural in Paul's writings proven from its use in later Greek.
2. Though several persons be named in an address, they are not considered in the rest of the letter.
3. Laurent's theory, that Paul uses the plural when speaking officially, the singular when speaking in his private capacity, is untenable.
4. A veritable plural is to be found only when a plurality is spoken of in the immediate context, or when Paul opposes himself to a plurality by the use of an emphatic singular (*i. e.*, with a pronoun).
5. The author's plural is used by Paul in different ways (when there is no difference between singular and plural; from modesty; when the readers are included in the "we").

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COMMENTAAR OP HET EVANGELIE VAN MATTHEUS. Van J. M. S. BALJON. Groningen: Wolters, 1900. Pp. xxviii + 435. Fl. 4.50.

THE publication of a commentary on Matthew by the scholarly editor of the text of the New Testament and author of a notable

lexicon of biblical and patristic Greek¹ arouses expectations which are not disappointed by an examination of the book itself. That Dr. Baljon is thoroughly acquainted with the text and its various readings, and with the syntax and lexicography of the New Testament, needs hardly be said. The book is rich in references to illustrative passages, its treatment of Old Testament quotations being particularly painstaking. As a whole, the volume constitutes a distinctly valuable addition to the exegetical literature on the first gospel.

On questions of introduction the author holds the views which are generally current among modern scholars, but places the date of the writing some years after the destruction of Jerusalem. He despairs of harmonizing the infancy sections of Matthew and Luke. He quotes with apparent approval Holtzmann's opinion respecting the temptation, that it was an inward struggle related in parabolic fashion. He dissents from Holtzmann's opinion that 5:12 is to be rejected as a later addition, seeing no reason why Jesus might not have spoken prophetically of the sufferings of the disciples. The use of *lōra* in 5:18 proves to him that the author had Greek readers in mind. The Lord's Prayer was only given once. The request of the disciples in Luke 11:1 would have been psychologically impossible had the prayer already been given at the point indicated by Matthew.

There are instructive discussions of John the Baptist, the Samaritans, the Pharisees, the apostolate, the parables, the apocalyptic discourse, and the Last Supper. The term "Son of man" is held to be messianic. The brothers of Jesus referred to in 13:46-50 are uterine brothers, not half-brothers, nephews, or cousins. A parable is an enlarged metaphor, is never used to cover up truth, but always in the interest of its elucidation. Jesus clearly teaches the substitutionary character of his suffering and death (20:28). From some of these conclusions we should certainly dissent. Nor will all interpreters be able to follow him in his interesting statement respecting the words *φιλεῖν* and *ἀγαπᾶν*, in which he contends that *φιλεῖν* = *amare*, *ἀγαπᾶν* = *diligere*; that the former is sensual and involuntary, the latter is the fruit of a person's will. Respecting the apocalyptic discourses, he concludes that one cannot possibly determine by historico-critical methods to what extent Jesus made use of the old Jewish representations and to what extent they have been put into his mouth by the

¹ BALJON, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Groningen, 1898; BALJON, *Grieksch-theologisch Woordenboek, hoofdzakelijk van de oud-christelijke Letterkunde*, 2 vols., Utrecht, 1899. For a review of this dictionary see pp. 564-7 of this issue of the JOURNAL.

evangelists. Baptism (28 : 19) is in order to discipleship, is the initial step to it, and is to be followed by teaching. The formula is trinitarian, but does not teach the trinity. These last two verses are, however, of doubtful origin.

The only serious fault that one can find with the book is that the larger and more perplexing questions are too lightly dismissed. A broader logical interpretation and a larger introduction of the element of criticism and valuation of the results of exegesis pure and simple would have increased the value of the book. When the author has to deal with words and phrases, his work is admirable. When it is necessary for him to trace the larger connections of thought, or estimate the statements of the evangelist which he interprets, he sometimes fails us. Occasionally the element of criticism is introduced, as, *e. g.*, in the case of the problem of demoniacal possession. The story of the demons who entered the swine he describes as a piece of Jewish tradition, and his pointing out that in the gospel of Mark the result of possession is wholly confined to psychical disturbances suggests his belief that demoniacal possession is identical with nervous disorder. Much of the work on the Sermon on the Mount is excellent; but the author's unadaptedness for the larger interpretation mars it as a whole. The sermon, he declares, is an address to the disciples concerning the righteousness of the kingdom. He fails to see the defensive attitude that characterizes it; does not adequately recognize that, according to Matthew's version, it is a philippic against the Pharisees in which Jesus declares that instead of breaking the law he is loyal to it; that not he, but they, pervert it. The error of the Pharisees, the author asserts, is in that they took no account of motives. It is much more than that. They altered and weakened the law by additions, and distorted its meaning by sophistries. The homiletical suggestions of the book are comparatively few. It is intended for scholars, is thorough and temperate, and impresses one with the feeling that the author sought nothing so much as truth. We hope it will ere long find a good English translator.

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GRIEKSCH-THEOLOGISCH WOORDENBOEK, HOOFDZAKELIJK VAN DE OUD-CHRISTELIJKE LETTERKUNDE. Door J. M. S. BALJON. Utrecht : Kemink & Zoon, 1899. Pp. viii + 939 + lxiii, and viii + 1105. £2.

DR. BALJON is known as the author of several valuable contributions to New Testament science. In 1889 there appeared from his

hand an exegetical and critical commentary on the epistle to the Galatians, in which some, though not an extravagant, use was made of the method of conjectural criticism to reach the original text. This was followed in 1893 by a translation, or, more accurately speaking, a free reproduction, into Dutch of Bernhard Weiss' *Einleitung*. In 1895, on the occasion of his becoming a professor in the University of Utrecht, Dr. Baljon delivered a discourse on the literature of primitive Christianity. In the following year he edited the text of the gospel and apocalypse of Peter. In 1898 appeared the first part of his *Novum Testamentum Graece*, followed by the second part in still the same year. The author's two most recent publications are a commentary on the gospel of Matthew, 1900,¹ and an "Encyclopædia of Theology," issued quite recently. Among the works mentioned especially those of an exegetical nature derive a specific value from the fact that they acquaint the reader to some extent with what has been done in this field by Dutch workers, a point too much neglected in the German commentaries in use among us.

The "Greek-Theological Dictionary" here under consideration has appeared in instalments from 1895 to 1899. The somewhat peculiar combination "Greek-theological" in the title is explained by the manner in which the work came into being. The author's original plan was to prepare a Dutch translation of Cremer's *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch der neutestamentlichen Gräcität*. In several particulars this plan was subsequently modified. Instead of discussing merely the theologically important conceptions, Dr. Baljon decided to admit the entire New Testament vocabulary, and besides this to make a selection from the vocabulary of the Septuagint, the patristic literature, and other Greek Christian writers, determined by the practical aim of aiding theological students. Owing to this the work as it lies before us presents a mixture of two heterogeneous elements. The articles from Cremer (seventh edition), though here and there modified by way of abbreviation, supplement, or correction, have on the whole been taken over in their well-known theological form. So far as their doctrinal import is concerned, no criticism has been exercised. Even such sections as those on *δικαιοσύνη* and *ἐκλέγω*, in which Cremer's theological position determines the treatment in the most pronounced manner, are found here in literal translation. Of course, the author cannot desire to be held personally responsible for the theological views embodied or reflected in such articles. Nevertheless, by not entirely

¹ Reviewed in this issue of the JOURNAL, pp. 562-4.

refraining from corrections and modifications in other articles he has in a sense deprived himself of the privilege of non-responsibility accorded to the ordinary translator. Perhaps this could have been avoided by a clear demarkation in the text between the material literally taken from Cremer and the passages recast by the author, either from a formal or from a material point of view. In the text nothing of this kind is attempted. The index to the first volume designates by a star the articles whose treatment is borrowed from Cremer; in the second volume this star is added to the heading of the articles themselves in the body of the book. Another disadvantage arising from the non-consistency of the author's plan comes out in the order in which the words are given. Where the aim is distinctively doctrinal, as is the case with the German Cremer, it is desirable that the several formations of a root shall be classed together, inasmuch as the comparison of these furnishes one of the means for determining its full and exact theological significance. Whatever practical inconvenience is caused by such an arrangement to the ordinary student is more than offset by the gain in convenience it secures for the purpose of more advanced investigation, to further which a book of this kind is primarily intended. On the other hand, of an ordinary lexicon it is justly expected that it shall follow the alphabetical order. Endeavoring to combine both, Dr. Baljon has fallen into a combination of both methods. Having begun with the intention to follow Cremer's plan, he afterward departed from this. The result is that several sections belonging to several letters are arranged on the one, while all the remainder is arranged on the other principle, a circumstance detracting from the value of the work as a book for ready reference.

The articles added by the author of his own are of a brief, purely philological character. The New Testament vocabulary is completely given, with the exception of occasional, evidently unintentional, omissions; *e. g.*, *ἐπισκιάζειν* is wanting, although the noun *ἐπισκίασις* is given with an extra-biblical reference. The extent to which the patristic and other Greek-Christian literature is drawn upon is not defined. Evidently a large amount of careful labor has been expended on this part of the work. The Greek lexicon of Sophocles is acknowledged by the author to have been one of his principal guides in this comparatively untrodden field. The amount of the material added may be estimated from this, that the size of Cremer's work has been more than doubled. The list of *addenda* and *corrigenda* at the close of Vol. II bears witness to the vigorous effort made to keep in touch with the latest researches of Deissmann, Dalman, Nestle, and others.

It is to be regretted that the translation from the German of Cremer is not always correct. We have noted some instances where the true sense was entirely lost in the rendering; e. g., Vol. II, p. 230, *sub voce* λυτρώω, the German sentence beginning with "*weil Wieder- und Loskaufsrecht*" has been sadly mutilated. On p. 237, under the same head, the Dutch word *vorming* does not express the German *Beschaffung*, the equivalent of which would be *totstandbrenging*. Such blemishes are obviously due to excessive haste in translating. We also venture to suggest that, since the author has allowed himself considerable freedom in recasting the German text, something more might have been done in the direction of increasing the clearness of presentation. Notwithstanding all its excellencies, the work of Cremer is in this respect capable of improvement.

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JESUS CHRISTUS IM THALMUD. VON HEINRICH LAIBLE. Mit einem Anhang: "Die thalmudischen Texte," mitgeteilt von Gustaf Dalman. Zweite Auflage (Anastatischer Neudruck). Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900. Pp. vi + 96 + 20*. M. 2.40.

THE book is a translation and a running commentary on the talmudic texts referring to Jesus given by Professor Dalman in the appendix. The translation is fairly correct. The comments contain amplified paraphrases of what is eminently clear from the translation itself, and serve (1) to swell what should have been a pamphlet of a dozen pages into one of about a hundred, and (2) to bring out in strong relief the "hatred of the Jews for Jesus," a phrase which seems to be an *idèle fixe* with the author, for he repeats it on nearly every page, and where no opportunity is offered to ring in the favorite phrase, he is very ingenious in creating one. The enterprise gives him occasion for some critical antics, which would be supremely ridiculous, if their motive were not so saddening. Luckily the appended talmudic texts will enable the intelligent reader to draw his own conclusion. There are forty-two of them in all. Nine of them (V, VI, VII, Xa, XIIa, XIIb, XIIc, XXII, and XXIII) have absolutely no reference to Jesus or Christianity. We can only wonder what they do in this collection. Two supposed references to Mary Magdalene are very doubtful (III and IVa). Six (VIIIb, VIIIc, IXb, IXc, XVIb, XVIIIa) are variants. There thus remain twenty-four scattered texts that have uncontested reference to Jesus or his disciples, the longest of about a dozen

lines, the shortest not quite a line long. In the longer passages about nine-tenths of the contents consist of unexceptionable context, usually of an exegetical, juridic, or legendary character, the reference to Jesus being purely incidental. Thus all the statements about Jesus in the Talmud could find ample room on less than a half page of this JOURNAL. As to quality, some passages are mere jests; others are the harsh dogmatic dicta, dictated always and everywhere by theological orthodoxy against heterodoxy — no less and no more. And, finally, two, *and two only*, are regrettable flings, which, it is but fair to say, are the result of a natural construction that will be put on an alleged miraculous birth by one unwilling to believe it. Two offensive statements in an immense literature covering a period of five hundred years! Let the fair-minded reader who knows what the *odium theologicum* between Catholics and Protestants meant, both as to bulk and literary amenities, draw his own conclusion about the dignity and temper of Israel.

Space does not permit to dwell on the incidental features of the book. Critically, the author lives in the "stone age." His occasional sallies against the wicked rationalists are pathetic, but quite in keeping with the general tone. A second edition after ten years is evidence of some demand for this kind of book in certain corners of evangelical Germany.

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SELECT NARRATIVES OF HOLY WOMEN, from the Syro-Antiochene or Sinai Palimpsest as written above the Old Syriac Gospels by John the Stylite of Beth-Mari-Qanūn in A. D. 778. Edited and translated by AGNES SMITH LEWIS, M.R.A.S. Syriac Text and Translation. (= *Studia Sinaitica*, Nos. IX and X.) Cambridge: University Press, 1900. Pp. 46 + , and xxxi + 211. 21s. *net*, and 7s. 6d. *net*.

THE publication of the tenth number of *Studia Sinaitica* (despite the fact that No. VIII has not yet appeared) marks a stage in the progress of that remarkable series and makes us vividly conscious that Mrs. Lewis' now historic visit to Mt. Sinai in 1892 has already added nearly a shelf-ful of Semitic books to our New Testament and patristic library. Besides the varied treasures of the *Studia Sinaitica*, to that visit are due the Syriac gospels, with their invaluable witness to the Old Syriac text, and the Palestinian Syriac lectionary of the gospels,

published by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson in 1899. To students of New Testament versions and of early Christian literature these volumes have been especially welcome, and the distinguished group of Cambridge scholars to whom the studies are chiefly due deserve the gratitude and good wishes of all workers in these fields as the series passes into its second cycle.

The Old Syriac gospels, it will be remembered, were preserved in the under writing of a palimpsest. The upper writing, we were told as long ago as 1894, was a collection of lives of holy women. It is this collection of saints' lives that Mrs. Lewis now publishes. They were written over the partially obliterated earlier characters in A. D. 778, in a monastery not far from Antioch; hence the new name, Syro-Antiochene, for the manuscript. Other manuscripts besides the Syriac gospels were destroyed in making the new book, among them copies of the Greek gospels and of the Syriac versions of the apocryphal Acts of Thomas and Repose of Mary. Of the last, two double leaves were used, of the Greek gospels two, and of the Acts of Thomas ten. Mr. Burkitt contributes to Mrs. Lewis' volume an account of these fragments of the Acts of Thomas, with transcriptions. The manuscript is assigned by him to about the year 500, and is thus 400 years older than any known text of these Acts, Greek or Syriac. The text of the Greek gospel fragments is contributed, as far as legible, by Mr. Burkitt and Mrs. Gibson. It seems to contain a considerable neutral element, and a somewhat fuller description of this new fourth-century uncial witness would have been acceptable. What the Greek writing underlying the Syriac in the last quire is we are not yet told. Indeed, there is need in these volumes of a full description of the manuscript which should combine with much that was said in 1894 in *Evangelium Syriace e Codice Sinaitico* the results of the subsequent researches of the editors.

The work which John the Stylite took his Greek and Syriac gospels and apocrypha to pieces to accommodate was a collection of sixteen lives of holy women. Of these, twelve are here printed in full, while four—Thecla, Pelagia, Theodosia, and Theodota—are represented by collations with published texts. Of these twelve, three—Mary, Sophia and Cyprian, and Justa—are published from fifth-century manuscripts in the British Museum, the readings of the Syro-Antiochene manuscript being collected in the footnotes. Of these same twelve, six—Eugenia, Marina, Euphrosyne, Onesima, Sophia and Cyprian, and Justa—had previously been published by P. Bedjan, but without

translations. The other saints included in the collection are Drusis, Barbara, Irene, Euphemia, and Susanna.

Mrs. Lewis' editorial labors have been threefold, including the transcription of the texts, their translation into English, and at least a brief treatment of matters of introduction and criticism suggested by each narrative. The eight facsimile plates that accompany Part IX afford an unusual opportunity for testing the transcription, which seems to have been made with Mrs. Lewis' characteristic care and skill. The translation, too, combines the elements of fidelity and readability to a gratifying degree. In matters of introduction much more might with propriety have been attempted, *e. g.*, in the direction of stating in what other forms and versions these narratives exist. Such a statement is really essential to the formation of a proper judgment as to the importance of these Syriac lives. The need for somewhat fuller and more systematic descriptions of the manuscripts employed — the British Museum codices and the various parts of the Syro-Antiochene palimpsest — has been noted.

The most vigilant of editors sometimes nod, and yet it is surprising to read that the story of Thecla "was composed in the beginning of the third century" (Part X, p. ix), the usual appeal to Tertullian's *De Baptismo* following. But the *De Baptismo* was probably written about A. D. 190, and the story of Thecla is pretty certainly a generation earlier. That Tela was "called Constantine, in honor of the great Roman Emperor, who rebuilt it in A. D. 350" (Part X, p. xxii) certainly needs revision, in the light of the fact that the only great Roman emperor named Constantine died in 337. And why is ܬܝܠܬܐ transliterated Tertullius in the face of the Greek Τέρτυλλος and the obvious suggestion of the Syriac?

Although Mrs. Lewis takes up various dates for Cyprian's martyrdom in some detail, she neglects to mention A. D. 304, the traditional date for Cyprian, Justina, and Theoctistus. Gregory puts S. Marina's day in the Greek church on September 17, while Mrs. Lewis puts it on February 12; and for S. Irene Gregory gives May 4 against Mrs. Lewis' May 5. But on these points there is clearly disagreement among the sources, Mrs. Lewis following the *συναξαριστής* and Gregory the manuscript lectionaries.

The only flaw in the beautiful book-making of these volumes is in the page-numbering of the preface and appendices of Part IX, where p. 23 is made to follow p. xxiv. It is rather confusing, too, to find the appendix numbers running in one direction upon pages numbered

in the opposite direction. The make-up of the book might in these respects have been more carefully planned.

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DIE MARTYROLOGIEN, IHRE GESCHICHTE UND IHR WERT. Von H. ACHELIS. Berlin: Weidmann, 1900. Pp. vi + 247. M. 16.

IN these pages Dr. Achelis offers a scholarly contribution toward the solution of an old and intricate problem—the origin, character, and influence of the “Martyrologium Hieronymianum” (MH). As it lies before us, *e. g.*, in the second November volume of the *Acta Sanctorum*, MH bears every mark of a Gallic recension. Duchesne is of the opinion that it was worked over into its present shape at Auxerre about 600 A. D., while Krusch fixes its composition at Luxeuil in the years 627–8. But a century earlier it was an old and well-worn book. Its remotest sources are the “Depositio Martyrum” (DM) in the Chronographer of 354 A. D., the almost equally old “Martyrologium Karthaginense” (MK), discovered by Mabillon in 1682, and the “Martyrologium Syriacum” of 411 A. D. (MS), as edited by Wright in 1866.

These documents were themselves drawn from the contemporary and official diptychs of the local churches, also from the *acta* of their martyrs. Such catalogues of martyrs, drawn up for the use of the churches of Rome, Carthage, and Nicomedia, likewise for Edessa, Nisibis, and the Persian Orient, were, perhaps about the middle of the fifth century, welded together in a great whole, to which a little later the orthodox name of the great Jerome was given, and for which the historical authority of Eusebius of Cæsarea was invoked. Thus arose the first “Universal Martyrology,” a grandiose thought, says Dr. Achelis. It was probably executed at Rome. Unfortunately, its three chief sources did not enter into MH in their native form, but much swollen, and in company with other minor currents whose volume we can no longer detect. Moreover, while DM thus enlarged is tolerably well preserved in MH, the same cannot be said for MK and MS. They were gradually inserted or worked into the original MH as marginal additions. By dint of careless transcription their numerous proper names of martyrs and cities were transposed and became hopelessly mixed; repetitions and “doubles” multiplied; dates and historical items were variously disfigured, until the original form of MH disappeared beneath additions, corrections, and interpolations. Thus we

cannot speak of an "author" or "editor" of MH. Its text was hopelessly corrupt before it crossed the Alps, to be the parent of the mediæval martyrologies that, one and all, from Bede to Usuard, are rightly fathered upon it. Many monographs must be written on the original sources of MH, and an enormous apparatus of erudition gathered, before we can hope to look upon it in an intelligible shape. It is not a book in the ordinary sense, with a responsible writer, compiler, or editor, or with several. It is a reservoir into which, from East and West, during two memorable centuries, great floods and little rills poured their respective quotas. Only a society of savants could truly edit MH. And their edition would be a final and scientific history of the Christian persecutions, rather than the reproduction of a text that never had a definite form, but was, by its nature and the intention of its creators, fluid and receptive.

As it is in the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists that MH has been constantly used for nearly three centuries, it is this monumental work that will be intimately affected by all critical studies on so important a source—a conclusion long since foreseen by the Bollandists themselves, notably by Father Victor de Buck (d. 1875). An immediate result will be the excision of many names from the "Index Sanctorum" of the supplement to the last October volume. Such works as Potthast's *Wegweiser* and the ordinary lexica of saints' names will also need revision in a scientific sense.

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COLLECTION DE DOCUMENTS POUR L'HISTOIRE RELIGIEUSE ET
LITTÉRAIRE DU MOYEN AGE. Paris: Fischbacher, 1900.

Tome I: *Speculum Perfectionis seu S. Francisci Assisiensis*. *Legenda antiquissima*, auctore fratre Leone. Nunc primum edidit PAUL SABATIER. Pp. ccxiv + 376. Fr. 12.

Tome II: *Fratris Francisci Bartholi de Assisio. Tractatus de Indulgentia S. Mariæ de Portiuncula*. Nunc primum integre edidit PAUL SABATIER. Pp. clxxxiv + 204. Fr. 12.

PAUL SABATIER is known as the foremost living writer on all topics connected with St. Francis of Assisi. His *La Vie de S. François d'Assise* was crowned by the French Academy for its lucid style, its critical accuracy, and its sympathetic portrayal of the man and the period to which it relates. Since its appearance he has published a brochure on *L'Indulgence de la Portiuncule*, and later the two volumes which I now review.

The first of these volumes is an addition of the highest importance to the documentary sources in which the life of the saint is to be studied, for, if Sabatier is right, it is the earliest of all. These documentary sources have a curious history. Thomas de Celano, a member of the Franciscan order, finished his "First Life of St. Francis" in 1229, about three years after the death of the saint. This is called "The First Life." A few years afterwards he wrote another life, dealing more fully with the early years, and gathering up materials concerning the later years omitted from his first work. This is known as "The Second Life." Still later, in 1244, three of the companions of St. Francis wrote a life, in which they enlarge the materials contained in "The Second Life." It is called "The Three Associates." One of the three was Leo, who had been for years the secretary of the saint, and knew him most intimately. Lastly, a fourth life was written by St. Bonaventura in 1260. He had known the saint well, and was now the general of the order. He added some things of value, but he purposely omitted all references to the suffering of the saint caused by the growing laxity of the order and its failure to observe strictly the vow of poverty, and made other alterations for diplomatic reasons. The diplomatic features of this work greatly commended it to the order, and the chapter general decreed that it should be regarded as the standard life, and that all its predecessors should be destroyed. Fortunately the decree was not obeyed everywhere, and a few copies of all of them escaped. In the eighteenth century the Bollandists discovered "The First Life" and the "The Three Associates." As they were Jesuits, and not affected by the decree to destroy these documents, or perhaps not informed of it, they published them in their *Lives of the Saints*. At the beginning of the nineteenth century "The Second Life" was discovered and published by Fr. Rinoldi, a Franciscan; for by this time the decree to destroy the earlier documents had lost its motive and been forgotten. Thus all the lost documentary sources seemed to be restored.

When Sabatier studied them with reference to his *Life of St. Francis*, he was convinced that "The Three Associates," as we have it, is incomplete. It appeared to be only a fragment of a larger work. He instituted a diligent search for the missing part. He did not find it; but he found something which he regards as far more important—a life of St. Francis by Leo, his secretary, written immediately after his death, and under the strongest impression of grief that his master had been taken from him. If Sabatier is right, we have in this document a

source for the life of the saint earlier than any other, and hence of the greatest possible value.

The new manuscript shows itself the earliest of all, first, by the multitude and accuracy of its references to the times, which give the story an aspect entirely original. It brings the localities more vividly before the reader, and it knows Assisi more intimately than any other of the documents. Its portrait of the saint is so fresh, so vivid, and so individual that it must have been written while the features were living in the memory, and before they had been reconstructed by reflection. The sayings of the saint are brief, pithy, and characteristic, and differ vastly in these respects from the long and polished speeches which Bonaventura puts into his mouth. The account of the last malady of the saint is so full and precise that a physician can easily understand it, and that it must have been written soon after the fatal termination. It has little or no reserve concerning the relations of St. Francis with St. Clara, and concerning the changed policy of the order in reference to the vow of poverty, topics which the later documents touch lightly or not at all. It is more frank than the other documents concerning the excursions of the saint into the regions of poesy, from which he brought back but a few indifferent laurels. It makes much of the first elaborate rule of the order, framed in 1221, as preferable to the modified rule of 1223. It makes relatively little of the predictive element in the sayings of the saint, which would grow rapidly after his death by the reports of credulous persons. In these and other ways the manuscript proves its very early origin and its exceptional value.

But if anyone should doubt the early date and the great value of the manuscript, Sabatier furnishes us a complete critical apparatus by means of which we may judge it. He gives us a biography of Leo, the author. He gives us an elaborate discussion of the relation of the manuscript to the other documents. He gives us a minute description of all the manuscripts containing a life of St. Francis. He gives us the text of the new manuscript. He gives us special studies of several of the more important chapters. Finally he gives us seven other documents which cast light upon the new manuscript and the claims which he makes for it. The volume is so rich in material, so critical, and so clear that it leaves nothing to be desired.

The second volume pertains to a question less interesting to the scholarly world, though considered very important by the Franciscan order. It is that of the so-called "indulgence of Portiuncula." The story is this: The church of Portiuncula, a dilapidated structure, was

given to the Franciscans by the Benedictines. The Franciscans repaired it. At this time Honorius III. ascended the papal throne, and St. Francis sought and obtained from him a declaration of indulgence from the guilt and penalty of all sin of whatever kind or degree for all who enter the church truly penitent and make confession, the indulgence to have force on only one day of each year. The story is inherently improbable, because it does not require alms or other service to the church, a condition in that age usually attached to an indulgence. Unfortunately St. Francis, according to the story, deemed the word of the pope sufficient, and did not secure a written statement, so that the best documentary evidence is lacking. The story has been attacked by many Roman Catholics, who do not approve this dispensation of the forgiving grace of God "without money and without price." Sabatier rejected it in his *Life of St. Francis*. He has since been led to study the evidences anew, and he now believes it. He gives us here the evidences on both sides, with elaborate discussions, so that every reader may weigh them for himself.

The method of Sabatier is to assemble the enormous number of early documents, some of them discovered only recently, in which the indulgence is mentioned, whether they emanate from the Franciscan order or from popular tradition, and to furnish a complete critical apparatus for the entire collection.

The arguments against the story are made to dissolve and disappear. One objection is based on the large embellishments which it received in process of time. But this, if applied consistently, would deprive us of all exact knowledge of St. Francis, for every act which he performed, from his birth to his death, is surrounded in the later literature with a halo of impossible legends. Another objection is based on the improbability that the pope would grant such an indulgence to an order but recently founded and but little known. It is proved by conclusive evidences, however, that the order had achieved an enormous extension, and had occasioned wonder and secured approval throughout the Catholic world. A third objection is based on the silence of several of the early biographers of St. Francis. But the argument from silence here, as elsewhere, proves very insecure. Some of these same biographers say nothing of his journey to Palestine or of his mission in Spain and France. St. Bonaventura, who wrote the official life of St. Francis, does not mention the earliest elaborate rule which the saint framed for his order, or his letters, or his last will. Yet "to write the history of St. Francis," as Sabatier

says, "without speaking of his testament, is as if one should write the life of Jesus and say nothing of the institution of the eucharist." The argument from silence breaks down in this case, as in so many others.

In favor of the story are the facts that it comes into the field very early, that it seems to be assumed as a background of well-known truth by those biographers who do not relate it, and that it fits the temper of St. Francis, of Pope Honorius III., and of the age to which it belongs.

Both the volumes are printed on the finest paper and from faultless types. The matter is arranged in that perfect order for which the French are distinguished, and with such differences of type and wide spacing as render it easily intelligible. It is a delight to read such books, and Sabatier is fortunate to be able to furnish them to the students of history, as even a wide sale would hardly repay him.

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HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By JOHN FLETCHER HURST. 2 vols. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1900. Pp. xxvi+957; xxvi+949. \$5 each.

IN 1851 Dr. H. B. Smith could truthfully write:

As a people we are more deficient in historical training than in almost any other wants of scientific research. We live in an earnest and tumultuous present, looking into a vague future, and comparatively cut off from the prolific past which is still the mother of us all. . . . Americans love the abstractions of political theories and of theology better than we do the concrete realities of history. . . . History is to us the driest of studies, and the history of the church the driest of the dry—a collection of bare names and facts and lifeless dates.

But now this is no longer true. A half-century has worked a revolution. We are wide awake to the fundamental position that history holds in all the great disciplines that together make up the world's thought and progress. Americans are making their share of contributions to the historical methods that prevail. A college without a chair of history is a back number, and in many cases the necessity for division in the department has been met.

Church history has not fallen behind, and has to show such works as have come from the pens of Fisher, Newman, Lea, Schaff, and Dr. Hurst.

These two volumes, aggregating nineteen hundred pages, cover the entire history of the church. They come in the "Biblical and Theological Library," which started under the editorial management of Bishop Hurst and the late Dr. Crooks. "While the doctrinal spirit of the separate works was pledged to be in harmony with the accepted standards of the Methodist Episcopal church, it was promised that the aim should be to make the entire library acceptable to Christians of all evangelical churches."

The book is adapted to the wants of those who would like considerably more than a mere outline, but who have not the time to devote to volumes which deal with short periods at great length. It aims to be critical and scientific, and yet to win the appreciation of all intelligent people who can understand plain English. The reader will be impressed constantly with the breadth and sympathy of Dr. Hurst's views, although he does not hesitate to express his own views clearly and forcibly. All the important sects and the various religious denominations receive their share of attention. In general he does not feel very kindly toward the Anabaptists—regarding them as extreme revolutionists at an extremely critical point in the Reformation. In this he appears to have been considerably influenced by Moeller's great work on the Reformation. But Moeller admits that there is still much need for investigation of the Anabaptists.

One of the best features of the work is its bibliographies, which are representative of all points of view and selected with rare judgment.

His introduction is full of suggestion. It shows the central position of church history in general history, and the relations of church history to general literature. As the author's conception is carried out in his narrative, we do not believe that any reader will think it is dry. His chapter on "The Literary Development of Church History" will be peculiarly suggestive and helpful, especially to beginners. It consists of a rapid but pointed survey of historiography from Hegesippus to Neander, and then on into the closing decade of the century.

These volumes are the mature fruit of the author's long literary and theological activity. Students will remember, for example, his *History of Rationalism*, which appeared many years ago, and his translation of Hagenbach's *Christianity in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Thus equipped in many departments of thought, he is able to take up the entire vast and complicated subject and give to each division about its right proportion. We could wish that the chapter on "The

Period of Rationalism" had been considerably extended—giving much more space to Ernesti, Semler, Lessing, and the Wolfenbüttel Fragments. We regret this the more because of the present prominence of this side of the subject, and because of Dr. Hurst's peculiar ability to deal with it.

He reaches the end of his long and arduous, but delightful, undertaking, having treated judicially and sympathetically the various manifestations of Christian life and thought. He appreciates to the full all that has been accomplished, and looks with perfect confidence and composure into the future. The critical storms through which the Bible and the church have passed during the century just closed do not disturb him in the least. He sees in it all a movement which has secured to the church a firmer foundation, a better understanding, and a closer fellowship among reverent and progressive scholars, and a greater feeling of certainty regarding the fundamentals among intelligent Christians everywhere. Today he is sure that Professor Robertson Smith would not be removed from his professorship of Hebrew at Aberdeen. Indeed, we are settling down to the fact that there is still much of truth to be discovered, and that our safety in the future depends upon our discovering and appropriating it.

The church of the future will put more emphasis on life, and less on doctrines. After all, the supreme test is to be found in the fruits we bear in good and useful lives.

The church of the future, too, will seek for union where it can be had without prejudice to truth or to effective service. This is seen in the tendency for all Methodists to come under the one title of the Methodist church, as is now the case in Canada, and other denominations are moving in the same direction. The basis for church union voted in 1886 by the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal church is as follows :

(1) The Holy Scriptures the only rule of faith. (2) The Apostles' Creed as the baptismal symbol, and the Nicene Creed as the statement of Christian belief. (3) The two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper. (4) The historic episcopate.

But the fourth provision was an insurmountable obstacle.

Here the matter rests. It is evident that the reunion of Protestant Christendom, if it comes to pass, must be around Christ and not around the episcopate. History has demonstrated that. But the love of God in the hearts of believers and their union in Christ must eventually lead to a manifestation of that union in relation to one another. One hundred and fifty

independent sects is not an ideal representation of the Christian brotherhood. The problem of Christian union faces the church of the twentieth century.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

FROM APOSTLE TO PRIEST: A Study of Early Church Organization. By JAMES W. FALCONER. New York: Scribner, 1900. Pp. xi + 292. \$1.75.

THIS volume is made up of lectures delivered in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. Our author first ably discusses "Form and Spirit." He then shows that Christ founded the church, and gave to it a ministry and the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper. Under the apostles the organization was developed as exigencies arose. Two classes of permanent officers appeared, bishops or elders and deacons. The evidence is quite decisive that in apostolic times the words "bishop" and "elder" designated the same officer. The term "elder," however, may point especially to the office, while "bishop," *episcopos*, designates the principal duty of the office. In the New Testament there is no basis for the modern, diocesan bishop. All attempts to show that James, the Lord's brother, and Timothy and Titus were types of the modern bishop have failed. In the apostolic fathers there is no trace of a bishop that as an officer outranks an elder, except in Ignatius, who belongs to the first half of the second century. Even then the outranking bishop was not diocesan, but was confined in his duties to a single congregation. But in Carthage, during the first half of the third century, under the lead of Cyprian, the modern bishop at last emerges, and with him also comes sacerdotalism. The doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers began to vanish from the minds of men, and bishops became the channels through which penitents approached God. Thus we are led from apostle to priest.

Our author holds that all New Testament churches, both in Jewish and Greek communities, were of the same type; but that no type of church government is of divine origin. Communities of believers are at liberty to form such governments for themselves as, in their judgment, are most expedient. And the character of the government which they may choose will usually be largely determined by the nature of the civil government under which they may chance to be. Still, we cannot forget that the apostolic churches, formed under the imperial government of Rome, were pure democracies, and continued to be such until there was a sad decline in their piety. Moreover, may not

the voluntary church government, formed under the direction of inspired apostles, have been of divine origin? Is its voluntariness incompatible with divineness? In almost everything connected with the Christian life, like conversion and sanctification, the human and the divine coöperate with each other; why not in the formation of church government also?

Our author's style is clear and direct. His thought is thorough, and his method is scientific. He gives ample recognition of the best New Testament and ecclesiastical scholarship of the day. Views that are contrary to his own he states fairly. At times he is compelled to be in a measure controversial, but he is always courteous and brotherly. But this excellent book has no index.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DIE WIRTSCHAFTLICHE THÄTIGKEIT DER KIRCHE IN DEUTSCHLAND. VON THEO. SOMMERLAD. Erster Band. Leipzig: Weber, 1900. Pp. x+366. M. 20.

WIRTSCHAFTSGESCHICHTLICHE UNTERSUCHUNGEN. VON THEO. SOMMERLAD. I. Heft: *Zur Würdigung neuester rechtsgeschichtlicher Kritik*. Leipzig: Weber, 1900. Pp. 83. M. 1.

THAT the Christian church has a large part to take in the solution of the social and economic problems before the world today will hardly be questioned by any large-minded student. That it has hitherto been an important factor in social development is a plain matter of history. But the question has arisen whether this ecclesiastical activity in social and economic affairs has been always, or even generally, beneficial. This question cannot be answered by snap judgment, but only by patient accumulation of facts, careful investigation, and rigid deduction. This is the task which Dr. Sommerlad has set for himself. He is private docent in economic and mediæval history in the university of Halle. For several years he has been gathering material, until now he has a great mass of original sources. In the luxurious volume before us we have the results of his long and careful reflection on his material.

This first volume covers the ground from the beginning of church influence in Germany to Charles the Great. It consists of an introduction and four chapters. The first chapter is an outline of German economy and society before their connection with the church. The motive of the chapter is given in a quotation from Nietzsche: "It is a

peculiarity of the Germans that with them the question, 'What is German?' is never answered." The second chapter treats of the establishment of mediæval church socialism by the influence of Augustine, and the early experiences arising from its diffusion in Germany. The author's position that Augustine was the forerunner of Karl Marx will attract attention.

The third chapter discusses the economic activity of the Irish, and of the Irish monasteries among the Germans. His thought in the chapter is a passage from Goethe: "For a nation only that is good which has arisen out of its own nature and its own needs."

The fourth chapter is on the missionary movements and the church organization of England on German territory. The thought of the chapter is again expressed by Goethe: "The church is in eternal conflict with the state over which it raises itself, and so then with individuals all of whom it wills to gather to itself."

The book will be useful to historians, economists, sociologists, and theologians, all of whom really have so large a common ground.

This work of Sommerlad was immediately attacked in a most vigorous and thoroughgoing manner in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* of June 9, 1900, by Professor Ulrich Stutz. He claimed that in the light of the most recent historico-legal criticism the views in the book were scientifically unsound. He assailed the work in general and in particular.

Sommerlad forthwith replied in an elaborate and spirited pamphlet of eighty-three pages. He followed the criticisms of Stutz one by one, and at the end of his elaborate and learned reply maintained the positions that he had taken in his book.

He concludes by supposing that Herr Stutz will continue furiously to throw stones at him, but declares that, so far as he himself is concerned, this rejoinder is the end of it.

This pamphlet is a valuable supplement to the volume.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

ESSAI SUR LE MYSTICISME SPECULATIF EN ALLEMAGNE AU QUATORZIÈME SIÈCLE. Par H. DELACROIX. Paris: Alcan, 1900. Pp. xvi + 287. Fr. 5.

TWO-THIRDS of this volume is devoted to Meister Eckart. The remaining portion is of the nature of an introduction, and gives an account of the philosophy of Erigena and the teachings of Amaury de

Bena, the Brethren of the Free Spirit, and the Beghards. He who is looking for a critical investigation of the writings of "the greatest of all speculative Mystics," and the facts of his career, will not find it here. Eckart seems to be awaiting some Sabatier to do for him what has been done by the keen and cultured French scholar for St. Francis. The fifty-five sermons which were accessible when Martensen wrote his monograph, *Meister Eckart*, in 1842, grew by Pfeiffer's discoveries, made known in 1857, to one hundred and ten. Pfeiffer also published tracts and fragments before unknown. Of the other students in this department Denifle has done most, who in 1880 published some of Eckart's Latin writings, the only Latin works by him known to the modern world up to that time. It is quite probable that there lie hidden in manuscript some of those other Latin writings of which Nicholas de Cusa and Trittenheim give us lists. The possible discovery of these lost writings and the critical sifting of the writings we have open a fine field for the scent and the careful judgment of the historical investigator.

What the author has proposed to himself in this volume is an exposition of Eckart's philosophy. This work he has done well. The analysis is clear and the leading principles are set forth with precision. Mysticism, in the author's judgment, is not a misty cloudland of spiritual dreamings. Its territory, to him, is solid ground. The system formulated upon the basis of intuition, which is the prime seat of the Mystic's authority, may be as exact as the systems formulated upon the basis of revelation or dogma.

Delacroix is right in refusing to follow Denifle when the latter represents Eckart as above all a Schoolman and as having derived whatever is good in his speculations from Thomas Aquinas. The Thuringian Mystic was a Dominican and shared the high regard of his age for his brilliant Dominican predecessor, but they differ in some radical particulars. Thomas makes a sharp distinction between the being of God and the being of created things. Eckart's primary affirmation is that the being of God and the being of his creatures are the same. Thomas is deeply concerned with the eternal process of the Trinity; Eckart, with the divine immanence in the soul, where the Son of God is being continually begotten in a way corresponding to his eternal begetting. Thomas and the Schoolmen were bent on vindicating dogma; Eckart and the German Mystics, on expounding the Christian life. The former were concerned with showing the reasonableness of the authority of the church and revelation; the latter, with

setting forth the elements of the soul's communion with God. The former magnified the sacraments as sanctifying the soul; the latter magnified the soul as sanctifying the sacraments and expressing itself in practical activities. Some of the twenty-six propositions taken from Eckart's writings and condemned concern fundamental judgments, and could not have been affirmed by him if he had been a mere imitator of the angelic doctor.

On the other hand, our author emphasizes unduly Eckart's indebtedness to Neoplatonism as interpreted by Pseudo-Dionysius and Erigena. He finds his "system impregnated with the thoughts of Dionysius," and that "in all essential points he is in accord with Plotinus and Proclus." It is sufficient here to say that concerning the heavenly hierarchies, so prominent in Dionysius, the ladder on which the divine descends upon the soul and ascends from it, Eckart's writings are silent. He also differs from his predecessors in ignoring the mystical stages by which the soul makes its ascent to the pure vision of God, and substitutes the immediate upreach of the soul through self-separation from the world, the *Geschiedenheit* of which he speaks so often.

The author's purpose to present an analysis from the philosophical aspect explains his failure to expound the relation which Eckart sustains to the earlier mediæval Mystics, Bernard and the Victorines. He, however, promises in a second volume, which is to take up Tauler and the later German Mystics, to discuss Eckart's relation to Luther. It is noticeable that in the long list of authorities which Delacroix cites not a single English work is included. In fact, there has been no work on Mysticism in English except Vaughan until Inge gave us his appreciative study.

DAVID S. SCHAFF.

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DIE VERHEISSUNG DER EUCHARISTIE (Joh. VI) BEI DEN VÄTERN Historisch-kritisch dargestellt. Von VALENTIN SCHMITT. I: Grundlegung und patristische Literatur bis Constantin, einschliesslich der Alexandrinischen Schule. Würzburg: Göbel, 1900. Pp. 121. M. 2.

THIS work is printed as the more important half of a treatise on the prize-theme "A Historico-Critical Presentation of the Patristic Exegesis of John 6: 25-60." The title of the work, "The Promise of the Eucharist," anticipating the conclusion reached, hints at a method

rather apologetic than exegetical. The *Grundlegung*, covering fifty pages, includes a somewhat diffuse introduction to the passage, and its interpretation, in which Albert the Great is quoted five times on a single page (p. 36). The author shows partiality for the Vulgate, draws freely upon the Scholastic sophistry, and finds throughout the passage the doctrine of transubstantiation.

From vs. 27 on, he says, Jesus presents the "imperishable food" as the eucharist, unfolding the teaching gradually until in vs. 51b "the mystery of the eucharist is expressed with perfect clearness. . . . The Fathers unanimously explain vss. 51 ff. of the eucharist, as well as the Catholic exegetes with few exceptions. The majority of the Protestants see in the passage only a purely spiritual appropriation of Christ," etc. The important bearing of vs. 63 he explains away, and concludes that the whole discourse contains the single subject of the promise of the eucharist, while admitting that the majority even of the Catholics interpret vss. 27-51a spiritually rather than sacramentally. The ordinary arguments for the Protestant and Catholic views are briefly treated, but with little attention to the weighty objections against any reference in this passage to the eucharist. (See especially Dwight's edition of Godet on *John*.)

Thus in his *Grundlegung* the author suggests what he will find in the Fathers. In clear and obscure passages he reads with monotonous regularity the language of transubstantiation, deriving it from John, chap. 6. On a passage in the Didache, chap. 10, which reads, "Didst give food and drink unto men for enjoyment, . . . but didst bestow upon us spiritual food and drink and eternal life through thy Son" (*διὰ τοῦ πατρὸς σου*), he says: "This is a real nourishment, because separated into food and drink and contrasted with ordinary earthly food. It is the eucharistic food, because given by God by means of his Son (*mittelst seines Sohnes*), i. e., so that his Son himself is this food." Twice in this passage he renders *διὰ* by *mittelst*, but just before has naturally rendered *διὰ Ἰησοῦ* by *durch Jesus*. Even if the reference be to John, chap. 6, which, as he admits, the matter of dates leaves uncertain, it indicates no more than a limited use of terms possibly suggested by John. Sometimes the Fathers evidently regarded certain expressions in John, chap. 6, as best explained by the eucharist, but not as necessarily referring to it.

On p. 89 Athanasius is quoted as saying that Jesus promises to give his flesh and blood spiritually (*πνευματικῶς*); but this word, on which the sense turns, is translated by the author *vergeistigt*, i. e., as

spiritualized food, thus perverting the sense even here to mean transubstantiation. The last quarter of the work (pp. 91-120) is devoted to Cyril of Alexandria. Considering his character, somewhat fulsome praise is accorded this Father. But his copious commentary on John, chap. 6, in terms which, if it be granted that by *εὐλογία* he means eucharist, may in some instances be made to favor the Catholic view, seems in the author's eyes to cover a multitude of sins.

The work shows research and industry upon a difficult and important subject, and from the Catholic standpoint may claim considerable apologetic value. While exegetically its conclusions are generally debatable, it may well stimulate to a new investigation of the Fathers upon its theme.

HENRY MARTYN HERRICK.

DUNDEE, ILL.

LE GRAND SCHISME D'OCCIDENT. Par L. SALEMBIER. Paris : Lecoffre, 1900. Pp. xii + 430. F. 3.50.

THIS is the fourth volume in "The Library of Instruction in Church History." The purpose of the series is the elucidation of the chief crises in the history of the church.

The great schism lasting forty years (1378-1418) the author regards as one of the most deplorable events in all history. In the treatment of the subject he takes for his motto the rule of Cicero, repeated by Leo XIII. The first law of history is: Never affirm anything that is false; never conceal anything that is true. But this is a difficult, even a dangerous, rule for a Romanist to adopt, because the limitations within which he must think and write are unalterably fixed. All truth lies within these limitations, all error outside of them. It is only as thus interpreted that the rule can be applied. But the Romanist so hampered can never have the freedom that the Protestant enjoys, and this accounts, in part at least, for the comparative barrenness of Romanism in modern literature.

Thus shut in, M. Salembier in his treatment of the great schism has done as well as could be expected. But upon almost every page his bias is in evidence. For example, in the third sentence of his preface he tells us that "at the same time heresy raises its head, and produces Wiclif and John Hus, who in their turn prepare the way for Luther."

The author's main proposition is, perhaps, to show that, if the papacy can go through such an appalling crisis as the great schism, extending over so many years, its divine origin, its unity, and its necessary perpetuity are thereby demonstrated.

In his first chapter he discusses the state of the Christian world at the end of the fourteenth century, and in this state he finds the causes of the great schism. Among these causes are: numerous dogmatic errors; great corruption in the church, and far too great delay in purifying these corruptions; the literary attacks of Dante and Petrarch, which the author considers the results of misunderstanding; the attacks from the political side led by Marsilius of Padua; the attacks from the religious side led by Wiclif and Hus; and the removal of the see to Avignon.

Now it is interesting to see where the author lays the blame for this deplorable condition of things. The situation is not the result of defects inherent in the papacy, but it is in the greed of the temporal princes, who in their efforts to gratify their selfish ambition have turned the world upside down, and brought general disorganization and confusion. The papacy has suffered with the rest, and in its desperate straits it has been driven into ways and methods that are unseemly, and so has reached its present state of degradation. It is probably true that Protestant historians have not taken this point of view sufficiently into account, but it is equally certain that our author gives it undue prominence.

We are thus easily led to see how he maintains that Wiclif and Hus and Luther were radically wrong when they sought reformation through the overthrow of the papacy, while John Gerson, d'Ailly, and other earnest and honest men at Constance were right when they sought reformation within the church, and on the established foundation of the papacy.

The work shows familiarity with the best sources of information on both sides of the subject, and the student of the period may expect to profit by its perusal.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION: Studies in the Life and Thought of the English People in the Period Preceding the Rejection of the Roman Jurisdiction by Henry VIII. By FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET. New York: Putnam, 1900. Pp. 460. \$3.50.

THE author has set himself the task to overthrow the Protestant representations of the condition of England on the eve of the Reformation. To this task he brings a scholarly acquaintance with the vast mass of material from which deductions and inferences must be drawn,

an English style singularly clear and pleasing, and a dispassionate and dignified temper. These qualities ought to secure for the book a candid perusal.

The general thesis is that there were no antecedent social, religious, and ecclesiastical conditions which necessitated a reformation in England, but that the great religious changes in the sixteenth century are to be attributed to the pernicious teaching of Luther and his followers. "The seeds of religious discord were not the product of the country itself, nor, so far as we have evidence on the subject at all, does it appear that the soil of the country was in any way specially adapted for its fructification." It is not explained how Lutheran heresies could have "grown up so fast and sprung up so thick" if there was nothing in the soil to favor their growth. "The English nation were loyal to the pope, and were second to no other nation in their attachment to him." It was a part of the evil purpose of the reformers "to lower the pope in the eyes of the people," and to foster the spirit of discontent for their own heretical ends.

With the revival of letters the English church was in hearty sympathy. The "new learning" against which the ecclesiastics inveighed so bitterly was not the Florentine classical learning at all, but the heretical Lutheran learning imported from Germany. True, a great ferment was raised against Erasmus, the prince of Humanists, but it must not be forgotten that he was befriended by More, Fisher, Warham, and Colet, and that "he never wavered in his determination at all costs to remain true and loyal to the constituted ecclesiastical authorities." If his Greek Testament awakened suspicions, it was because the matter was not understood, and because it was feared that religion was in peril. Concerning English versions of the Scriptures, the objection was to "unorthodox and unauthorized translations." "It is impossible to doubt that the hostility of the English church to the vernacular Bible has been greatly exaggerated, if indeed its attitude has not been altogether misunderstood." It was not the New Testament that was condemned and forbidden and burned, but only Tyndale's "newly forged" Testament, containing "anti-Christian heresies." The church was friendly to the pure word of God rendered into English, but vented its wrath on Tyndale's book "as intended to disseminate the errors of Lutheranism."

We hear much of the frauds, extortions, and vices of the priests and monks, but these bad stories were "started chiefly by Lutheran emissaries, who were striving to stir up the soil in order to implant

the new German teachings in the place of the old religious faith." We also hear much of the neglect of religious teaching and the encouragement of ignorance and superstition, but, while "set orations and discourses of a formal kind" were not as common as in our day, "it is impossible to doubt that simple, straightforward teaching," which was "vastly more important," was not "only regarded as an obligation on the pastor, but as a usual and necessary portion of the Christian duty." "The people were not allowed to grow up in ignorance of the true nature of religion." In the reverence paid to images, crosses, "statues, paintings, and pictured glass," the worshiper was taught not to "fix his final intent on the image, but to refer this honor to the person the image represents." Speaking of the spectacles, mystery plays, and dances which were enacted on Sundays and feast days, our author tells us that "the people in pre-Reformation days, with instruction such as is conveyed in these pious dramas, must have had a deeper insight into the gospel narrative, and a more thorough knowledge of Bible history generally, not to speak of a comprehension of the great truths of religion, than a majority of men possess now in these days of boasted enlightenment."

In direct conflict with the main positions of this book stands the current Protestant notion that on the eve of the Reformation there was a national jealousy of Rome's interference with the political and ecclesiastical affairs of England, engendering irritation and resentment, and that there was a popular discontent with clerical vices, frauds, extortions, and numberless abuses. It is believed that the Lollards, seen here and there in the light of their burnings, though not existing as an organized party, were doing an effectual work among the peasantry and London tradesmen; that the revival of learning was carrying new ideas and the new reform spirit from Italy to England; that Erasmus' Greek Testament was having its evangelizing effect in Oxford, Cambridge, and London, resulting in the conversion of Bilney, Fryth, Tyndale, and Latimer; and that Tyndale's English Testament had an immediate and profound effect both in the universities and among the people; and it is believed that these four influences, Lollardism, Humanism, the Greek Testament, and the English Testament, would have brought about a reformation in England, entirely apart from Martin Luther. If Dr. Gasquet's thesis is validly maintained, the Protestant world must radically change its teaching concerning the condition of England on the eve of the Reformation.

ERI B. HULBERT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE REFORMATION. By WILLISTON WALKER. New York: Scribner, 1900. Pp. ix + 478. \$2.

HULDREICH ZWINGLI, the Reformer of German Switzerland. By SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON. Together with an Historical Survey of Switzerland before the Reformation, by John Martin Vincent, Johns Hopkins University; and a Chapter on Zwingli's Theology, by Frank Hugh Foster, University of California. New York: Putnam, 1901. Pp. xxvi + 519. \$2.

PHILIP MELANCHTHON, the Protestant Preceptor of Germany, 1497-1560. By JAMES WILLIAM RICHARD. New York: Putnam, 1898. Pp. xv + 399. \$1.50.

THE first of these books is the ninth volume of the series entitled "Ten Epochs of Church History." It reviews the entire reformatory movement, from its inception in the dark ages to the close of the Thirty Years' War. It includes a comprehensive survey of the counter-reformation, a movement which the Protestant world is only beginning to study in earnest. A brief sketch of so great an epoch will exclude much, and must be judged by the wisdom with which the selection of topics has been made. The author is to be commended for the good judgment with which he has performed this difficult task. He has almost always chosen the principal things and excluded those of less moment. His book will be brought into comparison with Häusser's *Reformation Period*, and will not suffer in consequence. Häusser is fuller at certain points, but is often meager where he should be full. The perspective of this book is less faulty, and its presentation of the entire movement more even and better balanced. Häusser is more familiar with the sources, but that does not subject this book to a serious disadvantage, for they have been so thoroughly worked over and reproduced by many recent scholars that they have become a sort of common property. The book deals intelligently and sympathetically with the Anabaptists and others who advanced beyond the great national Protestant denominations of the sixteenth century. But its apology for the persecutors of these noble Christians will not find many supporters. "Could even the most moderate of these radicals," says the author, "have mastered the situation in the sixteenth century, the evangelical movement would have ended in division, weakness, and failure. . . . The result would have been anarchy and death. Well was it for Christianity on the whole that those who revolted from Rome underwent the tutelage and restraint imposed by Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin, and

by the princes and magistrates of the Protestant party." Religious persecution has always sought to justify itself on the plea that freedom would lead to anarchy, and the pagan emperors of Rome and the Catholic inquisitors of Spain may have believed the argument when they employed it. History has never justified it. The toleration of Christianity in pagan Rome favored order instead of destroying it. Had the Anabaptists been permitted to teach and worship unmolested, the great national churches would have learned many things from them. They would not have gone to sleep. They would have repelled the rationalism which mastered them for a century. They would have been far more effective today than they are. Nor would good order have been sacrificed: free discussion is a necessary condition of good order; it is tyranny that leads to anarchy.

The next volume is the fifth and latest in the series entitled "The Heroes of the Reformation." On the whole, it will sustain the high reputation gained for the series by its predecessors. Yet its general plan is somewhat awkward. There is first the historical survey of Switzerland, occupying forty-seven pages; then the biography, occupying three hundred and fifteen pages; then a chapter of only forty-nine pages, in which the theology, philosophy, and ethics of Zwingli are sketched; and lastly there is an appendix of eighty-one pages containing two documents in which Zwingli states his own theology. Thus the volume is somewhat disjointed, and the reader will find it difficult to get connected views. So much of the historical survey as is germane to the principal subject might well have been distributed through the biography, and the rest omitted; and the theology of Zwingli might well have been discussed in immediate connection with the last year of his life, when it had reached its full development. If this method is usually followed in biographies, it is because it is found most convenient. The historical survey, though misplaced, is well studied and helpful. The biography is clear and strong, and is profusely illustrated. Professor Jackson has a keen vision for minute details, and gives us a multitude of these in a small compass. He has many footnotes and several excursions, all packed with important material, which must have cost him much labor. One cannot avoid the feeling that he is more successful in minute research than in large construction. While he answers a multitude of our small questions, he leaves us still asking some of the larger ones. Wherever he can, he quotes from the original sources, and thus causes the story to tell itself. At some points his judgment of Zwingli is too severe. The secret marriage, as he relates

it, makes an impression more unfavorable than the facts would warrant, were they all brought forward. It was an age of clandestine marriages, and they were not considered improper. The feeling of the aristocratic classes in Zurich was such that Zwingli could not have openly married the woman of his choice until he had gained far greater influence in the city; and even then it was with difficulty that he secured the consent of the authorities to take his wife to his home. The majority of readers will dissent also from the extraordinary opinion of the author that Zwingli lacked physical courage. The records of the Swiss campaigns in Italy and of the second war of Cappel exhibit him always in the midst of the carnage, not fighting, but cheering the living and comforting the dying with a steadfastness which no veteran soldier could have excelled.

The life of Melanchthon, another book of the same series, is in some respects more successful than the life of Zwingli. In arrangement it is perfect, and the reader is not compelled to turn back to an introduction or forward to an appendix in order to understand the narrative. It is based largely on the writings of Melanchthon, and concerning all the more important events he is made to speak for himself. But Dr. Richard has availed himself also of the shower of pamphlets discussing every phase of the Reformation which have appeared in Germany in recent years, and has traveled extensively to examine the places associated with the memory of Melanchthon and to consult with those scholars who have made his career a subject of special investigation. The result is a book of moderate size, but of great fulness and accuracy. Like the life of Zwingli, it is profusely illustrated. Where so much is well done it may not seem gracious to ask for more. Yet the reader will sometimes wish for a clearer treatment of the general history. If he is not already well acquainted with it, he will be obliged to refer to other books for a distinct framework for the picture of Melanchthon, excellent as this is in itself. He will also doubt whether Dr. Richard has not strained a point here and there to make the theology of Melanchthon accord with that of Luther more nearly than it does in reality. One cannot easily avoid the impression that had Luther lived a little longer he would have assailed his friend with characteristic violence. But, with these slight drawbacks, the portrait of Melanchthon, though differing somewhat from that often painted by historians, is excellent, and will be accepted as just and fair. It is that of a man of vast intellect and astonishing industry and productiveness, who detested controversy, and yet was not without the courage of his

convictions. He had much of the martyr spirit, and would have gone to the stake calmly. His timidity was psychical rather than physical. He shrank from torment of the mind rather than of the body. Erasmus represents physical fear conjoined with a love of throwing stones; Melancthon represents a fair degree of indifference to bodily comfort and pleasure conjoined with a love of peace which sometimes became almost a crime.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

QUELLEN UND DARSTELLUNGEN ZUR GESCHICHTE NIEDERSACHSENS.
Band III: *Antonius Corvinus' Leben und Schriften*. Von PAUL
TSCHACKERT. Leipzig: Hahn, 1900. Pp. viii + 237. M.
4.50.

ANTONIUS CORVINUS, Latinized from Rabe, was born 1501 in a little village in Westphalia. He became a novice in the Cistercian monastery of Loccum when eighteen years old, and was soon afterward sent to Leipzig to study at the university. After a short stay in Leipzig he was sent to the monastery of Riddagshausen, near Braunschweig, from which he was expelled in 1523 because of his Lutheran heresy. He was at the same time an accomplished Humanist and an ardent admirer of Erasmus, with whose writings he was perfectly familiar. He seems to have spent very little time in residence at a university, but to have acquired his really excellent education by private study while serving as pastor. After a brief service in Goslar he accepted a call, in 1528, to a pastorate in Hesse. He spent the next thirteen years in reforming and organizing the church in Hesse, Lippe, Braunschweig, and Hildesheim. He had a voice in nearly all the gatherings of Protestant leaders and exerted great influence in their councils. In 1542 he entered the service of the duchess Elizabeth, then regent of Kalenberg-Göttingen, and was the leading spirit in establishing the Reformation in those lands. In 1545 Erich II., son of Elizabeth, attained his majority and assumed the government. He had been so rigidly brought up in the Protestant faith that he had conceived a dislike for it, and so soon deserted to Catholicism and joined Charles V. He endeavored to restore Catholicism in his lands and undid much of the work of Corvinus. Corvinus himself he seized and kept in prison for three years. The hard prison life was too much for Corvinus. His health utterly broke down, and he died in 1553, soon after having been set free.

Corvinus was a very fruitful writer. He produced many works of a devotional and religious instructive character. He excelled as a pastor and devoted himself to the work of organizing, governing, teaching, and preaching with rare fidelity and ability. Although the field of his activity was somewhat limited, his work was important and effective. He was an interesting and attractive personality, and has the distinction of having been one of the most worthy Protestant martyrs.

OLIVER J. THATCHER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DIE REFORMATORISCHEN BEWEGUNGEN WÄHREND DES 16. JAHRHUNDERTS IN DER REICHSSSTADT AACHEN. Von HERMANN F. MACCO. Leipzig: Fleischer, 1900. Pp. 81; 4 illustrations. M. 2.

AACHEN has a small place in the general history of the Reformation. Its preëminence is of another age and kind. We think of it as the imperial city where Charlemagne preferred to reside and has his tomb, and where thirty-seven German kings received their crowns. This brochure takes us aside from the busy centers of more prominent reformatory activity and gives us a clear insight into one of the local struggles of the period. It opens with the Diet of Worms, 1521, and closes with the imperial ban, 1598, which abolished Protestantism in the city. Albrecht Münzer, the Protestant preacher (whether Lutheran or Anabaptist is not known), was executed in its market-place in 1534, and the next year three others were put to death for their Protestant views. Weavers and other Calvinists kept coming from the Lowlands. Lutherans also propagated their views. Adam von Zevel, elected mayor three times between 1552 and 1559, was a Protestant. In 1559 the party was strong enough to make an appeal to the diet for the use of St. Foillan's Church, which was not granted. But in 1561 the Catholics were again in power and prescribed to those not receiving the *viaticum* from a priest the burial given to asses—*sepultura asini*. A change again took place, and in 1573 an edition of Luther's Bible was printed in Aachen. In 1578 entire congregations of Maestricht settled there. The proximity to Holland made it an easy place of refuge from Spanish mercilessness. Maximilian winked at the changes. Not so Rudolph II. The Catholic princes had kept their eye on Aachen, and Rudolph sent his imperial troops, and all toleration was at an end. The weavers and the workers in copper abandoned their adopted home. The story is clearly told. The author pronounces the emperor's action a violation of the Augsburg stipulation of 1555

granting the *jus reformandi* to localities where the Protestants had held service before that date. In this case the emperor's will was supreme law. Rudolph's measure was efficient. Out of a present population of 90,000 not one-tenth is Protestant.

DAVID S. SCHAFF.

LANE SEMINARY.
Cincinnati, O.

HEROES OF THE COVENANT. By W. H. CARSLAW. Paisley : Gardner, 1900. 3 vols. Each, 1s. 6d., net.

1. *Life and Times of William Guthrie, M.A.* Pp. 132.—2. *Life and Times of Donald Cargill.* Pp. 140.—*Life and Times of James Renwick, M.A.* Pp. 111.

WILLIAM GUTHRIE was one of the most distinguished of the sufferers under the tyranny of Laud and in the early years of the Restoration. He was one of the most strenuous assertors and defenders of Christ's Crown and Covenant, in consequence of which, in 1664, he was suspended from the exercise of his ministry.

Donald Cargill outlived Guthrie by nearly twenty years, and was recognized, next to Richard Cameron, as the leader of the Cameronian party in the struggle against the oppression of Charles II. and James II. After the Restoration he lived the life of an outlaw, hunted from place to place, yet for a score of years escaping the vengeance of his persecutors. At last in 1680 he was apprehended, and in July of the following year was brought to execution. Narrow and bigoted as in some things he and his party friends undoubtedly were, yet to them in large measure Scotland owes the civil and religious liberty which it enjoys today.

The third volume in this series gives an interesting character-sketch of Renwick, the last of the Scottish martyrs, ordained in 1683 and executed in 1688, hounded by the minions of Charles II. and James II., preaching with tender yet passionate earnestness to armed, trained, desert-bred, God-covenanted Cameronians, who were worshipping in glen and bog, on hillside and moor, and who were being hunted down like wild beasts by the butchering troopers. Renwick, inflexible, uncompromising, was the fearless and devoted leader of these despised and persecuted bands of covenant-keeping disciples, himself exhibiting marvelous courage and endurance, glorying in privations and hardships, and in the end coveting and receiving the martyr's crown. The revolution of 1688 brought to an end "the killing times in Scotland."

ERI B. HULBERT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH OF BOSTON (1665-1899). By NATHAN E. WOOD, its Minister. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1899. Pp. x + 378. \$2.

THE First Baptist Church of Boston has a history in every way entitled to the thorough and discriminating treatment here accorded. It is the only Baptist church in America whose records for its entire history have been preserved. Dr. Wood was pastor of the church until 1900, when he resigned to become president of the Newton Theological Institution. The book was written during his pastorate, and is remarkable for its sympathetic interpretation of the history of the church, its comprehensive treatment, its accuracy and fairness, and, not least of all, its beauty and grace of style.

The persecutions endured by the founders and early adherents of the church are suggested briefly, for the sad record is too voluminous to be given at length. These dissenters from the standing order were not disturbers or profane agitators, railing at the colonial institutions and subverting public order; they were quiet, peaceable, and humble, and answered the abuse of their persecutors with gentle protest and manly defense. The *Brief Narrative* of Pastor John Russell (1680), published in reply to the calumny of Increase Mather and the Reforming Synod of 1679, compels our respect and regard for a man who could apply himself in so gentle and Christlike a spirit to the refutation of so many baseless charges. In answering Mather's book, Russell says: "We blame not the Author for what he believes to be a truth in the point of Baptism, but for casting so much Dirt and filth on those of the Lord's People who are not of his mind in that particular." "But we shall not dabble ourselves with such dirty work, wickedly to injure those who are Holy and Innocent, though we may judge them to be in an error, as they may judge also of us; it is better to pray one for another, that we all may be led into all Truth by the Spirit of Truth." Legal persecutions ended for the Baptists about this time (1680), although they endured much hard treatment and opposition for some time after.

This church has held a prominent and influential position in the development of denominational institutions. The first Baptist missionary society in the New World was organized in its house (1802); its pastor, Dr. Stillman, edited the first American Baptist missionary periodical, and organized the Northern Baptist Education Society (1791); the Baptist State Convention was formed here (1824) under

the leadership of another pastor, Francis Wayland; the Newton Theological Institution had its birth here (1825).

Not only within denominational circles, but in a larger sphere, this church has exerted a powerful influence. In 1803, when every Congregational church in Boston had become Unitarian except the Old South, a revival among the Baptists spread to this sole remnant of Puritan orthodoxy, and thus, as its own historian asserts, it was saved to begin the restoration of Congregational trinitarianism in Boston.

The church has preserved a remarkable uniformity of doctrine throughout its history. The Confession of Faith originally adopted in 1665 has been retained unaltered unto this day. In the Unitarian controversy that shook all New England the church did not lose a single member, nor was it disturbed by the agitation.

Dr. Wood has not only written an interesting story of a local church, but he has made a permanent and valuable contribution to the history of American Christianity.

GEO. E. BURLINGAME.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE DUTCH AND QUAKER COLONIES IN AMERICA. By JOHN FISKE. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1899. 2 vols. Pp. xvi + 294; xvi + 400. \$4.

MR. FISKE'S two volumes form a part of his historical series upon American history, in which they follow *The Beginnings of New England*. In writing the history of the settlements made by the Dutch in New Netherland and by the Quakers in Pennsylvania, he has produced a work of peculiar excellence in several respects. It is comprehensive without being diffuse. It is sympathetic and appreciative in tone. It takes account of all the various elements which make up history in its largest meaning—political, religious, social, domestic, educational, and literary. It is fascinating in style, and withal scholarly in choice and treatment of subject-matter. Not all writers—not even all teachers of history—can combine the results of thorough research with explicitness and rhetorical grace. Nor can all historians decline a retainer, so to speak, for this cause or that, and maintain a strictly judicial attitude regarding debated issues. These desirable qualities Mr. Fiske possesses in a marked degree, and they are apparent throughout the work under review.

The subject of the Dutch colonies in North America claims the major portion of the two volumes. It is prefaced by a brief chapter on "The Mediæval Netherlands," and another on "Dutch Influence

in England." This latter is of special interest and value, as showing how "the beginnings of Puritanism in England were intimately related to the influence exerted upon England by the Netherlands." In following the explorations of Hudson and the Dutch trading companies, the political situation in Europe is carefully noted, and thus a new significance is given to the proceedings of explorers and traders. The varying fortunes of New Netherland are considered in detail, and with such references to the New England colonies as to show their essential differences in spirit and institutions. The Puritans migrated as organized communities, bringing with them familiar forms of government and religious life. "We do not find in New Netherland any such immediate and irrepressible reproduction of the free institutions of Holland." The reason is that the Dutch migration was one of individuals and not of churches. For a long time the community was a mere aggregation of traders governed by a mercantile company whose prime interest was mercenary.

As early as 1655 the island of Manhattan was exhibiting the cosmopolitan character which has ever since distinguished it. Persecution in Europe drove many refugees hither, and one might have heard a dozen or fifteen European languages at Manhattan. The people of the colony were tolerant, even with outspoken opposition to the persecuting spirit shown by their director. The town officers of Flushing refused to enforce a sentence against a citizen who countenanced Quakers. These officers declared in a written protest signed by thirty-one names that "the law of love, peace, and liberty . . . forms the true glory of Holland; we desire not to offend one of His little ones, under whatever form, name, or title he appear. . . . Should any of these people come among us in love, therefore, we cannot in conscience lay violent hands upon them."

The history of the Quaker colonies is introduced by a discussion of the causes and history of religious persecution. "The deepest and most abiding cause was the imperfect separation between religion and politics." Quakerism appeared at the zenith of Cromwell's career. "It was the most extreme form which Protestantism had assumed." It had its historical antecedents in John Tauler, "The Friends of God," and "The Brethren of the Common Life." Its principle of religious liberty was applied in the building of the colony to which Voltaire referred as "the one favored country in the world where men can be devoutly religious, and still refrain from tearing each other to pieces."

In portraying the character of William Penn, Mr. Fiske examines "the discreditable blunder" of Macaulay in bringing certain "foul charges against Penn's integrity." These charges the author considers to have been answered by defenders of Penn's character with arguments that "leave Macaulay in a very sorry plight."

The chapter on "The Migration of Sects" considers the immigration of Jews from the Netherlands to the colonies; the Huguenot exodus of a million people from France within twenty years, of whom many came to America; the settlement in Pennsylvania of Germans from the Palatinate; and the movement of half a million Presbyterians from Ireland into the colonies, chiefly into Pennsylvania.

The Dutch and Quaker colonies had a large and important place in the founding and development of the nation, and Mr. Fiske has pointed out with clearness and skill the elements which they contributed to our present political and religious life.

GEO. E. BURLINGAME.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF JOHN ALBERT BROADUS. By ARCHIBALD THOMAS ROBERTSON. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1901. Pp. 471. \$1.50.

THIS volume will be read with reverent and affectionate interest by thousands. For Dr. Broadus was admired and loved by men in all parts of the United States for his rare personal excellencies and for the high qualities of his work in behalf of learning and religion. The plan of his biographer is simple and natural. It leads the reader by consecutive steps from ancestry and childhood through a most promising youth and a most active and fruitful manhood to a too early death. The materials for such a biography were so ample that the task of preparing it was rendered difficult by their abundance and the necessity of rejecting so much that was pertinent. A single item will illustrate this difficulty. Professor Robertson states in his preface that Dr. Broadus "kept all the letters of every kind that came to him. His position invited correspondence of many sorts, and the total bulk reached many thousands, perhaps twenty-five thousand." How many ministers or teachers preserve all the letters which they receive? Only a man of uncommon foresight and steadfast purpose is likely to do this. It is evident, then, that the author of this biography was compelled to follow the example of John, the writer of the fourth gospel. And the principle by which he was guided in making selections was

that of "keeping Dr. Broadus himself constantly before the reader's mind—from various and progressive points of view."

The book begins with an account of the Broadus family in this country and proceeds to speak of Major Edmund Broadus, the father of John Albert. From this part of the work it appears that "since 1715 Caroline county, Va., has been the Mecca of the Broadus clans," which have given to their native state several distinguished citizens and to the Baptist denomination a number of eloquent preachers, besides the subject of this biography, who was undoubtedly the greatest of them all. From the third chapter to the end of the book Dr. John A. Broadus is set before the reader, as the youth, as the young school-master, as the university student, as the post-graduate student and pastor, as the pastor and university chaplain, as the New Testament interpreter at Greenville, S. C., as the preacher to soldiers, as the traveler in Europe and Palestine, as the professor at Louisville, as the father at home, as the successor of Dr. Boyce in the presidency of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, and as the man of noble achievement finishing his work.

The present notice is written with delightful memories of association with Dr. Broadus in New Testament study, and with a conviction that his character, learning, sagacity, breadth of view, fairness of mind, aptness to teach, eloquence, and piety set him apart as one of the finest examples of American manhood, one of the ripest fruits of modern Christianity.

ALVAH HOVEY.

NEWTON CENTRE, MASS.

THE GENIUS OF PROTESTANTISM. By R. McCHEYNE EDGAR.
Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1900. Pp.
366. 6s.

THIS book has not been made to order. It has rather grown up slowly out of fifteen years of experience in teaching and simplifying the history of the Reformation to a class of freshmen in Trinity College, Dublin. Each time the author has gone over the subject he has got farther into it, and his conception of the momentous issues involved has broadened and clarified.

That he might do no injustice to the Romanists he has in every case where their doctrines and discipline were immediately concerned based his statements upon their recognized authorities. These authorities are especially the Canons of Trent, the catechism of that council, and the Creed of Pius IV.

The author begins with a statement of the faith as it was once for all delivered to the saints. He seeks to find the original common ground of Romanists and Protestants. He then follows the historical accretions of Romanism, as they slowly and to some extent unconsciously crept in. These accretions were without scriptural warrant. They were accordingly forced to seek their justification outside of Scripture. Traditions grew up, and took the precedence of Scripture. These perversions worked themselves out in society with the appalling consequences so well known to history.

When at last the Reformation has become a matured result, it is found that Rome has shifted and now stands on an extra-scriptural basis, and that no compromise between Romanism and Protestantism is possible.

But among Protestants, widely as they seem to differ, there is a real harmony arising out of their common and true scriptural basis. The result is that, as they study the history of doctrine in a larger and better spirit, they are steadily coming nearer together. The unifying principle of Protestantism will at last be found in the sovereignty of God.

The method of Protestantism is experimental. The Protestant reformers were all steeped in the new learning of the Renaissance. The new learning gave the Bible to the world in a form approaching more nearly to accuracy than ever before. Protestantism in the liberty it gives to the individual puts itself in line with all the advanced movements in the world. There is an air of freedom about it that inspires universal activity.

Our author's conclusion is that Protestantism is an unconquerable and abiding force, and that as in the past so in the future it is bound to antagonize Romanism so long as the latter maintains its present attitude.

The positions of the book are well taken, and it is a valuable addition to the literature of the Reformation.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DER CHRISTLICHE GOTTESBEGRIFF. Beitrag zur speculativen Theologie. Von R. ROCHOLL. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900. Pp. xvi + 371. M. 10.

WE confess to have read this book of Dr. Rocholl with no common interest. Its author—a venerable theologian of the Lutheran church,

well known for his books on the "Real Presence" and the "Philosophy of History"—himself compares it to the little flower called by the Germans the *Herbstzeitlose*, the meadow-saffron, a delicate crocus-like plant whose lilac blossom makes its appearance in the fall, long after its nearest sisters have passed away. The simile betrays the author's sense that his book belongs to another world of thought than that with which this generation is familiar. And it must be confessed that in this judgment he is not mistaken. To an age accustomed to think induction the only scientific method he presents a doctrine of God in the highest degree deductive and speculative. In place of a philosophy idealistic to the core, he offers a realism more thoroughgoing than that of Thomas himself. If we would express in a sentence what Rocholl attempts to do in this book, we should say that it is to render to the abstract realism of the earlier orthodox theology the same service which Hegel rendered to the abstract idealism which preceded him. As Hegel endeavored to conceive the abstract Absolute of idealistic philosophy concretely, so Rocholl the abstract God of realistic orthodoxy. In place of the empty and barren formulæ with which earlier theologians have filled their treatises, Rocholl would present us something warm and definite. He would recover and vindicate, in their usefulness for dogmatic theology, the circle of forgotten ideas which Scripture gathers about the conception of the living God. Deeper and more fundamental than any notion of logic is life itself, the primary and the most comprehensive category. If we would know God, we must begin with life, and from an analysis of this most fundamental concept gain the framework upon which we may proceed to develop our construction of the being of God in himself.

What that construction shall be we cannot here set forth in detail. Those who are interested in high speculation may journey for themselves in that wonderful country where Rocholl describes, with a detail and a confidence unparalleled, so far as our knowledge goes, among modern theologians, the inner mysteries of the divine being, the relations and the interrelations of the several persons of the blessed Trinity. We say advisedly, the wonderful country. For the region into which we are introduced is not purely moral and spiritual. As life includes both body and spirit (p. 81), so God, the highest life, possesses form as well as substance. He has in him—only in eminent degree—what corresponds in us to place and time and body. His glory is physical as well as ethical, and the heavenly region in which he dwells, as well as the lower heavens which are the abode of the

angels, are to the author as real as the more familiar territory in which we mortals dwell. To explain the nature of these "heavenly places" with the greatest possible clearness and detail, in the light of all the information to be gained both from Scripture and philosophy, is the special object of the author in this book. Only after he has thus exhausted the immanent relations of the Godhead does he pass to a consideration of the *transeunt* relations. Here we find ourselves on more familiar ground. In the threefold economy of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost we have a successive description of the work of creation, of the divine education of mankind through pre-Christian history, culminating in the incarnation of the Logos, and finally of the founding, growth, testing, and ultimate glorification of the Christian church. The end of the entire process is the return of all things to God by whom in the first instance they were created.

We cannot close this brief review without referring to the charm of Dr. Rocholl's style. For a man of his years—we understand that he is long past seventy—he writes with a vigor and freshness which are remarkable. Master of a rich material, drawn from the most varied sources, he uses it with ease and lightness, to illustrate, not to obscure, his points. The only wonder is that a man who shows himself so familiar with modern thought, both theological and philosophical, should be himself so entirely unaffected by it. Yet this very independence gives the book its interest. In spite of his frequent polemic against the Thomistic theology, we cannot help suspecting that the great Schoolman would have found in Dr. Rocholl a congenial spirit. To all those who desire an insight into the *Weltanschauung* of an earlier generation we do not know where to recommend a more charming and competent guide.

WM. ADAMS BROWN.

THE UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
New York, N. Y.

THE MIRACLES OF UNBELIEF. By FRANK BALLARD. New York: Imported by Scribner, 1900. Pp. xi + 362. \$2.25.

THE purpose of this book is stated very clearly: "If, because it postulates the supernatural, Christianity be regarded as incredible, it is demonstrably yet more incredible without the supernatural." "Whatever be the difficulties of Christian belief, the difficulties of unbelief are greater."

Mr. Ballard contends that in each of the various realms of thought more difficulties, not fewer ones, are introduced by the attempt to

account for the universe and Christianity apart from the "God hypothesis" and credence in the supernatural. For example, there is less difficulty in accepting the postulate of Christian faith, "In the beginning God —," than is involved in accepting the affirmation of agnosticism contained in the following quotation from Mr. E. Clodd's *Story of Creation*: "Of the beginning, of what was before the present state of things, we know nothing, and speculation about it is futile. But since everything points to the finite duration of the present universe, we must make a start somewhere. And we are therefore compelled to posit a primordial, nebulous, non-luminous state, when the atoms with their inherent forces and energies stood apart from one another. Not evenly distributed, else Force would have drawn them together," etc., etc. Mr. Ballard makes one of his strongest points in contending that unbelief, in rejecting the postulate of Christian faith, strains out the gnat and swallows the camel. In this chapter on "The Realm of Physical Science" the author is at his best.

But in several of the chapters that follow, "Facts of History and Their Explanation," "The Realm of Psychology," "The Moral Realm," "Christ, His Origin and Character," and "The Spiritual Realm," the author weakens his position by claiming too much. The following sentence is characteristic: "The task of giving adequate account of Jewish nature, idiosyncrasy, origin, religious beliefs, and present condition, on a purely naturalistic hypothesis, also involves decidedly greater difficulties than the acceptance of all that is reliably recorded concerning them in the Bible." Here is an antithesis between terms which, to many students, have the same value. For when we have discovered the real movement of Jewish history, it is as natural as that of any other nation; but there *is* a difference in the bias of the historians and in their interpretation of events.

The author uses comparisons that are too sweeping—either this or that, when, it may be, a third position is possible. Either one must accept a given explanation of the divinity of Christ—the miraculous conception—or belief in Christ's divinity must be given up altogether, which, to an increasing number of biblical students, is wholly gratuitous and need not follow.

From his point of view there is an impassable gulf between the position of Christian faith and the position of those who are not able to accept the current interpretations of Christian faith. The "disciples of unbelief" may not be wholly wrong in rejecting some of these interpretations. There are different points from which the same reality

may be approached. Defenders of the faith and disciples of unbelief are often looking at the same reality from different angles of vision.

HENRY T. COLESTOCK.

MADISON, WIS.

THE SCIENTIFIC EVIDENCES OF REVEALED RELIGION. *The Bishop Paddock Lectures for the Year 1900.* By CHARLES WOODRUFF SHIELDS. New York: Scribner, 1900. Pp. xvi + 259. \$1.50.

THIS series of lectures was evidently named on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle; firstly, they are not scientific; secondly, the evidence they present will be rejected as not competent by any judicial mind; and thirdly, the "evidences" are presented, not to establish or defend religion at all, but to support the theory of inspiration held by the author. The first statement and the last may be amply justified by some quotations, which, though fragmentary, are not garbled. The italics are mine:

Logically, if not morally, we are as much bound by the geological writings of Moses as by the theological writings of St. Paul, even though we should like neither or think one less important than the other. . . . Both [scientific and religious truth] are so implicated and combined in the biblical system that they must stand or fall together (p. 16).—Begin by admitting error into the written Word of God . . . it would become, sooner or later, not worth the paper on which it is printed (p. 21).—The only just, wise, and safe position for us to take is that . . . the divine revelation contained in the Scriptures, so far as ascertained *and ascertainable, cannot but be* infallible and inerrant. . . . It does not teach any theories in astronomy, geology, and other sciences; nor does it teach any errors in astronomy, geology, or other sciences (p. 22).—Even if the author of Genesis shared the geological errors of his age, as he may have done, yet there is no trace of them imparted in the revealed history of creation (p. 28).—It is time to protest against such speculations [by critics as to composition of biblical books] . . . because, in a word, they are either not proved or *not worth proving* (p. 37).

Such an attitude is more than unscientific; it is immoral, and therefore essentially irreligious. Dogmatism and dilemmas of this sort cause more thinking men to reject the Bible than they can ever win of the thoughtless to an unintelligent acceptance of it.

The evidential portions of the book adduce: (1) the testimony of

scientific men to the accord of the Bible with science ; (2) the agreement of scientific facts with revealed truths ; (3) the provisional agreement of scientific theories with revealed doctrines ; (4) the comparison of the miracles of revealed religion with the marvels of modern science (I use the author's phrases).

As to the first, the citations show that all is grist that comes to Dr. Shields' mill ; discrimination in "authorities" there is none. Furthermore, the men and literature quoted are almost without exception from the middle of the last century ; scarcely a living man or a current book is named. When the rapid aging of all scientific writing and thinking is borne in mind, this procedure is seen to be significant. It is not that modern scientific men are less authoritative or less religious—they never were as much so—but they are not now wasting time and effort to harmonize ideas developed in the childhood of the race with the scientific knowledge of the twentieth century.

As to the second point, the agreement of the facts of science with the statements of the Bible, this seems to be the very matter at issue, and it is hardly convincing to have their agreement asserted and offered as evidence of agreement.

The labor of showing the accord (provisional, be it noted) of revealed doctrines with scientific theories is only equaled by that of Sisypheus ; no sooner does the accord seem near than the theories change and the uphill task has to be resumed. Nothing less than eternal hope could sustain men in so toilsome an occupation, whose futility has been so repeatedly illustrated in the history of theology.

Scientific marvels are cited as evidence of the credibility of biblical miracles. Even were the marvels and miracles parallel, and the argument sound instead of being, as it is, a mere evasion, Dr. Shields can hardly be unaware that today the real issue as to miracles is purely one of historic evidence for the particular event. Those who reject the miracle of the swimming ax-head do so because historic evidence for it is lacking, and no suggestion that they perhaps "crossed the ocean last summer in a huge iron bowl which swam" has the least weight.

On the whole, Dr. Shields convicts himself of an utter want of the scientific spirit. A candid, fair, and judicial attitude would far surpass in real religious efficiency the mistaken piety which defends the Bible on indefensible grounds.

CHARLES REID BARNES.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DIE WAHRHEIT DER CHRISTLICHEN RELIGION. VON MARTIN RADE. Tübingen: Mohr, 1900. Pp. 80. M. 1.80.

IN 1898 the author published a booklet entitled *Die Religion im modernen Geistesleben*. It was a series of apologetic lectures. The present work he characterizes as a second series of similar discussions. He does not claim to have treated everything that belongs to apologetics. It is a confessedly one-sided prosecution of a single fundamental thought which we have here. The complement to this he promises to furnish later. He claims for this brief discussion under review nothing but a witness to the faith that is in him for men in need—the faith as he knows it in his own experience. The book is a fruit of life and of the pastoral vocation. The themes discussed are: What is truth? the Christian religion as present experience, the Christian religion as a memory, the Christian religion as hope.

The author's philosophic presupposition is the Kantian distinction between the theoretical and the practical reason, according primacy to the latter, together with the Lotzean value-judgment. His problem is to show that neither natural nor historical science can prove or refute the truth of the Christian religion, and that there is nothing to fear from science so long as it is content to remain *science* and does not arrogate to itself the prerogatives of metaphysics. The book is thus typically Ritschlian, and has the merits and demerits of that point of view and method.

GEORGE B. FOSTER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

"NIEDERGEFAHREN ZU DEN TOTEN." Ein Beitrag zur Würdigung des Apostolikums. VON CARL CLEMEN. Giessen: Ricker, 1900. Pp. 240. M. 5.

THE preface tells us that this book "seeks not only to explain how the clause 'he descended into hell' came into the creed, and to shed more light upon its origin, but also to prove that the phrase, in its only justifiable historic meaning, which is to be drawn from 1 Peter 3: 18 f., can be fully retained, and that it contains the especially important knowledge that after death there continues, not only the possibility of conversion, but also work on behalf of others." In this sense Clemen dedicates it to the memory of two young relatives who died in 1898 and 1899. After an introduction showing the neglect of this clause of the creed, he discusses (1) its age (pp. 8-114), (2) its meaning (pp. 115-81), and (3) its value (pp. 182-232). Then follow

a "conclusion," index of Scripture passages, and index of proper names. In opposition to Harnack, Kattenbusch, and others, he gives strong reasons against the Roman origin of all symbols. The eastern creeds, even those of north Africa, arose apart from Rome. If the first creed could not have appeared in Rome before 140 A. D., then the creeds of Justin and Marcion must have arisen in Asia Minor. In other words, the Roman symbol sprang from an earlier oriental symbol, as Caspari, Schaff, and others long have held. The conclusion is that clauses like "he descended into hades," found in the eastern symbols, but not in the Roman, may well be ancient and apostolic. Clemen seeks to connect them historically with 1 Peter 3:18 f. He holds there was an Apostolicum by the year 100, though probably not three-membered, which already connected the "descent" with a baptismal confession, as suggested 1 Peter 3:21. We cannot outline the exegesis of the passage (pp. 115-81). On the "value of the clause" he remarks that Judaism knew no conversion after death; the New Testament, apart from 1 Peter 3:18 f., is also silent on the subject. He pokes fun at Dorner's proofs for future probation. Yet he finds for those who sinned through ignorance a place of repentance in passages like John 15:22, 24; 1 Tim. 1:13, though showing that the post-apostolic church at once dropped such teachings. Clemen then gives a full history of such ideas as Jews after death, pagans after death, purgatory, Christ's triumph over Satan, etc. He traces the study down to the "Andover controversy," and gives abundant literature at every turn of the inquiry. He concludes: "If we have shown that the 'descended into hell' is especially important, it should be more noticed in instruction and preaching; care should be taken also, if it is not to be misunderstood, to speak of it rather as 'he descended among the dead.'" We have here a clear, scholarly discussion, exegetical, confessional, and historical, of future probation; Clemen stoutly advocates this doctrine, but does so in the true spirit of sweet reasonableness.

H. M. SCOTT.

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THEOLOGY OF THE WESTMINSTER SYMBOLS. A Commentary, Historical, Doctrinal, Practical, on the Confession of Faith and Catechisms, and the Related Formularies of the Presbyterian Churches. By EDWARD D. MORRIS. Columbus, O.: Champlain. Pp. xvi + 856. \$3.

THIS ample volume of a half million words is well printed on good paper and is well bound. In its production the distinguished author

has done an invaluable service, not only to his own denomination, but also to all other branches of the Christian church. He reminds us in his preface that he has compressed into this volume the results of fifty years "of sincere and diligent investigation," and, as for thirty of these years he was professor of systematic theology in Lane Theological Seminary, the conditions of preparation for his chosen task have been most favorable. Among the characteristic features of the discussion are the following:

First, it has taken the form of lectures, fifteen in number, determined in their order by the order of their topics as found in the Westminster Confession, written in free, readable style, unbroken by numerous marginal references or other distracting devices, exact in the expression of thought, yet sparing of purely technical terms. In a good sense of the term, the style is popular. While its value is not thus lessened for the trained theologian, it is greatly increased for all others. A table of contents and an index, each of seven pages, add much to the book's value.

Again, the discussion is throughout characterized by accurate, comprehensive knowledge of the Westminster symbols and their historic, doctrinal, and practical relations. Without this, of course, the book would have had small value; with it the author has been able to trace the origin of the symbols, to compare them minutely with other symbols of their own and preceding times—the Greek and Roman Catholic, as well as other Protestant symbols—to show the influence of religious and political developments upon their formation, and, indeed, to bring to view more or less fully all that had to do with them or with which they had to do, whether in their own or other times. If anyone on reading it will consult only the three large volumes of Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, he will have a hint of the wide range of closely related matter, and will see how sure of foot is Dr. Morris. This movement, however, is not hampered by this weight and wealth of material. He is its master, not its servant, and nowhere uses it for display, but only for more clear and pertinent exposition.

We notice further that the work is fundamentally an exposition, with the added features of criticism and defense. The author seeks in the first instance to make wholly clear the meaning of the symbols in every part of them. But he does not stop with this. He is not content to write a book of Westminster theology. His aim is reached only when he has set forth the true theology, the theology which is truth. For him this means the theology which is taught in Holy

Scriptures, for with him, as with the symbols, only the Scriptures are recognized as of ultimate authority in religious faith. He is therefore, not often, but occasionally, at pains to show wherein the confession and the catechisms are at variance with Scripture, and what reasons exist for revision. Thus far he is critical. But he maintains with great earnestness, not only the truth of the symbols as a whole, but their truth in almost every part and particular. In his preface he commends the work especially to "the younger ministers in the various Presbyterian communions," in the hope that it will give them insight into "the supreme truth of God." Everywhere one feels the author's assurance that he is setting forth that "supreme truth."

With this solid, immovable conviction of the truth of the Westminster theology goes also an enthusiastic admiration of its expression in the symbols. This admiration extends to the men who constituted the assembly, to their learning, their piety, their industry, their self-sacrifice, their mastery in biblical and theological knowledge, in logic and in rhetoric; to the logical and rhetorical form of the Confession and of the Larger and the Shorter Catechisms; to the preëminence of these among all religious symbols in respect of adequacy; and to their vast controlling influence in their history thus far. This admiration and sympathetic appreciation may at times find too direct and repeated expression, but the reader would not willingly miss it, especially as it is never a blind or blinding enthusiasm. We are so wont to think of a creed statement, and especially the Westminster statements, as dry and hard and cold, that it is a rare favor to have them brought to us aglow with the warmth of that intelligent love which their expositor has, and their writers had, and to enter into the sharp criticism of them at points in this friendly spirit.

A specially attractive and valuable feature of the work is its uniformly irenic character. One nowhere finds a taint of the *odium theologicum* or of pugnacity. We might expect that one having doctrinal views so clear-cut, and holding them with such energy of conviction and enthusiasm of love, would sometimes show himself intolerant of those who not only reject, but unsparingly denounce, much that these views include. But Dr. Morris has learned thoroughly the secret of Christian love. One may complain that his theology is radically faulty of construction in not being "Christocentric," but no such complaint holds against his spirit and life. He is the very soul of candor and fairness in dealing with objections and objectors, with opposition and opposers. He believes and therefore speaks. He is not anxious

to convict others of being wrong, but only to make it clear that he is right. His discussion is for this reason admirably fitted to convince opponents, as also to inspire in all readers a like catholicity of spirit.

There is no space, and perhaps no need, for the mention of other characteristics. Congratulations are due to Dr. Morris that, through the grace of his Lord, he gives to his denomination, to the church of Christ, and to the world this ripe and rich fruit of his long and faithful labors.

GEO. D. B. PEPPER.

WATERTOWN, ME.

EINLEITUNG IN DIE CHRISTLICHE GLAUBENSLEHRE, im Sinn der gegenwärtigen evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche. Von GEORG SCHNEDERMANN. Leipzig: Deichert, 1899. Pp. xv + 215. M. 3.60.

THIS is a work from the point of view of the Lutheran party in general and the Frankian (mostly a thing of the past) school in particular. Chap. 1 treats of the conception of introduction and the presuppositions of Christian dogmatics. For the business of introduction the total thoughts and conceptions of the Christian are at the disposal of the theologian; in particular, those of a universal, philosophic, self-evident character, that are not peculiarly "dogmatic." The presupposition of Christian theology is the Christian consciousness—it is at this point that the author shows himself an orthodox disciple of Frank. This Christian consciousness must be in the form of the Lutheran ecclesiastical modification, of course. The "task" of Christian dogmatics is the subject of chap. 2. It is the science of the Christian faith, "taught by Christians for Christians." The science is therefore not a *selbständige Grösse*; yet *Einheitlichkeit* and *Vollständigkeit* are its essential characteristics. To be sure, it is the Lutheran type of faith which the author's "science" would have for its "task." Chap. 3 is devoted to the *Träger*—the subject, expounder, bearer—of Christian dogmatics. The answer begins: "Not God himself (*sic*), rather "the human side of the *Gemeinschaftsverhältnisse*," and indeed not "als beliebiger Mensch, oder als Glied eines bestimmten Volkes" (this against Jewish or Roman particularism, p. 98), "oder als Vertreter der Menschheit überhaupt" (against false universalism, p. 96), "sondern als Gottesmensch" (*sic*). The bearer must be a Christian, in principle any Christian; but also a scientific thinker; in brief, "the

Christian as theologian"—which in the end amounts to saying tautologically that the bearer of theology must be a (Lutheran) theologian: opium puts to sleep because it has a *virtus dormitiva*. The sources of Christian dogmatics are divulged in chap. 4. "Der von dem Glaubenslehrer gesuchte Stoff sind alle Glaubensaussagen von Christen mit Ausschluss der Lehrsätze des Trägers als solche" (p. 132); yet the "*nächste*" *Quelle* is the consciousness of the bearer of dogmatics. The second source is the whole wealth of ecclesiastical declarations of word and deed (p. 152). The third source is the utterances of the primitive community as found in the sacred Scriptures—utterances of the Old Testament not having the value of the New Testament. The fourth source and supreme consists of the words and deeds of Jesus Christ. Nothing is to be drawn from the universal human consciousness (p. 166). Chap. 5 discusses the arrangement of material. It is best to begin with our communion with God through Jesus Christ (p. 182).

While recognizing merit in the book, I am sure that it would doom dogmatics to become a sort of esoteric cult.

GEORGE B. FOSTER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

LUTHERISCHE DOGMATIK. Von ALEXANDER VON OETTINGEN.
2 vols. München: Beck.

Vol. I, *Prinzipienlehre*, 1897, xx + 478 pp., M. 8; Vol. II, *System der christlichen Heilswahrheit*; Erster Teil: "Die Heilsbedingungen," 1900, xvi + 688 pp., M. 11.50.

PROFESSOR VON OETTINGEN's name is not as well known to American readers as that of some other German theologians. He is a native of the Baltic provinces of Russia, where the German language and Lutheran Protestantism have maintained their tenacious life against foreign national and religious influences. He has taught there, at the university of Dorpat, since 1854, retiring from academic work in 1890. His most important previous work was his system of ethics: *Die Moralstatistik und die christliche Sittenlehre, Versuch einer Socialethik*. In the first volume of that book he investigated the ethical life of nations and classes as registered in the statistics of morality, and in the second volume he deduced from these facts a theory of social ethics, of a corporate ethical life of humanity. Some of the most interesting and useful sections in the work before us are traceable to that former book. He is now using the leisure of his retirement to put forth the mature fruit of his fifty years of theological teaching.

The arrangement of the two volumes before us is quite practical, and that counts for a good deal in a work so bulky and solid. The text is unincumbered with scriptural references and footnotes. At the end of every larger section a brief paragraph in different type summarizes the positions taken. The minor items of information are given in concluding paragraphs in small type; they give, first, the scriptural proof; secondly, the statements of the symbols of faith; and thirdly, the defense against alien positions. There is a good index at the end of each volume, and a general index is promised for the last volume. The style is surprisingly vivacious; it is more the style of the essay than the usual literary method of dogmatics. The author has a capacity for epithet and *Kraftausdrücke* which gives spice to the style, but like other spicy things palls on the taste in time. The readableness of the book is both increased and diminished by the multitude of allusions to theological and secular literature. Dispatching books or systems with a passing phrase is difficult business for the author, and leaves the reader with a frequent feeling that full justice has not been done to the work of others. But altogether one feels a growing respect for the book as he goes on; there is a largeness and sanity of view, a wide historical perspective, and frequently a really illuminating suggestiveness. In the preface the author gives pathetic expression to the feeling that his book has fallen on evil times, in which attention is monopolized by the physical and historical sciences, and in which all speculation, and especially orthodox theological speculation, is eyed askance.

The first volume contains the prolegomena of theology. Its two parts deal with the "Realprincip" and "Idealprincip," the objective nature of the Christian religion and the theory of religious knowledge. In the first of these two parts he defines the nature of religion (physiology of religion), describes its false forms (pathology), and proves that Christianity answers to the definition of a true religion (therapeutics). Three factors unite to produce religion: the divine factor of revelation, the social factor of the Christian community in the kingdom and the church, and the individual factor of the personal religious life. The emphasis laid on the second factor, on religious tradition and fellowship, is valuable. As all new physical life is generated by the existing life of the parents and nurtured within the common life of the race, so it is in spiritual generation. The non-Christian religions and many forms of philosophy are treated under the pathology of religion; they endanger either the essential ideal of

religion or one of the three constitutive factors of it. For instance, the divine factor of a real revelation is denied in deism and pantheism, polytheism and biological materialism; the social factor is endangered by hierarchical intolerance, on the one hand, and anarchic denial of authority and dogma, on the other. This chapter is very suggestive and also unsatisfactory. Other religions are not judged on the basis of a philosophy of religion comprehending all its forms; the author defines religion as Christianity, and then condemns other religions because they do not measure up to that definition.

In the chapter on the theory of religious knowledge he defines knowledge and faith, reason and revelation, distinguishes between theology and a philosophy of religion, assigns its proper position to dogmatics in relation to the other theological sciences, and so maps out his own task. Finally he marks off the Lutheran from the Catholic and Reformed theology. Catholic theology exalts the authority of church and tradition; Reformed theology, the authority of the Scriptures; both unite in arriving at an abstract doctrine of infallibility. Lutheran theology tests all doctrinal positions by the normative Scriptures and the regulative doctrines of the church, but bases religious knowledge on the experiences of faith. Its peculiarity is in its organic combination of the Christo-centric facts of salvation (Christ for us) and the pneumato-centric experience of salvation (Christ in us). A true theology of the cross combines the *solâ gratiâ* with the *solâ fide*. In this emphasis on the experimental facts of religion Professor von Oettingen is surely in harmony with the best tendencies of religion and theology.

The second volume gives the first half of the system of doctrine: the conditions of salvation. They are treated in three main chapters: (1) man's capacity for salvation in his relation to God and the world (Christian ontology); (2) sinful man's need of salvation (hamartology); (3) the destination of humanity to salvation by the saving will of God (dogmatic teleology). Each of these chapters again has a triple division. In the first chapter he treats of the living God as the final source of man's capacity for salvation, including the existence of God and his metaphysical, meta-ethical, and meta-historical attributes; of the world and its relation to man, including the creation and government of the world by God; and of the nature of man. In the second chapter he discusses the entrance of sin into the world (satanology); the rule of sin in the world and the enslaving power of the flesh (sarcology); and evil and death as consequences of sin (thanatology).

The third chapter deals with the divine decree of salvation, including the reconciliation of God's wrath and love, and the universality of salvation; the historical preparation for salvation in Israel and the heathen nations; and the "fulness of time." The second half of the system is soon to follow; it will contain the realization of salvation; that is, the mediation of salvation by Christ, the appropriation of it through the Holy Spirit, and the consummation (eschatology). The entire work is to be followed by a history of dogmatics.

I have given this outline of the contents in order to convey an impression of the compact and rounded body of thought. These are not studies in theology, mere sketches for a painting, but a full system of Christian doctrine. Nor is it a dry collection of doctrines, duly prepared, assorted, labeled, and boxed like an anatomical exhibit. It is a living and interesting organism of thought, thoroughly individual and peculiar to the writer, but also deeply rooted in the common thought of the Christian church.

I shall devote what space is left to the selection of a few interesting details. The author ranges all-beauty (*Allschönheit*) by the side of omnipotence and omniscience as one of the divine attributes. The beauty and order of the universe must have their eternal basis in God; they are the plastic expression of his nature. *Æsthetics* as well as *ethics* has a divine source.

In the section on the Trinity he speaks of a trinity of experience, realized in the life of prayer; of a trinity of revelation, revealed in the divine economy; and of the ontological unity of essence of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The first of these seems to me a noteworthy attempt to show the necessity and credibility of the distinction of persons from the experiences of the Christian life and the contents of the Christian consciousness.

An interesting trait of the book is the fulness and earnestness with which it treats the doctrine of the devil. It is not passed with a flirt of the hand as an antiquated superstition, nor shouldered with a sigh as one of the crosses that orthodoxy has to carry, but is insisted on as an integral part of Christianity. If the personality of the devil is denied, evil is taken out of the realm of the personal and volatilized into a mere idea, a negative principle. But in that case an idea, a positive principle of good, suffices to overcome evil. With the personal devil we drop the need for a personal conqueror of the devil. *Nullus diabolus nullus redemptor*. Von Oettingen traces satanic influences in the modern emancipation of the flesh, in the artistic realism

which is only lasciviousness, and which has made the adulterous generation of the *décadence* weary of life, so that it is collectively committing chronic suicide. He thinks the diseased self-glorification of certain gifted minds (Nietzsche), who have usurped a false likeness to God, throws light on the first origin of evil in the fallen angels. His thorough study of social morality has enriched his treatment of the facts and problems of evil, and that section would be read with profit by American theologians.

The decree of redemption is universal, but furnishes no guarantee of the salvation of all individuals. Humanity is predestined for a kingdom of God in Christ as an organic whole, but not as a numeric totality. Redemption would lose its ethical character if it were forced on all by natural necessity. A universal determinism to salvation is just as cruel as a particularistic determinism, which predestines some to woe by a *decretum horribile*.

WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH.

ROCHESTER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE DOCTRINES OF GRACE. By JOHN WATSON (Ian Maclaren). New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1900. Pp. 293. \$1.50.

THERE is a grace in Dr. Watson's literary style that admirably adapts it to the subject of this volume—the doctrines of grace. It disarms prejudice, gives to his arguments a peculiar persuasiveness, and clothes whatever doctrines he advocates with an attractive charm. This grace is neither superficial nor artificial, and can scarce have been acquired by mere cultivation. It must be a fruit of the grace which he is discussing.

Grace he defines as not merely the divine favor shown to the undeserving, but as also a power as truly supernatural as that by which Jesus healed the sick and raised the dead, but a spiritual power that transforms character—that to which Paul referred when he said, "By the grace of God I am what I am," and on which he relied to make the truth which he preached effectual in turning men from sin to holiness. The evidence of the reality of this power is twofold—the sinless life of Jesus Christ, and the transformed lives of those who have received this grace.

The doctrines of grace presented in this volume are: "Repentance," "Forgiveness," "Regeneration," "The Vicarious Sacrifice of Christ," "The Sovereignty of God," "Saving Faith," "Good Works," "Sanctification," "The Perseverance of the Saints," "The Holy Catholic

Church," "The Holy Ministry," "The Sacraments," and "The Mercy of Future Punishment." To each of these he devotes one chapter. He expresses the fear that Christians of this generation are less disposed than were their fathers to believe in the supernatural power of grace.

Though Dr. Watson blows a silver trumpet, it gives no uncertain sound. A few notes may serve as samples. Of repentance he says: "The grace that cometh first in the order of Christian experience is stern and strenuous—the grace of a broken and contrite heart." Of forgiveness he says: "No man ever obtains forgiveness except at one place—before the cross of Christ." Regeneration, he says, "is a re-birth which changes a man's attitude forever, and is the beginning of a new life, and without it there is no possibility of a new life." Pointing to the clear indications of a vicarious element in the constitution of the human family, he says: "We are all debtors through vicarious sacrifice," and asks: "Is it not possible that we are not able to believe in the vicarious sacrifice of Christ because we ourselves are not willing to make any sacrifice, and are living utterly selfish lives?" He expresses the belief that "the greatest reinforcement which religion could have in our time would be a return to the ancient belief in the sovereignty of God."

Dr. Watson's presentation of the doctrines of grace cannot fail to delight all who accept those doctrines, and to commend them to all candid and thoughtful readers, whatever their creed. It is to be hoped that the thousands who have sat with delight with "Ian Maclaren" "beside the bonnie briar bush" will give a hearty welcome to his *Doctrines of Grace*.

N. S. BURTON.

ANN ARBOR, MICH.

STUDIES IN THEOLOGY. VI. *Sin*. By RANDOLPH S. FOSTER.
New York: Eaton & Mains, 1899. Pp. viii + 308. \$3.

THIS large volume is the sixth in Bishop Foster's series of "Studies in Christian Theology." It is a clear and earnest presentation of several important doctrines in anthropology and soteriology from the Arminian viewpoint. Its fundamental thesis is that sin can be predicated only of a personal will-act. "Sin is not a nature or state." "No being can be a sinner until he has personally made himself such by a free personal transgression of law." This is as true of his descendants as it was of Adam. "The essence of the primal sin is the essence of every sin." Accordingly guilt, or "that which constitutes liability to punishment,"

cannot be transferred. "The person cannot be amenable to law until he exists as a person." "The sufferings resulting from punishment inflicted on one for crime may inevitably reach others, but in no proper sense of the word can they be accounted punishment." Original sin must be denied. "To blame them [Adam's descendants, for his act] is to blame them for an act performed by another person, and which transpired thousands of years before they had a personal and responsible existence, and the knowledge of which was first brought to them in the form of an indictment. The supposition is that of a madman." Vicarious punishment is impossible. Christ's sufferings were not penal, but rectoral.

The strongest part of the book is the discussion of the doctrine of original sin. The criticism of Shedd's theory of generic will and Hodge's theory of federal headship is keen, and elaborately worked out.

As a statement of Arminian theology the work is valuable, but it has serious limitations. It is written in the light of discussions a generation or two old. The whole Ritschlian movement is ignored. Indeed, the only German theologians referred to are Julius Müller and Uhlmann. The only Scotch theologian recognized is Thomas Chalmers. No attention is given to recent work in psychology and sociology, nor to present methods in biblical theology.

Though clear, the style is diffuse and cumbersome. Omission of table contents, of section divisions (beyond the main parts), of section or page headings, and of subject or scripture index, renders the volume useless as a book of reference.

J. FORSYTH CRAWFORD.

BEAVER DAM, WIS.

THE AGE OF FAITH. By AMORY H. BRADFORD. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1900. Pp. viii+306. \$1.50.

THE above title reflects the thought of only the first chapter of the volume. This is an age of faith because men are willing "to act on intuitions, or convictions of what is true and right," even though not demonstratively proven. And our author fortifies this position by facts drawn from all fields of present intellectual activity.

There are eleven additional chapters, in which the author discusses "The Conception of God;" "God Interpreted by Fatherhood;" "The Basis of Optimism;" "Brotherhood;" "Suffering and Sorrow;" "Sin;" "Salvation;" "Prayer;" "Punishment or Discipline;" "The Immortal Life;" and "The Teacher for All Ages." The Teacher here referred to is the Holy Spirit. All these profound topics are discussed in the light of

the fatherhood of God. An attempt is made to explain, so far as possible, by the fact of the divine fatherhood the greatest mysteries that through all the ages have agitated the minds of men. The attempt is praiseworthy, even though the outcome may fail to satisfy all. Even the term "fatherhood" fails to express all of God that men are capable of knowing. God is revealed to us as our creator, lawgiver, ruler, or governor, or king, judge, the Almighty, etc., and all the multifarious terms by which he has been presented to men are, taken together, utterly inadequate fully to set forth him who is from eternity. Now, while "fatherhood" may give us the highest, noblest conception of God, is anything gained by endeavoring to make this one term cover all just conceptions of him?

It seems to us that our author's definition of sin is too narrow. In it there is no place for man's innate tendencies to evil. But a nature with such tendencies is unlike God, is in fact contrary to God, and so is sin. Men are not responsible for being born with such natures, but since they are unlike God, they must be born again, or they cannot enter into God's kingdom.

The author also asks whether God metes out to sinners punishment or retribution. By punishment he means pain inflicted simply to satisfy justice, and this he calls barbarism. And his contention would be correct if pain were inflicted merely to satisfy personal spite, but the satisfaction of justice may be wholly free from vindictiveness. In fact, the feeling that men should be punished for wrongdoing, just to satisfy the demands of justice, is far more pronounced and intense among men of the highest, purest civilization than among barbarians. In such demand for justice hatred and revenge have no part. And where men are most righteous justice is meted out calmly, unswayed by vindictiveness, in accordance with dispassionate forms of law.

By retribution the author means the pains that flow from the infraction of the laws of our being. Every such violation of law brings upon the transgressor sharp distress, not from without, but from the inevitable action of the law itself. This he does not regard as punishment, but as a warning of love against sin. But why it is not punishment, as well as a warning of love, is not clear to us. God immanent in his works established law, which is, in fact, simply his mode of acting; and so acting he inflicts pain on those who run counter to his will. But our author maintains that the retribution which flows from the infraction of law is simply an expression of God's love. Undoubtedly it is an expression of love; but why not of justice also? Are love and justice incompatible with each other?

But the author contends that retribution is simply disciplinary and intended to reform the violators of law. But retribution in and of itself has never reformed anybody. Retribution, awful and dire, has been meted out according to the laws of man's being down through all past ages, and if it were reformatory, the earth by this time should have become a paradise. But instead it is still very wicked; and just where retribution is most severe and terrible, just there we find most sin and the most incorrigible sinners. Not retribution, but love, touches and transforms transgressors. Pain pure and simple, no matter by what motive inflicted, neither reforms nor transforms.

The author affirms that "eternal punishment does not necessarily mean punishment without end, but punishment in the state which succeeds death," and "it may end." Then eternal life may end. "Eternal salvation" (Heb. 5:9), eternal redemption (Heb. 9:12), "the eternal Spirit" (Heb. 9:14), "the eternal inheritance" (Heb. 9:15), all may end, since in all these passages duration is expressed by the same word.

Our author also strangely maintains that repentance "must of necessity precede the new birth;" but since, according to the New Testament, repentance is a radical change of mind in reference to sin and God, how can a man repent before he is born anew? Repentance includes the new birth.

We call attention to a slip of the pen, when our author writes: "Robert Burns molded the theology of the common people more than any theologian of Scotland, not *excepting Calvin*."

Our author's style is clear and forceful. His spirit is good. His dissertation on brotherhood is specially worthy of commendation. Much of his book is helpful, but on the whole it seems to us to raise quite as many ghosts as it lays.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

PRINCIPLES OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION: A Course of Lectures Delivered under the Auspices of the Sunday-School Commission of the Diocese of New York. With an Introduction by the RIGHT REV. HENRY C. POTTER, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of New York. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. Pp. x + 292. \$1.25.

THE lectures which form the contents of this book were given, as explained in the title-page, in the autumn of 1899. The lecturers were Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, Bishop Doane, Professor Charles

De Garmo, Dean Hodges, Rev. Pascal Harrower, Dr. Walter I. Hervey, President G. Stanley Hall, Dr. Frank M. McMurry, Dr. Charles F. Kent, and Professor Richard Green Moulton. If the function of the reviewer were only to commend the book to the interest of readers, the work would be done, in this case, by the mere mention of these names. The list of lecturers will at once correct the impression, made by the title and strengthened by the preface, that the point of view of the book is narrow, sectarian, or special in any sense. The keynote is struck in the opening paragraphs of the very first lecture:

The problems of what is called religious education are a part of the problem of education as a whole.

True education . . . is a unitary process. It knows no mathematically accurate subdivisions. . . . When stretched upon a dissecting table, education is already dead. Its constituent parts are interesting and, in a way, significant; but when cut out of the whole, they have ceased to live. . . . For this reason . . . while there is and may be a religious training, an intellectual training, a physical training, there is no such thing as religious education, or intellectual education, or physical education. One might as well imagine a triangular or a circular geometry. Education is conceived to be the adaptation of a self-conscious being to his environment. The elements of the environment into which man is born are his science, his literature, his art, his institutional life, and his religious beliefs. . . . Education must include knowledge of each of the five elements named, as well as insight into them all and sympathy with them all. To omit any one of them is to cripple education, and to make its results at best but partial . . . Religious training is [then] a necessary factor in education, and must be given the time, the attention, and the serious continued treatment it deserves.

These two quotations may be taken as the thesis of the book. One who has read thus far is prepared and disposed to read on with interest, and to expect a broad and thorough discussion of the principles of education in their relation to the particular subject of the course.

While the volume possesses a singular degree of unity, the lectures vary somewhat in interest and value. Those most likely to be re-read with increasing pleasure are the first, which has already been quoted; Professor De Garmo's discussion of "Religious Instruction in England, France, Germany, and America;" President Hall's, on "The Religious Content of the Child Mind;" Dr. Hervey's, on "The Preparation of the Sunday-School Teacher;" and Professor Moulton's delightful lecture on "The Literary Study of the Bible." President Hall's lecture is, in fact, an epitome, in rarely simple and untechnical terms, of the available results of child-study, so far as these have practical value for

parents and teachers. It is a gospel of wise and patient optimism in dealing with that newly discovered creature, the "adolescent," whom we have ever had with us, but strangely misunderstood. The application of "the parable of the tadpole's tail" will not be forgotten nor fail to be applied by teachers and parents. Professor Moulton, by concrete examples, maintains the thesis that "a clear grasp of the outward literary form [in Bible study] is essential to the understanding of the matter and spirit." Thus the literary study of the Bible is directly related to devotional and to higher critical study. Practical suggestions follow, leading to the application of the whole to Christian education in three stages: "the stage of stories, the stage of masterpieces, and the stage of literary groups."

Not the least element of value in these lectures, devoted to special topics, is the reiteration, in new and varied forms, of general educational principles. In his lecture on "Biography in Religious Instruction" Dr. McMurry says: "What we are aiming at primarily in religious instruction is the *development of a permanent interest* in religious facts. . . . In the Sunday school, as in the day school, we are growing more and more inclined to accept an *interested attitude of mind* as the largest immediate end to work for." Says Dr. Hervey: "It is a 'law of the intellectual jungle' that only on the introduction of some one already in can entrance be granted to him who is without." Herbartians should print that upon the title-pages of their books.

The reader of these ten lectures is, at last, impressed with the unity and completeness of the book as a whole. It fills a gap hitherto existing in educational literature. It is of prime importance, and will be read and re-read with keen interest, not only by Sunday-school teachers and clergymen, but by parents, public-school teachers, college and university instructors, and all who care to look below the surface and behind and beyond tradition in matters of education.

NATHANIEL BUTLER.

COLBY COLLEGE.

A STUDY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS. By WILLIAM NEWTON CLARKE. New York: Scribner, 1900. Pp. 268. \$1.25.

TWO THOUSAND YEARS OF MISSIONS BEFORE CAREY. By LEMUEL CALL BARNES. Chicago: The Christian Culture Press, 1900. Pp. xi + 505. \$1.50.

THE volume on Christian missions by Dr. Clarke, professor of theology in Hamilton Theological Seminary, Colgate University, and

author of *An Outline of Christian Theology*, is of exceptional interest. It is, as its title implies, a study of the regnant ideal of practical Christianity, conducted with the author's fine insight, calm discernment, and facile treatment, from the viewpoint of one who is a master in both historical theology and present-day apologetics. It turns a modern intellectual searchlight of penetrating power upon the old theme of God's redemptive purpose and its historical outcome in this age of human progress, and pronounces a strong verdict in favor of missions as a first duty and an essential factor in the church life of our day. It is a kind of spiritual review lesson in Christian history, resulting in the practical accentuation of a permanent missionary obligation. Dr. Clarke has his own theological standpoint, but in reading this book we need not concern ourselves to discover it. His conclusions on the subject he treats will be a helpful and cheering message to liberal and conservative alike. He builds the walls of the twentieth-century Zion. He speaks to the Christian church of today, with no uncertain sound, of the certainties which belong to all the centuries. His focal point of urgency, and his final judgment upon living issues, coincide with the outspoken and earnest conclusions of the most conservative disciple of a severe theological discipline. There is something about the temper and tone of the book which leads one to the heights, and we seem to survey the great unifying theme of missions in cheerful unconsciousness of theological debate and dogmatic differences. We enter a common realm of harmonious conviction and indivisible purpose. Every reader of the book feels that he is brought to the foot of the evangelical cross, and that he is there under the spell of an immutable and unchallengeable duty.

The book deals with fundamentals: the unmistakable missionary character of Christianity, the motive, the object, and the field. A chapter is devoted to the essential nature of non-Christian religions, the proper estimate, and the practical method of missions in dealing with them. World-religions, while they may be regarded as formulations of the religious instincts of man, are, nevertheless, shown to be, as they now exist, incumbrances upon his higher nature. The author's arraignment is severe, but not bitter; it is unsparing, but soberly true. The peculiar virtue of Christianity as the herald of a good and helpful God is made prominent. Its revelation of the perfect God is shown to be what the world universally needs. Victory rather than compromise is the only possible aim of Christian missions. Concerning methods of missionary aggressiveness at close quarters with other

religions, he emphasizes, as essential factors in the plan of campaign, an intelligent grasp of the content of these religions, an unflinching fidelity to gospel truth, a sympathetic touch at the point of personal contact, and the supreme advocacy of Christ "as the one who brings completion to all the partial good that other religions contain."

Problems of organization in the supervision and guidance of the mission activities of the church; the strength and weakness, the virtues and faults, of denominationalism as related to missions, are discussed, and the capacity of the missionary motive to survive and assert itself independently of ecclesiastical lines, if need be, is asserted.

The present crisis—as Dr. Clarke views it—the next need, the outlook, and the incisive appeal of missions to the home church, are all dwelt upon in separate chapters, with a happy optimism and at the same time a searching insistence which give the book a special value to the pastors of our churches. It is dedicated with manifest appropriateness "To the Pastors of America." It is a good book for ministers to take away with them on a summer vacation, and to read thoughtfully chapter by chapter, in the stilness of the mountains, or by the vastness of the ocean, where the calm touch of nature puts their spirits in tune with the great and ennobling thoughts of God as they are suggestively unfolded in this luminous little volume. The broad outlook, the masterful faith, the stimulating forcefulness, and the powerful movement of this profound study is just the tonic which a pastor—wary with drudgery and burdened with detail—needs, to send him back to his pulpit with fresh enthusiasm and quickened power. It is a prophet's message to our own times in our own spiritual tongue.

The volume by Rev. Mr. Barnes is a useful handbook of missions, accentuating the fact that they have been a characteristic feature of church history and an instinctive impulse of the Christian life. Missionary effort in the nineteenth century is ruled out of view by the scope of the book. Its range is from the founding of the Christian church to the entrance of Carey upon his great mission near the close of the eighteenth century. After an instructive study of the providential preparations for the missionary advent of Christ, apostolic, post-apostolic, Armenian, Nestorian, Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, and post-Reformation missions are treated in order. The presentation is condensed, rapid, well proportioned, and at the same time very comprehensive. The book is fairly weighted with names, facts, personalities, incidents, dates, data, and emphatic memoranda; yet the

arrangement is excellent, and the reader is helped by typographical devices, chronological tables, illustrations, and maps ingeniously prepared to convey historical as well as geographical information. A judiciously selected bibliography and a useful index round out an impressive and unique presentation of the missionary history of Christianity before the modern era. As a text-book for mission study it may be made very instructive and effective. Here and there an evident slip in proof-reading should be corrected on the margin. The date for the publication of the New Testament into Cingalese given on p. 103 as 1873 should be 1783; Ziegenbalg's term of service in India (p. 105) should be thirteen years instead of ten; the date of Raymond Lull's birth (p. 205) should be 1234, or perhaps more correctly 1236, instead of 1334.

The book brings out in clear relief one very timely and cheering note of encouragement to missionary devotion in the church today. It is the fact that Christianity in all ages, whether of sunshine or shadow, whether of growth or decay, in times of corruption and degeneracy, as well as of spiritual fervor and power, has never failed to recognize in some measure the missionary obligation. In this century of superb incentive and alluring opportunity, missionary Christianity should surely arise and shine, for her light has indeed come.

JAMES S. DENNIS.

NEW YORK CITY.

THE INFLUENCE OF CHRIST IN MODERN LIFE. A Study of the New Problems of the Church in American Society. By NEWELL DWIGHT HILLIS. New York: Macmillan. Pp. xi + 416. \$1.50.

In the fifteen chapters of this book the author sets forth Christ as the great power that transforms both men and society. Some of the chapters are addresses delivered "before various colleges and universities," and were "not written from the viewpoint of the scholar or the philosopher," but "for the educated young men of the country, who are troubled by the skepticism of the times," and for the honest toilers who have little time for reading and study.

The volume contains much that is worthy of warm commendation. The author exalts Christ. In an attractive style he sets forth thoughts pertinent to our times, that will tend to dissipate doubt and recall men to faith in the unchanging verities of the gospel. But while we find so much that is excellent, faithfulness constrains us to say that

the book as a whole is diffuse in thought, profuse and sometimes extravagant in rhetoric, and often inaccurate in statement. We have not space to justify our criticism at length. But the following are a few examples among many: Emerson never entered the Christian pulpit (p. 23); the tides of the ocean are lifted by the planets (p. 42); the stones of a mosaic are "stitched" together (p. 316); Moses built a "temple" in the wilderness (p. 243); Paul wrote a letter to "a rich merchant in Philippi, requesting his friend to read the letter to the church that met in his house" (p. 374); "O'er the planets the sun scatters . . . atmosphere" (p. 45); Cranmer "lifted up an example" (p. 44); Herculaneum was buried under thirty feet of ashes (p. 49); a passage found only in Proverbs is attributed to Job (p. 86); the sun "lifts from space heavy planets" (p. 44); into Nazareth "had run all the slime of creation" (p. 92); Christ was "by all counted traitorous to his country," and death on the cross was "a method of execution reserved for slaves and convicts" (p. 93); the human race during two-thirds of its history was without an "altar" (p. 259); "a chunk of cloud-bank buttered with the night wind" (p. 300); "the church began to discuss upon high politics" (p. 385); "earth's feeblings represent the insect life that busy themselves" (p. 387); twice he says that "Christ waved the golden rule" over this and that (pp. 52, 80); Christ "saw a thousand wrongs to be achieved" (p. 77); still the author had no intention of saying anything derogatory to Christ. It is a pity thus to mar a book which is so good that it should have been better.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

ARABIA: THE CRADLE OF ISLAM. Studies in the Geography, People and Politics of the Peninsula, with an Account of Islam and Mission Work. By S. M. ZWEMER. Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1900. Pp. 434. \$2.

THIS book should come easily in the first class of missionary literature. In that class, so far as Arabia is concerned, it stands alone. Further, it will take high rank even among scientific studies of present-day Islam. Mr. Zwemer has an exceptional equipment as a missionary and has had exceptional opportunities. He is evidently in familiar touch with the European literature of his subject—and that can, unfortunately, be said of few of his profession—and the Arabic texts are also open to him. But, what is more, he actually knows southern Arabia with the sight of the eyes and the hearing of the ears. He has

plodded among its mountains and over its plains, has nighted and dayed with its people, understands the complicated politics of the Gulf and the squabbles of central Arabia. In this, especially, is the value of his book. There is much to be said for his reading of the character of Muhammad, and much also to be said against it. His compilation from Doughty, Burton, Palgrave, Burckhardt, Hurgonje, and the rest, on northern and central Arabia and Mecca, is more than a compilation and shows independent knowledge. But of that mysterious southern and eastern Arabia, where so few have been and of which so little is known, he can speak at first hand, even though he has not crossed the great Deserted Quarter where the wildest Bedawi tribes still stalk ostriches. The only pity is that he has not given more of his space to what he knew for himself and left sober compilation and turning over of authorities to us who must sit at home and read books. He is an authority himself, and we would rather listen to what he has to say of himself than to what he puts together, however skilfully, from other authorities. Another regrettable thing, but one, this time, for which he cannot have been responsible, is that his book has so suffered in the subediting. The proof-reading, in all but the simplest matters, has been of the wildest. Proper names and book-titles have come off especially badly, and Appendix III (on bibliography) is full of the most absurd blunders. This is a matter which should be looked to in the event of the new edition which we trust will be called for.

But such things are details, and details that will not greatly trouble the average reader. For the book itself, its contents are well described in the title; the promise which it makes there is amply fulfilled. It is a veritable thesaurus of Arabia, from the missionary's standpoint. Only in one thing would we have craved fuller information. In spite of the care and evident knowledge shown in the map, there are matters of boundary and authority left obscure. For example, the coast of Arabia, down to Yembo, is put under the Egyptian-English government. This is rather new, and the remark on p. 220 assigning it to the jurisdiction of "the governor-general of the Suez canal" does not make it any plainer. According to treaty, the boundary of Egypt is a line running southeast from a point a little eastward of al-Arish to the head of the Gulf of Akaba, but falling west of the fort of Akaba. If there is some later arrangement, it would be interesting to have details about it. Mr. Zwemer's boundary brings the unbeliever perilously close to, if not into, the Two Harams. Another point of doubt is

Kuweit, which is marked as British, but left by all other maps, apparently, in Turkish control. History is being made at Kuweit nowadays, and when it is the terminus of the trans-Arabian railway, it will be a place of the first importance.

DUNCAN B. MACDONALD.

HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
Hartford, Conn.

FOREIGN MISSIONS OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES. By STEPHEN L. BALDWIN. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1900. Pp. 272. \$1.

DR. BALDWIN brings down to date, in a more concise form, the kind of information which composed Dr. Gracey's *Missionary Year Book* of 1890, prefaced and supplemented with some discussion of general missionary problems. The bulk of the space is devoted to giving a summary of modern Protestant foreign missions on the side of organization and operation, and is devoted to missionary societies and their work.

The first three chapters discuss the nature and scope of Christian missions, false and true conceptions of missions and missionary work, and the call and qualifications of missionaries. Chap. 1 gives as the reason for missions the outward command of Christ, "Go into all the world," without naming the deeper reason, the vital spirit of Christ. Whether our Lord can be correctly conceived as a legislator or not, the missionary movements throughout the centuries have sprung, as a matter of fact, not so much from legislation by him as from his living heart of love beating in the hearts of his followers. For the present and the future, as for the past, this is the only adequate and effective source of missionary enterprise. In the second chapter the author partly atones for this serious defect in the first by setting forth, with analytical clearness, the fact that missionary work is not one of the many branches of Christian service, but is the trunk of the tree. To the nine qualifications for missionary service named in the third chapter a tenth should have been added, namely, breadth of sympathy. No man is fit to be a twentieth-century missionary unless he is able to appreciate the elements of divine instinct, and even insight, in the gropings of non-Christian faith.

The fourth and fifth chapters give an outline of some of the methods in ordinary use in the home organization and in the foreign field of missions. Then follows as good a sketch as could well be

given in seven pages of the Protestant missions of 250 years before the organization of the English Baptist Missionary Society, from which the modern missionary era is commonly dated. The next four chapters give succinct sketches of all the leading missionary societies in the world, their formation, and their chief fields of labor. This part of the book furnishes the most convenient conspectus of Protestant missions to be had. It ought to be at the hand of every student of missions. The mission fields of the world are then reviewed in a single chapter, analyzed by religions. There are three concluding chapters, on the progress of the movement, the outlook, and the statistics.

The book is unnecessarily marred by frequent use of the phrase "our own society," meaning the Methodist Episcopal of the northern United States. But the treatment throughout is catholic, giving but little more space to Methodist missions than their relative importance deserves. Dr. Baldwin has given us a useful handbook, which accomplishes all that it sets out to accomplish.

PITTSBURG, PA.

LEMUEL C. BARNES.

The Religion of a Gentleman. By Charles F. Dole. (New York: Crowell, 1900; pp. xvi + 219; \$1.) In a spirit of sympathy with the prevalent protest against "theological" preaching, the author has given a wholesome, positive presentation of "natural" religion. "The religious man ought to be the real man at his best" (p. 26). The absence of technical phraseology and of polemical spirit, and the enthusiasm of the author for the inherent beauty of right living, make the book especially adapted to young people. It is a worthy companion volume to *The Theology of Civilization*. — *Christus Auctor*, a Manual of Christian Evidences. By Warren A. Candler. (Nashville: Publishing House of the M. E. Church, South, 1900, pp. 250; \$1.25.) Dr. Candler has attempted to make the "firm stand" which he believes must be taken against the "mistaken movement of theological compromise" which he sees in modern biblical criticism (p. 5). The existence of God, the deity of Christ, and the authority of Scripture are thus defended. The author's favorite method of reasoning is to confront the reader with a dilemma. One who does not admit that the dilemma is an exhaustive analysis of the subject will hardly be convinced. Many of the familiar "evidences" are presented with admirable clearness and force; but as a whole the book is an example of special pleading to sustain dogmatic theories. — *The Old Faith and the New Philosophy.* By G. J. Low. (Toronto: Briggs, 1900; pp. 160; \$0.50.) "The old faith is summed

up in the words of the 'Nicene creed,' neither less nor more. The new philosophy is summed up in the word 'evolution,' and is expounded by Herbert Spencer. . . . The great question before the Christian world today, transcending all other questions and demanding immediate settlement, is this: Is the old faith compatible with the new philosophy?" (p. 23). Dr. Low attempts to show the analogies between modern scientific theories and the Nicene doctrines. Heat, light, and electricity are three *personæ* of one universal "energy." The disproof of the theory of abiogenesis suggests "the Holy Spirit the giver of life." The suffering demanded by the law of the survival of the fittest suggests the cosmic significance of the sacrifice of Christ. Modern sociology throws light on the function of the church. This discussion will doubtless be helpful to those who are compelled by an established church to retain the Nicene creed as the absolute and all-inclusive statement of Christian faith. Such a presupposition, however, compels the author to adopt a scholastic type of reasoning. Instead of searching for the truth he attempts to harmonize two formally expressed definitions of presumptive truth. The candor of Dr. Low in frankly facing the problem of theology in the light of the theory of evolution is admirable. We wish his discussion had dealt with principles rather than with formulas.—GERALD BIRNEY SMITH.

Schleiermachers Religionsbegriff und religiöse Stellung zur Zeit der ersten Ausgabe der Reden (1799-1806). Von Emil Fuchs. (Giessen: Ricker; pp. 103; M. 2.) The author of this pamphlet endeavors to clear up the obscurity which he feels the defective treatment by Dilthey, Bender, O. Ritschl, and others has thrown around Schleiermacher's conception of religion and his personal religious attitude at the time referred to. By copious extracts from the discourses, monologues, letters, and sermons of Schleiermacher, he endeavors to show (1) that Schleiermacher's conception of religion and his personal attitude is in all these unitary and consistent. Though later in life he described religion as consisting in *Gefühl* (feeling), at this time he united *Anschauung* (intuition) with *Gefühl*, and made it the dominant factor. From self-intuition and intuition of others, which prompts to self-communication to others, the soul rises to an intuition of the universe, and therein is discovered, as inner self-revealing principle, the Infinite and Eternal, who is one with the principle of the self and of other men — in other words, the apprehension and reception of the self-communicating principle of the universe as *Love* is religion. (2) Fuchs justifies

Schleiermacher from the charges of materialism, rationalism, and pantheism, and shows that Schleiermacher had a personal belief in immortality, not as a sum of hopes and expectations, but because he perceived the principle of the universe working in himself; back of man's transitory form subsists an eternal nature. Every student of Schleiermacher—and who ought not to study him?—will find the little work of Fuchs a valuable aid. I suspect, however, that he has overestimated the maturity of Schleiermacher's views at the time of the *Reden*.—GEORGE CROSS.

Essays and Studies. By Robert Sinker. (London: Bell, 1900; pp. 121; 3s. 6d.) The unity of the book is marred by including an essay on "A Milton Manuscript" with nine others on talmudic and biblical subjects. Each essay, however, presents an interesting study, and, taken together, they indicate in the author a wide range of interests and a thorough acquaintance with the apparatus and method of scholarly criticism. "Manasseh or Moses?" favors Manasseh as the ancestor of the priest of Dan. "An Early Christian Vestment" rebukes the disposition to find in an apostolic mention of a common article of apparel a warrant for sacerdotalism in dress. David is defended as the author of Ps. 110.—DEAN A. WALKER.

Geistliches und Weltliches aus dem türkisch-griechischen Orient. Selbsterlebtes und Selbstgesehenes von Heinrich Gelzer. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1900; pp. xii + 253; M. 5.) Gelzer reminds us of a fact often overlooked by tourists who haunt the mosques and palaces and wonder at the dervishes and the soldiers of Constantinople. In that city is a great Christian population. It is the center of an extensive Christian activity well worthy of observation and study by the western world. With this side of life in Turkey the larger part of the volume is occupied. The author tells us what he has himself seen of this oriental Christianity, particularly in its ecclesiastical activities. He has studied the work and its leaders, and has had ample opportunity to make up his mind on its character and tendencies. Certainly a field new to many students of modern church history is opened in his chapters on "The Ecumenical Patriarchate," "The Armenian Patriarchate," "The Bulgarian Exarchate," and "The Roman Catholic Establishments in and about the Turkish Empire." A long discussion is given to the piety and the ecclesiastical politics of Greece. The remainder of the book takes up the Turks themselves and the subject peoples from a

political and social point of view. Gelzer writes as a German, but as a candid and open-minded one who is not so taken with the Turks as are many of his countrymen. The book is highly entertaining, as well as instructive, and not merely serves as an excellent guide to one who visits Turkey with an eye to something deeper than the "sights" of Constantinople, but also is a real contribution to modern church history.—G. S. GOODSPEED.

Women of the Bible. By Eminent Divines; illustrated. (New York: Harper, 1900; pp. 188; \$2.) This volume comprises twelve essays on thirteen women of the Bible, Mary and Martha of Bethany being together the subject of a single dissertation. Most of these essays, while popular in style, are at the same time scholarly. Their statements are based on the results of the latest scientific criticism. The book is a symbol of the larger charity of our day. Jew and gentile, Protestant and Roman Catholic, Baptist, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Methodist, and Unitarian are all represented among the authors of these essays. We have also in this winsome volume a fine specimen of the highest art in book-making. The illustrations, beginning with "The Kitchell Composite Madonna," are all fitting and beautiful.

It is, however, a pity that Dr. Chadwick, in his article on Eve, goes out of his way to attack the doctrine of the Trinity and to belittle Jehovah. Nor do we think, notwithstanding Dr. Faunce's declaration in his essay on Deborah, that there are any intelligent people in Christian nations who "believe that religion can be propagated by gun and dynamite." Dr. Hillis, also, confounds Mary Magdalene with the woman mentioned in the seventh chapter of Luke, who was a "sinner." For such a view there is not a shred of evidence. And he strangely omits the note by which the evangelist distinguishes Mary Magdalene from all other women of the gospels, as the one "from whom seven devils had gone out." Cardinal Gibbons writes of "The Blessed Virgin Mary." While his essay is interesting, it is polemical rather than historical. By ingenious argument he labors to prove the sinlessness of the mother of Jesus.—GALUSHA ANDERSON.

Palestine in Geography and in History. By Arthur William Cooke. Two vols. ("Books for Bible Students," edited by A. E. Gregory.) (London: Kelly, 1901; pp. xii + 196, 254; each vol., 2s. 6d.) Mr. Cooke has outlined a definite plan for his historical geography of

Palestine, and has followed it with admirable fidelity. First he has described Palestine as a whole, dwelling on the salient physical features which have affected its history. Then he has taken up the principal divisions of the land in detail, discussing the relations of history and geography as illustrated in the districts and towns. In this way he has covered in this first volume the regions of Galilee and Samaria; in the second volume Judea, the Maritime Plain, and eastern Palestine. The work has been done in reliance on good authorities, G. A. Smith's *Historical Geography* being frequently quoted. Like most books of the kind, however, it is not always trustworthy in its historical statements. Several maps and a topographical index are furnished. It is a useful manual.—G. S. GOODSPEED.

The Drift of Biblical Research Past and Present. By Ira M. Price. (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1900; pp. 23; \$0.10.) After a brief sketch of the history of interpretation, this paper characterizes the critical attitude of modern times and mentions several permanent results of modern methods. Some statements of it are admirable and prove, what Professor Price's best friends have long known, that, while evangelical in spirit and tenacious for old truth, he is thoroughly progressive in his scholarly attitude and conclusions. For so brief a statement, perhaps some advanced critics are too severely handled. All scholars need to remember the dangers that accompany enlarged opportunity in study—and no opportunity is free from danger—but in this address the happy results of modern scholarship are so generalized, and the dangers accompanying it are so fully detailed, as inevitably to lead undisciplined minds to erroneous conclusions in regard to the value of critical study of the Scriptures and to unworthy judgments of scholars to whom we are all indebted for the improvements of which Dr. Price is so justly proud. There is far more danger that ordinary Christian people will reject the critical conclusions advocated by the author than that they will adopt the extremes of more radical scholars, and it would seem to the present writer the part of wisdom just now to emphasize the positive value of the results suggested in and by this brief address.—CHARLES RUFUS BROWN.

The Mosaic Tabernacle: Studies in the Priesthood and the Sanctuary of the Jews. By John Adams. ("Bible Class Primers.") (New York: Scribner, imported; pp. 112; \$0.20.) As a summary of Levitical legislation on these institutions, this little manual will be found

convenient. Its theory of their origin is taken from the Priest Code, without modification. The modern theory of their development is stated fairly, but only to be dismissed, and strong emphasis is put on the typological features. Parallel details in other religions are conceded, but not allowed the same significance, and Jehovah's adoption of the same, so far from proving a borrowing by Israel, shows Jehovah to have been above putting an undue value on originality.—*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, in acht Vorträgen dargestellt von Max Löhr. (Strassburg: Trübner, 1900; pp. 168; M. 2.) The author's critical position appears in his frequent citation of Wellhausen and in his treatment of the patriarchal tradition. Abraham is a personal character, but Isaac is surmised to be but a literary reduplication of Abraham, and Jacob a personification of the nation's history covering hundreds of years. In Moses we come again to a historic personality mightily inspired of God, and the same inspiration is reverently ascribed, in less degree, to the other great characters of Hebrew history, especially to Elijah. Liberal use is made of contemporary foreign records, but with caution, as where it is concluded that nothing certain in regard to Israel can be drawn from Mernephtah's records beyond the fact that Israel then existed. For post-exilic times the order of events is accepted as given in the common interpretation of Ezra and Nehemiah. The style is clear and forcible, at times brilliant, as in the treatment of the reign of Jeroboam II. and the appearance of Amos at Bethel. It would be difficult to pack more into so small a space so intelligibly and interestingly, and the book is well fitted to popularize the study of the Bible in the modern historical spirit.—DEAN A. WALKER.

Der Talmud, seine Bedeutung und seine Geschichte. Dargestellt von S. Bernfeld. (Berlin: Calvary, 1900; pp. iv + 120; M. 1.20.) The Talmud is still often maligned. Occasionally a would-be enlightener speaks of *Rabbi* Talmud, another quotes the Talmud by chapter and verse, and the information given is quite worthy of the informants. One thing luckily no longer happens: the Talmud is no longer burned. And if this delightful state of affairs is going to last for some time, one may hope that, with the help of history, philology, and the science of comparative religion busily at work on its multifarious aspects, the Talmud may really get to be read, better understood, and eventually appreciated. But, biding that far-off ideal event, the impatient general public may get from Dr. Bernfeld's brochure a

fair insight into the nature and meaning of the Talmud by means of a bird's-eye view of the history of its growth and fortunes from the earliest germ in the sopheric tradition down to our day. We can think of few men better qualified for the task than Dr. Bernfeld, whose name is a household word in modern Hebrew literature, who knows the Talmud at first hand, and who is in touch with the best critical thought of today. His book, though popular and in sympathy with his subject, is conceived in a purely scientific spirit. We suspect that Dr. Bernfeld would have no patience with anything savoring of apologetics. The style is brisk with occasional flashes of Renanesque brilliancy, and aglow with life and color throughout. The names of the chapters are: "The Oral Law," "The Talmud or the Gemara," "The Historic Development," and "The External Fortunes."—EPHRAIM FELDMAN.

The Last Years of Saint Paul. By the Abbé Constant Fouard. Translated with the author's sanction and coöperation by George F. X. Griffith. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900; pp. xiii + 326; \$2.) This book, which bears the sanction of the Roman Catholic church, is a companion piece to the author's previous work, *Saint Paul and His Missions* (1894). It treats of the life of the apostle, beginning with his first Roman imprisonment, but it also treats of the work of the other apostles and of the life of the Christian church following the course of events down to and including the fall of Jerusalem. The title of the book, therefore, seems too narrow. Not only does the book satisfy the demands of the censor, but we are told in the preface that the aim of the work is to show how the apostle, who had vanquished the gentile world, creating in every land churches and episcopal sees, urged by the Divine Master, comes to Rome to merge his apostolate in that of Peter, the supreme pastor. We are therefore prepared for the course of thought which the book will follow. The author does not set before us the processes of his reasoning, but merely his conclusions, so that the book will interest those who do not wish to be troubled by processes, but desire the infallibility of the printed page.—HAMILTON FORD ALLEN.

Die ersten fünfzehn Jahre der christlichen Kirche. Von Ludwig Albrecht. (München: Beck, 1900; pp. xi + 276; M. 3.) The historical material for this book is made up from the events recorded in the first twelve chapters of the book of Acts. The book is not, however, a running commentary on this portion of the New Testament;

it is rather a connected history in compact form, written, not for a small circle of students, but for the larger Christian public. The author believes firmly in the trustworthiness of his material and writes with a warm enthusiasm concerning the stirring events of the very early days of Christian history. The thirty-five pages of critical notes, appended to the volume, show that the author has made a careful and detailed study of the events covered by the book.—*Luthers Auslegung des Alten Testaments*, nach ihren Grundsätzen und ihrem Charakter untersucht an Hand seiner Predigten über das 1. und 2. Buch Mose (1524 ff.), von Karl Eger. (Giessen: Ricker, 1900; pp. 46; M. 1.40.) The purpose of the book is stated in its lengthy title, and it is entirely just to say that the author has accomplished, in a very creditable manner, what he set out to do. In selecting the sermons on Genesis and Exodus as the basis for the great Reformer's interpretation of the Old Testament, rather than the expositions of the psalms, the author has done wisely, for it is Luther's conception of the place of Israel in God's great plan of salvation which the author wishes to make prominent. As we read the many citations from Luther's sermons in the book under review, we are again reminded of the fact that Luther firmly believed Jesus Christ to be the one central figure of Old Testament history. The Old Testament saints are to him types of evangelical Christians who are justified before God on account of their faith in the Christ who was yet to come. Some of the passages quoted show that, great exegete that Luther was, he was not entirely free from the traditional scholastic methods of interpretation current in his century. His moral judgment, too, is sometimes at fault, as, for example, when he says that Moses was prompted by the Holy Ghost to kill the Egyptian, but that we must not follow Moses and do likewise. In such passages Luther has given speculative theology a good example of the drastic inconsistency to which a narrow, dogmatic view of inspiration may lead even a good man and careful scholar.—ALBERT J. RAMAKER.

Das Mönchthum; seine Ideale und seine Geschichte. Von Adolf Harnack. Fünfte verbesserte Auflage. (Giessen: Ricker, 1901; pp. 60; M. 1.20.) This is a lecture delivered twenty years ago in Darmstadt, and since then published in five successive editions. Written when Harnack was a young man, it retains its original style and contents, with the exception of a few emendations made to bring it into harmony with the present views of the author. Though brief, it is an

illuminating review of the chief motives and the entire history of Christian monasticism. This type of monasticism derived little, according to Harnack, from Jewish or pagan sources, but was a distinct product of our religion. In the eastern church it has exerted but slight influence upon history. In the western church, on the contrary, the only great reformatory movements were promoted by means of monasticism as the chief agent. Under its impulsion we have the organization of the Benedictines in the sixth century; the denial of marriage to the priests in the eleventh century; the appearance of the preaching orders in the thirteenth century; and the rise of the Jesuits in the sixteenth century. Such, in outline, is the argument of the lecture. It displays much of Harnack's fondness for historical generalization. The reader will be delighted with the easy arrangement into which all history falls under the glance of this great teacher, but he will not fail to pause at times and ask if a particular generalization is as sound as it is brilliant. Not all will agree with Harnack that the denial of marriage to the priesthood was a reformatory step. Nor will all agree with him that there have been no great reformatory steps in the history of the Roman Catholic church except those directly connected with the history of monasticism.—*Ulrich Zwingli's Ideen zur Erziehung und Bildung, im Zusammenhang mit seinen reformatorischen Tendenzen, dargestellt von Oskar Rückert.* ("Beiträge zur Lehrerbildung und Lehrerfortbildung," 17. Heft.) (Gotha: Thienemann, 1900; pp. 100; M. 2.) The writer restricts himself rigidly to the ideas of Zwingli, and does not consider his practical activity as a reformer of education, because this has been sufficiently set forth already by others. The ideas are copied from many of Zwingli's books, tracts, and letters, through which they are scattered, and are here arranged in an admirable order. Those which relate to the tendency of education in reference to general culture, to the state, and to the church, come first. Those which relate to the contents of a proper education follow. The treatise contains a multitude of good thoughts about education, yet it does not create the impression that Zwingli was a great educator like Melancthon. He was a leader in the effort to improve the schools of Switzerland, yet he was not very far in advance of his time. He was hearty in recommending the rod as a means of educating boys. He did not think it necessary to educate girls highly, and had a poor opinion of their sex in general. He believed in infant baptism largely because it pledged parents to see that their children receive a Christian education, which he thought the Anabaptists would be inclined to

neglect. For the most part his ideas on education were characterized by plain good sense, rather than by originality and genius.—*Martin Luther in seiner Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Wissenschaft und der Bildung*. Von Adolf Harnack. Dritte durchgesehene Auflage. (Giessen: Ricker, 1901; pp. 27; M. 0.60.) Among the many addresses with which the four-hundredth anniversary of Luther's birth was commemorated that of Harnack has achieved a certain distinction. It has reached a third edition. It exhibits his usual keen historic vision, and, though colored, to a certain extent, by his theological preconceptions, casts some new light on the character and work of the great reformer.—*Die Anschauung Luthers vom Beruf*. Ein Beitrag zur Ethik Luthers. Von Karl Eger. (Giessen: Ricker, 1900; pp. 162; M. 3.60.) The author was led to examine the teachings of Luther on this subject by his experience as a pastor. He observed an extreme churchly tendency on the one hand, and an extreme emotional one on the other, which together threatened to create a division among the Lutherans of Germany. He shows that Luther distrusted both these tendencies, and exalted the common life of faith in God and helpfulness to man as the very highest possible, to the disparagement of the claims of bishops and priests and monks and nuns, who professed to be more holy than others, and to the equal disparagement of enthusiasts who claimed to be especially favored by the Holy Spirit. There is nothing new here; the position of Luther was well known from the beginning; but the author has done a good service to the Lutheran church by exhibiting it afresh and by citing so many of Luther's utterances as to make it impressive.—*Die Bedeutung der beiden Definitorialordnungen von 1628 und 1743 für die Geschichte des Darmstädter Definitoriums*. Eine Studie zur Geschichte des hessischen Kirchenrechts. Von Wilhelm Diehl. (Giessen: Ricker, 1900; pp. 44; M. 1.60.) Diehl here discusses a question of history important chiefly to those who are interested in the government of the Lutheran church in Darmstadt. The pastors in this state were at one time equally low in scholarship and morals. By what means was their character improved, till its present excellence was achieved? By certain changes in ecclesiastical administration and in the examination of candidates for the ministry, all looking to greater strictness. These are set forth in detail, and their good effects traced with care.—*Edward Irving*. Ein biographischer Essay. Von Th. Kolde. (Leipzig: Deichert, 1901; pp. iv + 81; M. 1.40.) In this essay Kolde draws only from the well-known works on Irving, and chiefly from Mrs. Oliphant, Carlyle, and Jones. The

English and American reader therefore will find nothing new in it. But he will find a temperate, just, and sympathetic portraiture. Kolde regards Irving as "a mighty personality," "a man of God such as had not arisen since Knox, or even since Luther." He indulges in very little criticism of the movement which Irving followed, rather than led, though occasionally he shows us that the great man was obedient to people of very small natures, some of them shallow enthusiasts, and some of them intentional deceivers. I regret that he has not subjected the healings, the tongues, and the predictions to a more searching investigation. Incidentally he tells us that the Apostolic Catholic church, as that which gathered about Irving calls itself, has made great numerical gains in Germany in recent years, and is proving more successful there than in England, its native home.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

Papst Alexander VIII. und der Wiener Hof 1689-1691. Nach den Beständen des K. und K. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchivs und des Fürstlich Lichtensteinischen Archivs in Wien dargestellt von Sigismund, Freiherrn von Bischoffshausen. (Stuttgart: Roth, 1900; pp. xiv + 188; M. 3.) The author has made excellent use of manuscript materials which are preserved in the public and private archives of Vienna. He has carefully traced the relations existing between the papal curia and the imperial court during the pontificate of Alexander VIII., and endeavored to determine the various influences which rendered the pope more and more hostile to the emperor, until, just on the pope's death, the emperor had given orders to break off all diplomatic relations with him. The death of Alexander, however, changed the whole situation. The hostile and offensive attitude of Alexander VIII. toward the emperor was determined very largely by his struggle with Louis XIV., and by the nepotism which he practiced. When Alexander VIII. was elected he received as an unfortunate legacy from his predecessor, Innocent XI., a bitter struggle with France. This struggle had been precipitated by the publication of the so-called "Gallican liberties" in 1682. Although Louis XIV. was paramount in Europe, Innocent XI. did not hesitate to resist the claims of the French church. Alexander VIII. spent his pontificate in trying to make peace with Louis XVI. and the French church, but only on the condition that the rights of the papacy be preserved. His desire to conciliate Louis XIV. made it impossible for him to avoid giving offense in many little ways to the emperor, Leopold. The nepotism of the pope also stood in the way of many of the emperor's wishes. The policy of Alexander is justified

by the fact that his successor was able to win the victory in his struggle with France, while no evil effects resulted from the temporary quarrel with the emperor.—*La Faculté de Théologie de Paris et ses Docteurs les plus célèbres*. Par l'Abbé P. Feret. Époque moderne. Tome second : XVI^e siècle. Revue littéraire. (Paris: Picard, 1901; pp. vi + 422; fr. 7.50.) This is a brief and dry account of the writings of more than one hundred of the theological professors of Paris during the sixteenth century. As might have been expected, all the writings were polemical, and therefore have little more than an antiquarian interest for us. The author himself admits, as have other Catholic writers before him, that the French Protestants of the sixteenth century wrote much better than did their Catholic opponents. Of all the works discussed by M. Feret the sermons seem most interesting, chiefly because they reveal the bizarre taste of the pulpit of that time.—OLIVER J. THATCHER.

Giovanni Baptista de Rossi, Founder of the Science of Christian Archæology, by T. J. Shahan (New York: Cathedral Library Association; pp. 78; \$0.20); *Christian Education in the First Centuries*, by Eugene Magevny (*ibid.*; pp. 66; \$0.10). These two brochures are two interesting contributions to two subjects of perennial importance. All students of the origins of Christian art and literature welcome information concerning de Rossi, and Dr. Shahan has given in his neat little pamphlet a very fascinating account of the great archæologist. The origin and development of Christian education — 33-476 A. D. — are vividly sketched by the author of the second pamphlet.—J. W. MONCRIEF.

Wie kann der Protestantismus über den Katholizismus siegen? Von Karl Erdmann. (Berlin: Walther, 1900; pp. 46; M. 0.90.) The writer of this essay thinks that the Protestants will overcome the Catholic church when they abandon all theological doctrines which they now hold in common with it. They must abandon the doctrine of the Trinity, of the deity of Christ, of inspiration, of miracles, of hell, and of Satan. So long as they believe in miracles of any kind, they will lead the people into the Catholic fold, for there is no difference between the biblical miracles and the ecclesiastical miracles. But, further, if the Protestants come to regard Jesus as a mere man, however good and great, they will have to revise his ethical teachings and adapt them to our present knowledge of right and wrong. Accordingly, the writer enumerates the chief points at which the Sermon on

the Mount goes astray. The title of the treatise ought to be: "How Can the Protestants Most Quickly Surrender the World to the Catholics?"—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

Wie ist der Kampf um die Bedeutung der Person und des Wirkens Jesu zu beendigen? Zweite Streitschrift für den Frieden der Kirche. Von Emil Sulze. (= "Hefte zur Christlichen Welt," No. 48.) (Tübingen: Mohr, 1901; pp. 56; M. 0.90.) This little pamphlet is a spirited defense of the "Christianity of Jesus" against the assaults of modern atheism. The author, at the outset, distinguishes sharply between the Christianity as it has found expression in the generally accepted doctrines of the church and the teachings of Jesus concerning God and his kingdom. It is the latter that he defends; for the former he believes there is no defense possible. He contends that the Christianity of our day can dispense with the doctrine of the Trinity and also with the Christology of the old church. Both doctrines have served their purpose in that they fixed the attention upon God as the author of salvation. But they have, he reasons, also removed God and Jesus so far from the human soul that a hierarchy became necessary. He deplors the fact that the Protestant movement of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was not more radical in its opposition against these doctrines. There has, in consequence, grown up in Protestantism a theological hierarchy, from which the Christianity of our day must emancipate itself, if it would save itself from religious and ethical bankruptcy. The atheism of our day can only be successfully combated, he thinks, by completing the work, begun by Luther, in the domain of theology, and in this way bring to a more general acceptance the non-dogmatic Christianity of Jesus. The pamphlet is a fair sample of a large body of irenic literature now being written in Germany.—*System der christlichen Hoffnung*. Von Gottlob Mayer. (Leipzig: Deichert, 1900; pp. vi + 230; M. 3.) The author is of the opinion that the doctrine of the Christian's hope has not received the full treatment in speculative theology that it ought to have received, in view of the well-known fact that Christianity is preëminently the religion of hope. In the book before us he has given us the result of a close and thorough study of the whole subject of Christian hope, both as to its biblical and psychological basis, and as to its practical usefulness in everyday life.—ALBERT J. RAMAKER.

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THE LITURGICAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF NON-LITURGICAL CHURCHES.

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AT first sight it would seem that "non-liturgical churches," if such there be, can no more have "liturgical responsibilities" than non-vital objects can have vital necessities or activities. The two adjectives in our caption cannot be allowed thus to annihilate each other, and hence their exact force as here used must be defined at the outset.

In popular speech "non-liturgical churches" are those whose theory and practice of public worship do not involve a fixed and prescribed ritual of language and action, such as can be set down in a prayer-book or similar manual. Such fixed rituals are popularly known as "liturgies," as when we speak of the Episcopal liturgy, or the Lutheran, or the Roman Catholic. Hence the Episcopal church is constantly referred to as "liturgical," but the Methodist Episcopal, for instance, as "non-liturgical." We here adopt this popular sense of the word, applying it especially to those various branches of American Protestantism whose usages in public worship are not ordained by authority and are not usually reduced to written or codified form—denominations like the Baptists, the Presbyterians, the Methodists, the Congregationalists, and the like.

On the other hand, "liturgical" is here used in its strict scientific sense. All methods of conducting public worship in any of its parts, with whatever historic traditions and doctrinal prepossessions, constitute what may properly be called "liturgies," the differences between methods being specific rather than generic. Inasmuch as public worship in some form is an institution peculiar to the church, necessary to its existence, expressive of its character, and definitive of it as a social fact, all churches are really "liturgical," in spite of their diversity of doctrinal theory and of outward ceremony. Consequently, even those churches that are popularly called "non-liturgical" necessarily have "liturgical responsibilities." The contention of the present article is that these are so important and peculiar as to merit far more emphasis and study than is commonly supposed.

Throughout our discussion the word "liturgics" will be taken to cover the whole field of "the science and art of public worship," irrespective of methods of administration, and including in some way the highly specialized department of preaching. The word "liturgy," also, will be used to denote such a method, even if followed in a secondary service like a prayer-meeting or a Sunday school. And finally, the word "liturgical" (except, of course, in the expression "non-liturgical churches" or its opposite) will be used to mean "pertaining to public worship" in any of its methods or forms. This use of terms is not arbitrary or novel, as need not be said to those familiar with the elaborate modern treatises on the subject.¹

¹ The terminology of this field is unsettled. Two main contentions concern its fundamental aspects. One of these arises from the fact that there is excellent historical reason for confining "liturgy" to the celebration of the eucharist in certain ways and with certain doctrinal assumptions. A classical passage asserting this occurs in RENAUDOT, *Collectio liturgiarum orientalium*, 1716, T. I, p. 152; and the position there taken is constantly found today among Roman Catholic writers and among Protestants of the ritualistic wing. Such writers, however, believing that liturgics is the theory of the efficacious celebration of the eucharist in accordance with tradition, suggest no terms for the larger field of public worship in general, and indeed fail to perceive the scientific importance and attractiveness of that field. Ever since Schleiermacher (1810 and after) gave the impulse to the modern cultivation of the subject, there has been a constant effort to find a truly scientific point of view for the whole,

The first responsibility of "non-liturgical churches" to be emphasized is one that they share with all other churches, namely, the general responsibility of magnifying and dignifying public worship as one of the great institutions of Christianity. This would not need urging, were it not that freedom from liturgical prescription and the stateliness of usage that it is apt to encourage has often bred such indifference and negligence that the historic eminence of public worship in the economy of the church has been endangered or lost by default.

In amplifying this thought public worship will constantly be referred to as an "institution." By this it is not meant to throw into the foreground any assertion about a divine injunction in virtue of which public worship was originally "instituted." My thought rests rather upon the plain historic fact that public worship in some form has always been found as a feature of social Christianity—a feature having such definite characteristics, such organic relations within itself, and such continuity of evolution in and of itself that to it may be ascribed a kind of individual

and thus to establish its terminology and encyclopædia. "Liturgics" (*Liturgik*) is evidently felt to be the best general term, and is so used today by the majority of scholars, though with various qualifications.

Here appears the second decided difference of opinion, which is as to the relation of liturgics to homiletics. Are the two independent, or coördinate, or is the latter properly a subdivision of the former, preaching being a part of public worship? Without attempting any exhaustive citation of authorities, note that HAGENBACH, *Liturgik und Homiletik*, 1863, p. 1, distinctly ranks homiletics as a branch of liturgics, and so HENKE, *Liturgik und Homiletik*, 1876, p. 10; but, on the other hand, that ACHELIS, *Praktische Theologie*, Bd. II, 1891, pp. 7, 8, separates the two, as do KRAUSS, *Prakt. Theologie*, Bd. I, 1890, p. 41, and RIETSCHEL, *Liturgik*, Bd. I, 1900, pp. 5-7, both of whom, however, group the two together as parts of *Die Theorie des Kirchendienstes* or *Die Lehre vom Cultus*. It seems that this question would be simplified if it were only noted that homiletics, as commonly used, is a highly composite field, including practical applications of principles valid in all kinds of rhetorical, catechetical, forensic, and oratorical efforts, secular as well as religious, together with not a few matters that belong to hermeneutics and dogmatics. All these are not peculiar to homiletics itself nor definitive of it. Homiletics proper is distinguished by its materials of thought in relation to its special administration and its special spiritual objects. When these latter are carefully sifted, I believe that they show themselves to be so vitally related to the materials, conditions, and purposes of other exercises in public worship as not to be scientifically separable from them, though for pedagogical reasons it may be necessary to handle them as a somewhat distinct discipline. Too great a separation has already wrought unfortunate results in both fields.

vitality, and so that it may be treated scientifically and philosophically as a separate subject.

Every social institution has two conspicuous functions, the one exponential, the other formative; or, in other words, the one static, the other dynamic. On the one side it gathers up into concrete shape a group of conceptions and ideals from the past and the present, and sets them forth with true lyric unconsciousness, as if for the sake of self-expression only. On the other, it treats this expression with some degree of moral intention with reference to its effect upon the present and the future, and therefore with some sort of dramatic dexterity and force, as if for the sake of impression only. In both cases the mode of action is inherently artistic, not because it may choose to attach to itself forms from well-known fine arts, but artistic within itself and by its own law of being. Society is continually exhibiting itself and working upon itself thus.

Public worship as an institution of social Christianity is a fine illustration of this. It is first of all one of the chief tokens by which Christianity declares itself. In considering the church as the visible organ of Christianity it is not enough to analyze and criticise its creeds or even the monumental documents that lie back of them, or to survey its politics and plans of organization, or to tabulate the achievements of its individual leaders or its special fraternal agencies, or to summarize the effects wrought on single lives or on the total aspect of society. The church has also been constantly expressing itself artistically in its practices of public worship, has there concreted its abstract ideas into liturgical forms, and has thus unconsciously displayed its inner nature in a way both vivid and monumental. Common thought instinctively recognizes this. In estimating the character and depth of Christianity in a local church one of the first inquiries is as to the quality of its stated practices of liturgical observance. Denominations may be rightfully compared in part by a similar liturgical test. The Christian vitality of whole periods of church history is partly to be settled by a proper study of their liturgical characteristics. The measure of Christianity in its total magnitude as a social fact must somewhere include due

allowance for all the liturgical phenomena. The rightness of this as a scientific method should not be obscured by the peculiar difficulty of applying it comprehensively and precisely. The thoughtful mind can only continue searching until reasonably adequate information is secured and until real structural principles are disclosed that shall explain, for example, how diverse systems run back in fact to a common origin, and how infinite varieties of usage may spring from identical impulses at work amid different conditions. As these and other like explanatory considerations are brought to mind, the proposition stands forth in its true significance that public worship is everywhere and always an exponent, and a true and valuable exponent, of what Christianity really is as a social fact.

The complementary truth needs no less emphasis, that public worship is also a powerful formative agency, constructive, conservative, directive. As the Holy Spirit extends its operation among individuals, it immediately generates social activities. Conspicuous among these are the rehearsal and exposition of the literary documents which embody and symbolize revelation, with the common utterance of those sentiments of worship toward God, of fraternal fellowship, and of evangelizing zeal which the genuine reception of revealed truth inevitably produces. Such social acts are public worship, and in them the church visibly comes into being, whether in apostolic times or on any modern missionary field. This is by no means the only constitutive force, but it is one such force. Further, it would be commonplace to urge that the church, once constituted, is everywhere built up by means of public worship, since illustrations teem on every hand. Again, it is clear that a chief agency whereby any phase of Christianity is kept alive, developed continuously in accordance with its inherent tendencies, and preserved from abrupt alteration and from extinction, is the habit of routine social assembly for instruction, worship, and fellowship. Finally, it is obvious that the whole drift and progress of social Christianity are powerfully inspired and controlled through mental and moral influences radiating out more or less directly and deliberately from these social gatherings. The church, if not perverted, is always in some

sort of flux and growth. Among the forces in this transformation none is more important than the many-sided power proceeding from whatever social religious exercises may be steadily observed.

These majestic thoughts might be indefinitely expanded and illustrated. Clearly the "non-liturgical" churches have a duty regarding them, which duty, of course, they to some extent realize and fulfil. But in all churches the institution of public worship is liable to perversion, deformation, and distortion, so that it becomes a false exponent and an injurious influence. From these dangers "non-liturgical" churches are not exempt. Indeed, their ecclesiastical freedom, especially in our American conditions, seems to render them peculiarly susceptible to transient and senseless influences against which their constitution and traditions provide no adequate defense. It behooves them, therefore, to be especially watchful, lest they be undermined at one of the citadels of their true strength.

It would be a thankless task to point out in detail just what is here meant, and a needless one as well, since the purpose of this paper is not to pull down, but to build up. We might dwell on the prevalent confusion of thought, even among the ministry, about what public worship as a whole is for, and hence about the nature of the obligation for sustaining and participating in it. We might linger over specimen malformations of public worship, as in the practical substitution of a ministerial or didactic type for the more normal and comprehensive one, or in the prominence of sensuous and merely diverting efforts after a cheap popularity, or in meaningless conglomerations of incongruous elements chosen haphazardly, or in the maintenance in control of officials wholly unaware of the scope and seriousness of their work. We might deplore the tendency in many quarters to overlook or despise the demonstrative or exponential side of the institution, forgetting that the world's judgment of what Christianity is will be largely based on observations of just such more or less unconscious displays of itself in action. We might wonder at the singular lack of scholarly writing on liturgical subjects from leaders in "non-liturgical" churches and at the apparent neglect

of the subject (except in the one department of homiletics) in their seminaries and among their ministry generally. Some of these points will be touched upon later. They are mentioned here simply as random examples of the long series of indictments for culpable indifference about a great religious institution and for consequent feeble administration of it on the part of the churches called "non-liturgical."

A second responsibility of "non-liturgical" churches that deserves some attention, as we pass from the arguments just set forth to those to follow, is this, to take their share in the solution of the perpetual liturgical problem of preserving a true continuity of historic usage, while at the same time adequately meeting the exigencies of modern conditions. This problem always affords the chance for not a little difference of opinion and for some mere guesswork, but its discussion cannot be avoided.

The problem is somewhat recognized by the churches that now use a formal liturgy inherited from the past. The oriental churches show least appreciation of it, of course, since they have not yet come fully into contact with modern civilization and thought. The Roman Catholic church is outwardly oblivious of it, and might be thought to be entirely unswerved from the paths marked out centuries ago. But even this church under certain conditions, as here in America, shows an interesting willingness to tolerate irregular practices in details that are thought to be inconsequential. The Lutherans in Europe have never had, I believe, an absolutely prescribed liturgy, though there has always been a striving after uniformity between their numerous local bodies. The difficulty in achieving this ideal is evidenced by the interminable series of *Agenda* and *Gesangbücher* put forth during the last three centuries and the discussions about them still going on with ardor. The Anglican church, though legally rigid in the matter of prescription, is not wholly hostile to change and variety. One of the curiosities of its history is the resistless inroad into it soon after 1800 of various hymn-books that were entirely unauthorized. Another curiosity is the coëxistence within it today of liturgical practices so diverse as those of the

extreme ritualists and of the extreme low-church party. Her American daughter is fully as elastic in her inclusiveness, and at intervals makes novel advances of her own, as witness the recent revisions of the Prayer Book and of the hymnal, and the present attempt to see whether it may not somehow enjoy the benefits of the Revised Version.

In all these prominent "liturgical" churches, then, the old theory of an invariable body of liturgical rules and customs shows signs of weakening, and in all of them, particularly here in America, the individual minister or the individual congregation assumes the liberty of making rather serious omissions, and even insertions, according to some special desire or fancied necessity. None of these irregularities, however, seems to be proving subversive of the system to which it belongs, though often decidedly affecting its assumed rigidity. In the nature of things, a church having a prescribed liturgy cannot be expected to lay it aside abruptly or absolutely, nor, in truth, is such a step to be desired. But certainly no great and striking contribution to progress is likely to originate with any such church. In all these churches, if the alternative were presented either of maintaining its historic liturgical continuity or of deliberately giving it up, the decision would be almost unqualified in favor of the continuity, no matter what the present-day demand might seem to be.

Over against these churches stand the "non-liturgical" ones. Practically every one of them has come into being as a protest against some existing order, and usually an essential part of their initial reaction was a revolt from liturgical prescription at some point. Here in America the drift of church practice was conspicuously set by the New England churches, which were explicitly averse to the English Prayer Book services. In them there long continued an intense antipathy to anything savoring of those services. Indeed, the time was (and still is in places) when our "non-liturgical" churches were just as fixed in their own liturgical attitude of negation as was the church that enacted the Act of Uniformity, and were fully as bigoted in their way as those against whom they arrayed themselves. Following the lead of the Reformed churches generally, especially of the extreme

Zwinglian type, they rapidly settled into uncoded, but fairly definite, habits of liturgical usage and expression of their own, by which they were popularly distinguished, and to which they were devotedly attached. For them, therefore, the maintenance of historic continuity presently came to mean holding fast to the practices of the early New England churches and studiously avoiding what those churches disliked. This attitude still persists today in some degree.

But from about 1700 onward it began to be perceived, even in New England, that the idea of continuity need not be construed thus narrowly. As time has gone on, this notion has grown remarkably. Nearly every one of the leading "non-liturgical" churches of America is organically related to the Anglican church, and, farther back, all grew out of the mediæval church. Side by side with them today stand the Episcopal church, representing the former, and the Roman Catholic church, representing the latter. The argument for continuity may legitimately be construed as requiring some effort to utilize usages from either. This was exactly the position of Luther in Germany, as is well known. And this has gradually become the almost unconscious position of our American "non-liturgical" churches. In New England, for instance, it is curious to note the reëntrance, one after another, of many discarded liturgical features—the Lord's Prayer (as a stated formula), the reading of Scripture lessons (without exposition), the use of tune-books and "singing by note," the organ in place of the instrumental band, the recognition of the great feasts of the Christian year, the responsive reading of the psalms, the repetition of a creed, etc. Each of these was felt at the time to be a dangerous innovation, breaking the local continuity. All have been ultimately approved because tending toward a higher and broader continuity.

The situation, then, is this. Our "non-liturgical" churches began their liturgical development with a violent reaction against continuity. They speedily set up a new, limited continuity of their own. They have finally broken with this in deference to what they have thought were present-day demands,

but which really was an instinctive groping after the old continuity. They are now struggling with the ensuing complications. The difficulty comes from the fact that the steps that we have dignified as gropings after a lost continuity have generally been taken so blindly that they have often been external and grotesque, because not based upon proper knowledge or inspired by a positive principle of genetic development. A little patient study of a Roman breviary or a reasonable attempt to master the outlines of the great families of liturgies, of which both the Roman Catholic and the Anglican formularies are but single illustrations, would show how shallow and uninformed much current thought is. Only by means of the instructed sympathy with the deeper aspects of public worship as an institution that such study gives can anyone reach a position to determine what in "continuity" is essential and what accidental, and where in the whole historic field are the spiritual principles in which all devout believers may feel themselves to be in harmony.

And, on the other hand, what are called "present-day demands" need scrutiny. Some of them are plainly foolish, some apparently bad, but through many of them, so far as they are general and persistent, runs some instinctive yearning that the historical student recognizes as one that has expressed itself before. Oftentimes, then, the demands of the time can be shown to be a call for the restoration of some valuable continuity, though now newly phrased. It is the part of wisdom to sift these phenomena in a scholarly spirit, and to base action upon the results.

These last observations lead at once to our third proposition, which is that one of the responsibilities of "non-liturgical" churches is to offer to their ministry specially fine opportunities for liturgical study and to require that those opportunities be duly used.

The reason of this is obvious. Managing the services of a "non-liturgical" church is a problem unique and serious. The absence of a liturgy lays upon the young minister an enormous practical burden, which is often one he is signally

unready to carry. In the Episcopal church a candidate for orders knows that he must be familiar with the use of the Prayer Book, which, considering his acquaintance with it from childhood, is no great demand. He needs advice and training, of course, to safeguard him against gaucheries of every sort and against heedless deviations from custom. These are small matters. More important is it that he shall be instructed in the history and theory of the Prayer Book, since it is one of the "standards," a compendium of religion authoritatively issued and imposed. This latter demand, however, is not a liturgical one, but one that pertains to doctrine and polity. On the other hand, the ministerial candidate in a "non-liturgical" church is confronted with far more serious obligations. He knows that he is to be a maker, not only of a single service of public worship or a set of services, but of innumerable services year in and year out, and a maker, too, who is expected to dispense mostly with written helps. His two most conspicuous duties—not to speak of many lesser ones—are to arrange service-orders as wholes and to be a prayer-offerer. General tradition will help him somewhat with the first, and the study of various models with the second. In both he has probably had a little practice, and in both he will be much influenced by the actual patterns most accessible. In both he probably receives some general instruction in his theological course. But, if he is like the average seminary student, he has no adequate sense whatever of the seriousness of the matter. Usually only after some years does he awake to the magnitude and delicacy of his task.

The problem of the preparation of the liturgical leader in a "non-liturgical" church is not primarily one of rhetoric or of artistic taste, important as these are. In the formation of a public prayer, for instance, there are doubtless required a clear order of thought-groups, a progress of ideas, variously unified, a refined nicety of vocabulary and sentence-forms, a dexterous handling of metaphors and other figures, and an eloquent flow and warmth of expression at once dignified and simple, beautiful and unostentatious, spontaneous and restrained. But these are called for in all speech in public and formal conditions. Their

necessity in public prayer is only accentuated by the peculiar emotional atmosphere of the occasion. Doubtless the study of form in this act is pitifully needed by many ministers. But this is not the root of the matter. No possible study of mere rhetoric, with whatever analysis and imitation of model-forms simply as forms, or mere practice in framing written prayers as a private discipline, will suffice. Just as any one of the stately and sonorous formal liturgies may be rendered with exquisite outward elegance without being spiritually real or liturgically fine, so any so-called "extempore" prayer may be constructed with elaborate pains and spoken with captivating refinement without truly fulfilling the requirements of the exercise. Such outward finish may for a time imply inner richness, but in the long run such polished shells will be felt to be empty, and will then become repulsive because deceptive.

No; the problem is far more than a rhetorical one. It is also, for one thing, a problem of mental breadth and grasp. In prayer, for example, the expression demanded is of those thoughts and feelings that have to do with the sublime and infinite truths of the spiritual life, or, rather, with life viewed in spiritual perspective. God and humanity, time and eternity, holiness and sin, faith and doubt, love and hate, hope and despair, duty and desire, the microcosm of the self and the macrocosm of creation—these are the stupendous categories of thought with which the prayer-leader must continually deal. Here is the main reason why young ministers are apt to be blind to the size of the liturgical problem. Only after years of pastoral experience do they begin to measure the prodigious import of it all and catch the involutions of its details. Their preaching is callow and superficial because *they* are immature, and their prayers are narrow and feeble for the same reason.

But we must be quick to add that the problem is not simply one of intellectual scope or of mental maturity. As a liturgical leader the minister must do more than view religious things objectively. He may not stop with even a fine critical sense of their sublimity, or a keen analysis of their parts and relations,

or even a warm poetic sympathy with them as historically manifested. He must know them with more than an observer's eye. They must be his as a personal experience. They must be aspects of his own inmost life. When he prays in public he must not simply fulfil an official function on behalf of the church or a particular congregation, but he must pray out of his own soul, from the recesses of his own character. Public prayer to many a sensitive spirit is a positively appalling duty because of the intensity of self-revelation that it demands. The user of a formal, imposed liturgy may, perhaps, be somewhat delivered from this pressure; but the "non-liturgical" minister has no shield. For him every recurrent service is a crucial test—a foretaste of the great judgment to come.

If these things be so, the "non-liturgical" churches are bound to provide peculiar means of discipline for ministerial candidates and to insist strenuously that these means be faithfully used. It will be retorted, of course, that this is just what theological seminaries are trying to do. Admitting that this is true, it must still be urged that, as a rule, the seminaries do not clearly recognize the whole liturgical field. Except preaching, no part of public worship is adequately treated, and the subject as a whole is but imperfectly outlined. To make this clear, some details are needed.

Liturgics should be pedagogically approached from three sides, the historical, the philosophic, and the practical, and usually in this order. The history of public worship is by itself a discipline of bewildering magnitude, reaching from worship in ethnic religions, and from the contrasted or complementary systems of the temple and the synagogue in Judaism, through the simple but instructive usages of the apostolic age, through the remarkable reorganizations of the immediately succeeding centuries, with their union of features drawn from Roman politics and from Greek mysticism, through the vast maze of the liturgies of the eastern and western churches, through the new reorganizations consequent upon the Reformation in every branch of Protestantism, to the manifold living liturgical systems of the present time. It finds itself involved in many difficult special

questions, not simply of hierarchy, sacramental theory, lectionary, calendar, rubric, tradition, ceremony, and architectural and artistic accessories, including literary and poetic formulæ and music, but questions regarding the mighty influence of public worship upon matters like the canon of Scripture, the theory of polity, the maintenance and codification of doctrine, the impress of the church as such upon private and social life, and the whole relation of visible Christianity to civilization. It branches out into subordinate lines of inquiry, like the growth of church-building, the impetus given by public worship to what have become independent fine arts (painting, music, the drama, not to emphasize others), the immense literatures of preaching, prayers, hymnody, and, to some extent, even the now separate organizations of evangelization and philanthropy. No treatment of this vast historic field in ministerial education will be practically fruitful unless combined at every point with an acute, but liberal, criticism, analyzing phenomena so as to disclose their inner principles, their implications of unconscious or deliberate drift, their actual popular effects, and their present-day analogues.

Such a handling of the history of public worship must pass over into some formal discussion of its philosophy—not so much what this or that branch of Christendom has adopted for its working theory, as what seem to be the ideals instinctively sought or that deserve emphasis as lasting principles. For the study of this side of the subject, as for that of its history, we have a considerable array of treatises of various character, though here, as there, the teacher must be ready to be independent and original. There is need, for example, of a better connection between the new science of religion with the science of public worship as a manifestation of religion, of a fuller study of biblical materials so as to derive a more adequate biblical doctrine of spirituality on both its receptive and its devotional sides, of a more penetrating analysis of religious edification and religious self-manifestation as psychological processes, and of a general unifying method in definition and classification that shall integrate separate phases into one organic whole. Through such

a treatment it ought to appear how vital are the interconnections of theoretic liturgics with the philosophy of religion, with ethics, and with experiential theology.

The pursuit of these varied studies should be led firmly on into the discussion of the practical liturgical duties of the active minister. This means not only direction as to outward points of liturgical good order and good taste, the professional technique of liturgical usage, but much more the formation of broad and deep habits of thinking about religious things as they must be liturgically handled, and of a type of personal spirituality that shall be both sincere and charged with mental energy. Leaders whose warmth of feeling and strength of desire are divorced from educated and vigorous mentality often become liturgical sentimentalists and tend to promote an emasculated type of public worship. While they do much good, they fail to reach some of the most important classes of people, and their failure is often charged against Christianity itself. This failure is particularly noticeable in the liturgical field. Hence one of the great aims of instruction should be to build a right and traversible bridge from the history and theory of public worship to its administration. The common outcry against the uselessness of scholastic thoroughness should be forestalled by so concatenating the parts of the study as to bring forth some unmistakable efficiency. This is not achieved as yet anywhere, but scattered through our "non-liturgical" churches are single ministers who vividly indicate what might be done with many others of less positive liturgical genius.

It would be profitable if we could extend this argument in various directions. Perhaps none of these is more important than to try to enumerate the chief sources from which the active minister is to refresh and recuperate his liturgical life. No thoughtful student would fail to emphasize parochial activity as one such source. The liturge who is self-centered and self-developed only will always prove a lame minister for his congregation. He must know those in whose name and presence he serves with a peculiar intimacy, and through his knowledge of them, as well as from knowledge of men otherwise derived,

he must attain to some degree of identification in his own mind and spirit with the soul of humanity. A great liturgical master will invariably be distinguished by some touch of the universality which is the mark of a great poet. And ministerial preparation should not fail at least to indicate the way to understand this, if not to grow toward it.

The current of our thought now bears us on to a fourth proposition, which is that the "non-liturgical" churches ought to aspire to take a scholarly leadership in framing a broader and better system of scientific liturgics than is now available. This may seem a daring and even offensive proposition. But it is not unreasonable, and need not be urged improperly.

It is the "liturgical" churches, as has been said, that have produced most of the great treatises on liturgics. They have been specially conscious of a call to scholarship here, and the initiative has been naturally expected from them. The dominant motive has been an apologetic, self-justifying one. And such studies are not only logical, but strongly attractive, since the possession of a historic liturgy always stirs the sentiments about it. We may well give thanks for the eminent investigators that these motives have called out, and for the stimulus they have exerted upon others.

Most of these technical students have thrown historical inquiries into the foreground, but all have seen that some philosophy of the subject was inevitable. All have had, also, a practical end in view. Theory, history, praxis, then, are the three standard divisions in most of the greater books, though with widely varying proportions of value. On the whole, the theoretical division has tended to be the least satisfactory from a present-day standpoint.

Now, it is evident that the character of all such works must be strongly influenced by their authors' prepossessions. They have been brought up in the midst of a liturgical system of positive outward form, and their whole thought is dominated by the fixity of this existing system. Too radical views regarding liturgies, as regarding creeds, put the investigator outside the bounds of

common sympathy and perhaps of ecclesiastical toleration. Doubtless this hampering of the student is not much felt by him; but the result is inevitable. He cannot be fully sympathetic with what is outside his original circle of experience, and when he comes to constructive philosophy, he knows beforehand where he must come out.

If we were to say that an investigator from one of the "non-liturgical" churches is not at all hampered in similar ways, we should be promptly and rightfully challenged. He, too, has his prepossessions, finds himself in the midst of an actual system, and usually expects to issue from his study with his original views still tenable. But it may still be urged that in his case the chance for broader generalizations and more constructive suggestions is greater. This results mainly from two facts: first, that liturgical theories and practices in "non-liturgical" churches at present vary widely, and, second, that these are always open to rapid and extensive alterations. Such churches glory in their freedom, which means freedom to be or to become different from either the past or the present. They may imitate or adopt whatever is shown to be admirable, wherever found, and may even pass through half-revolutionary changes without loss of identity or momentum. This sense of freedom has had its profound effect upon their theological studies of every kind. That it has been, and is likely to be, abused can be granted freely. But its great utility for genuine scholarship must be conceded. If comprehensiveness and progressiveness are anywhere to be expected, it should be where the limitations of tradition and imposed regularity are least.

No one who has followed our argument can imagine that the writer is a revolutionist. The constant emphasis on the argument from history, on public worship as an "institution," on values in the historic liturgies, on "continuity"—all these show that his temper is far more conservative than radical. This does not prevent believing, however, that there is room for a larger and better theoretic handling of liturgics than is common. If so, the claim is natural that the impetus is to come from those outside any of the fixed liturgical systems.

Just what does this claim mean? Wherein, for instance, are existing treatises so weak? Toward what sort of a practical program are we to commit ourselves? Evidently, in the space remaining no elaborate answer can be proposed. Only a few rapid suggestions about points of method will be hazarded.

The foundations of a valid theory of public worship are to be sought historically, of course, though through a method somewhat different from that which has been most used. Public worship is one of the great historic manifestations and operations of religion, of Christianity in particular. As such its analytical examination should be directed, not simply upon what the institution has been outwardly or what circumstances gave it its external shape, but more upon what it represents of universal spiritual experience and what it accomplishes in the advance of essential spirituality. However intricate or portentous its outward qualities may have been, they are infinitely less important than its inner qualities and influence. If these latter can be analyzed, even tentatively, it is probable that they will point somewhat consistently toward certain permanent and universal elements in religion on which the general theory of the subject must rest.

Such study should begin with the Bible as a body of historic documents of an altogether unique character. The Scriptures represent true religion in operation at times when divine guidance was not only supplied with peculiar explicitness, but was interpreted by writers of peculiar illumination. The Bible introduces us to at least three distinct liturgical systems—those of the temple, of the synagogue, of the early Christian church. These seem to differ widely in outward features, as well as in doctrinal and other assumptions. Yet they can be shown to have an organic unity in certain inner ideas. The easy persistence of the Psalter as a liturgical manual from at least the time of the second temple and the early synagogue is a single striking evidence of this.

Far more important than any outward unity is the notable consensus of biblical references to the essence of religion as set forth in its social manifestations. This essence would seem to

be conceived always as dynamic, not static; as dramatic, not statuesque; as a living progression, not a lifeless thing. It is a relation of personalities wrought out by means of mutual interchanges and perpetuating itself indefinitely in such interchanges. In public worship, then as now, the divine participation in this process was concretely presented under forms of law, covenant, testimony, prophetic counsel, and the like, which together constitute the impressive side of the institution; while the human participation was similarly presented under forms of sacrifice, prayer, praise, declaration of trust, zeal, love, hope, etc., which together constitute its expressive side. Impression and expression, being socially manifested through human agents and occurring necessarily through media of communication (like language) that are constantly used otherwise in human intercourse, are interpenetrated variously by acts of fraternal interchange among the persons visibly engaged. These constituents of public worship correspond symbolically to processes of the spiritual life always and everywhere—the impress of God upon man, man's response to this impress, and the intercourse of man with man in the light of this divine-human intercourse. They also serve as media for the actual transmission of spiritual energy from God to man and from man to man—as efficient ethical means of grace.

The biblical literature, with its direct extensions in early documents, also supplies striking examples of the two great tendencies of public worship in all ages, namely, to shape itself primarily either with reference to its symbolic function, as in the temple system, or with reference to its ethical function, as in the synagogue and the early church. All later Christian developments have illustrated these same tendencies, the mediæval liturgies magnifying the former, the Reformation liturgies rather the latter. In our own day the two still stand somewhat arrayed against each other, though apparently the truth in both demands some recognition always.

These biblical clues to the essential nature of religion, and to the ways in which religion appears in public worship as one of its great institutions, give a foundation for a theory of liturgics,

a philosophy of liturgical history, and a scientific system of liturgical praxis. The best single term in which to summarize the basal conception is "communion" (*κοινωνία*), though this should not be used without recognizing that this conception, as biblically implied, and still more as liturgically manifested and applied, is complex. Its sub-concepts may perhaps be arranged under such captions (or their opposites) as kinship (the natural relationship of personalities), fellowship (their deliberate attitudes of mind toward each other), intercourse (the actual communications whereby these attitudes declare themselves), sympathy (the new resultant mental relation), and vital union (the mysterious spiritual relation that is the ultimate term of the series). Almost all liturgical history finds itself forced primarily to study the phenomena of intercourse, as this is attempted through language and other symbols, but it is a serious mistake to suppose that these phenomena do not offer many trustworthy implications regarding other parts of the above series. Especially do the literary formulæ of public worship, particularly the lessons, prayers, hymns, and official declarations that they contain, with the proportions and exact ordering of these exercises, shed a flood of light on the particular views of the whole process of communion held at different epochs.

Analysis of this sort forces the student sooner or later to deal, as best he can, with many vexed questions on which Christians are far from being united at present, such as the efficacy of symbols and formulæ in themselves (including the value of sacraments), the functions of official ministrants as intermediaries and guides in the process of communion, and the office of the church as a social organization in relation both to individual spirituality and to the spiritual health of the world, not to speak of other points at which liturgics proper interlocks with dogmatics and with polity. These questions have too often been dismissed as settled in advance or as incapable of any but provisional solutions. Yet they are fundamental questions to liturgics in all its departments. There can be no progress in liturgical science without meeting them frankly and independently. It is just here that the student from a "non-liturgical" church has a peculiar advantage.

Not less vexed, though perhaps not so difficult, are the questions of detailed praxis that present themselves. We can only mention some examples, without pausing for their proper discussion. One of the uppermost in many minds is the trivial one of whether prayer should be allowed to be formulated and, if desired, read, which one would think that the analogy of hymns might long ago have settled. Far more serious are others. What principle shall control in the selection of passages for stated Scripture lessons? How ought the constituents of prayer to be defined and classified with reference to the formation of particular kinds of public prayers? What mental attitudes do our hymns and anthems severally embody, and what general rules should guide in their actual use as liturgical exercises? What is the true function of responsive readings and creed recitations? What is the relation of preaching to public worship as a whole, and how ought this to govern its character and to react upon other exercises? What are the liturgical functions of choir pieces and of organ music? What principles should direct in the collocation of various exercises with each other, and what type of order of service is the best? What is the sphere and what are the possible forms of ministerial guidance and impulse in the actual handling of a service? What should be inculcated as congregational responsibilities, not only for the general dignity of public worship, but for personal participation in it? What is the exact status of the organist and choir as liturgical administrators?

From this list—which is far from exhaustive—we may take for brief special emphasis but one or two problems. One of these is the problem of the due analysis of typical formulæ of direct worship, like prayers and hymns. The callousness of many otherwise intelligent minds to the actual contents of both these kinds of formulæ is astounding. Worship is a complex process, and expressions of worship, whether prose or poetry, will be found to be made up of utterances that should be sharply distinguished, both to render the use of existing formulæ intelligent and vital, and to open the student's mind to the inherent possibilities of worship in all its forms. For instance, adoration

and thanksgiving are distinct devotional attitudes, of which the former is by far the more difficult of expression. Again, intercession is a highly specialized variety of supplication, to be used with a due sense of its peculiar solemnity. And, again, both prayers and hymns tend to run to a supplicatory extreme, which needs to be offset by remembering that ideal worship always involves much pure declaration, especially of gratitude, faith, love, hope, and zeal. Strict analytic study along these lines, if properly pursued, is sure to issue in a new interest in synthetic effort and a palpable enrichment of public worship.

Another special problem is that of preaching in its general liturgical relations. It is unfortunately true that our "non-liturgical" churches have often drifted into a one-sided type of public worship, simply because their practice has been dominated by those whose function as preachers has been too absorbing. The result is that services are constantly organized for the sake of the sermon, instead of the sermon being set in its true place as but one of the many elements of the service. This statement will not meet with favor from many ministers. Yet it might be discussed in a way to disarm objection. We can here only express the belief that an extremely didactic theory of public worship is always dangerous, because it produces an imperfect type of service, and, besides, tends partially to defeat its own end. The true ideal of public worship, we believe, is more comprehensive, and its true goal or capstone is the congregational worship which it is the precious office of preaching and all didactic exercises to inspire, quicken, and exalt.

A third special problem is involved in the last. What is the general object or purpose of public worship as an institution? Throughout this paper we have assumed that it is both declarative and ethical, both of these being most broadly construed. Protestant writers usually say that edification is the great purpose. This may or may not be right, according to the sense in which "edification" is used. For myself, that particular term seems not to be broad enough, if I rightly apprehend what the New Testament means by it. But, however this may be, that the question of defining the object of public worship has not

been as profoundly treated as it deserves and requires is shown by the conflicting views about it that are explicitly or implicitly held. A somewhat long and perplexing list of these might be given.

All these problems are theoretical, but have an evident importance in the adjustment of praxis. No general program of study in this field can be satisfactory that does not show cause for its existence by its rectifying, amplifying, and stimulating effects on liturgical action. It is too commonly supposed that this means the extensive alteration of the forms of public worship—the introduction of new exercises or ceremonies, the rearrangement of those now in use, or the modification of the tools and paraphernalia of action. By many it is supposed to mean the establishment of some universal, ideal liturgy. These popular timidities are needless. Liturgical progress should first of all recognize the necessity and immense utility of various methods, and should throw its emphasis on the profound enrichment of the thought, feeling, and purposes of official ministrants of every degree, so that through them habitual methods shall take on an altogether new inner fulness, depth, and intensity, and that all non-official participants shall be raised to a higher mental and spiritual standard of thought regarding the whole subject. The desideratum is not formal revolution, but essential vitalization; not ceremonial expansion, but the infusion of a transcendent value and energy into whatever outward method seems expedient; not a new uniform liturgy, but the awakening of such church life as shall be capable of indefinite liturgy-making of the highest quality.

Public worship as a historic institution has exhibited an incalculable practical power. It exhibits such power today, and will doubtless continue to do so on into the indefinite future. This power resides, not in the mere outward phenomena of its administration, but in what, under God, these phenomena serve to symbolize, suggest, and impart. Public worship, therefore, belongs to the always essential apparatus of Christianity as a supreme social force in the world. Whatever enthusiasm and efficiency the “non-liturgical” churches may have in augmenting

this force should be directed in some due measure, much more than at present, to the thoroughgoing analysis and mastery of the whole field of theoretic liturgics, because apparently they are freer than others to perceive and to develop its splendid inner richness.

In conclusion, we cannot resist the temptation to linger for a moment over what often seems like the most fascinating side of this subject. The substantial unification of Christendom hangs before us all as the grand hope of the future. Toward it many are striving eagerly by one path of approach or another. Now it is sought through some plan of governmental consolidation, now through the emphasis of great doctrinal identities, now through cordial fellowship in philanthropy or missionary conquest. By many it is strongly urged that its attainment can be hastened by the adoption of liturgical uniformities. These latter, indeed, have already come about to a remarkable extent in particular fields of liturgical formulation, notably in the vast and beautiful field of hymnody, with its associated field of music. It may perhaps be said to be taking place also in a less apparent way in the field of prayer. It has always been obvious in the use of the Scriptures, and generally in some prominence of preaching. Today there is a manifest breaking down of barriers in usage and a manifest increase of tolerance in thought where once there were deep cleavage and bitter antagonism. Romanist and Protestant no longer look upon each other's ways in public worship with such utter antipathy as once, and among Protestants of many names Christians pass freely from church to church without shock or distrust.

Almost everyone must see that this process of instinctive liturgical amalgamation is to go on increasingly up to a certain point, and that as far as it goes it will result in a true manifestation of "the unity of the Spirit" and thus in a more perfect exercise of spiritual power. But opinions will differ much as to how the process will fare when it reaches some of the more strenuously disputed features of public worship, and also as to just what relation this rather external process bears and is to bear to

the deeper divergences that at present separate the households of Christ's great family. The primary practical question is plainly whether the time has not come for Christians to join hands in penetrating more deeply into the inner meaning of these various usages which they now so often carry forward without much reflection and without adequate emotional fervor. If some of the views of public worship that are found among careful students can be popularized in some good sense, so that the average Christian consciousness shall begin to concern itself with the matter more profoundly and persistently, it would seem as if we should have an ideal way of working out unification as a manifest fact. For public worship, far more than mere doctrine or mere polity, or even than mere individual fellowship, has power in a concrete manner to set forth Christianity as an undivided living reality, having the attributes of its divine origin and the capacity to minister with a divine potency in the midst of human society.

THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH IN RELATION TO THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

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THE question whether the church has any duties toward the labor movement arises, not from theoretical, but from practical considerations. There has, indeed, been contact between the two in many ways, but the propriety of such contact has been denied. The movement among workingmen, it is said, has for its object the improvement of their social condition, and pursues this end through political means. But both the end and the means are foreign to the church, since the latter aims only at the spiritual welfare of man, and endeavors to secure this by exclusively spiritual means. Religion, it is maintained, has nothing to do with politics, and the intrusion of the one into the other has always had consequences of the most questionable character. And so far as political economy is concerned, Jesus himself had barred all attempts to enlist him in its cause by the word: "Who made me a judge or a divider over you?" (Luke 12:14).

Who would doubt the correctness of these views in general? The danger of seeking to gain political ends by spiritual means, or spiritual ends by worldly weapons, is seen only too clearly in the Roman Catholic church. Nevertheless, the case is not disposed of by these generalizations. The history of the nineteenth century forces problems upon us that can be solved only by a more careful inquiry into the points of contact between the task of the church and the labor movement. Was not the Chartist movement in England a labor movement? And this movement could not be suppressed either by force of arms or by political measures; the solution of the problem began only when Christians espoused the cause in the name of the gospel. And in Germany it was Wichern, the father of the revival of the work of the church in Inner Missions, who said in the celebrated memorial

of 1849 that the church should enter actively "into the perplexing problems and questions of modern times; only thus could it be enabled to give practical proof that nothing human is foreign to Christianity, but rather that all human things are very near to it; indeed, it is these first of all which it desires to permeate with the sanctifying and transforming power of the gospel, in order to accomplish that which must remain impossible to every other power and wisdom that attempts to solve the problem without the gospel. For the necessity of such a participation of the church in the solution of this social question, which is more insistently demanding decision than ever before, nothing could speak more decidedly and convincingly than the fact that just in relation to these problems the spirit of antagonism to Christianity has become such a power as to set the different classes of society in violent opposition to one another."

At that time also V. A. Huber exhorted the church not to shut itself up in cold indifference toward the developments and problems of public life. The conditions of the poor and of the workingmen required to be met, not only by works of charity, but also with clear knowledge of their circumstances, and of the accompanying political and economic forces. The exponents of social and political economy, Knies, Roscher, Schäffle, and others, demanded of the church, school, etc., that they come forth from their seclusion, and acquire a knowledge of political economy and help to conquer the materialism of modern political science. In England, through the influence of Christian socialists, the labor question had been grappled with as far back as 1840. It was clergymen that called attention to the condition of the laboring classes and made social amelioration a Christian duty. Nor did they insist upon aid for the workingmen through charity, but upon a transformation of economic conditions. They met with great success, and have helped to give to the whole science of social and political economy a new direction.

In Germany this science had already freed itself from the principles of selfishness which had prevailed in the doctrines of

liberalism. The German scholars mentioned above had already insisted upon the necessity of ideals for the economic life. But when men identified with the church tried to meet their demands, when Todt inquired what points of view for the estimate of socialism are to be derived from the gospel, when Stöcker began to preach, not only to the court and the higher classes, but also to workingmen, and to inform himself concerning their interests and demands, then there arose violent opposition. It was declared that the church should not meddle with economic questions. And this is the situation today. The difference of opinion on this question is still very great in Germany.

And how is it in America? The United States constitutes a great experimental field where for more than a hundred years the most various communities have tried to realize from the Christian point of view that which is also the aim of the labor movement, viz., the elevation and happiness of the laboring classes, and to secure a satisfactory relation between different classes. I refer to the numerous communistic societies. These show us that there must be a possibility of contact between the work of the church and the labor movement. And even at the present time, in view of the violent convulsions from which the whole public life often suffers through the struggles of workingmen to improve their condition, the question thrusts itself upon us: Can the church, which in America is a power influencing public life, do nothing whatever to exercise a healthful influence upon these convulsions? Are the task of the church and that of the labor movement two phenomena running so perfectly parallel to each other that their lines touch or cross at no point?

It is, therefore, the task of theology to shed light upon this practical question through theoretical inquiry. And this is to be done by elucidating critically both the nature of the function of the church and the impelling forces underlying the labor movement in order to find points where they touch. And probably I am not mistaken when I suppose that my readers desire information concerning the second of these questions more than concerning the first. Therefore I shall begin with a presentation of the underlying forces of the labor movement.

The labor movement arose in Europe and is a part of the great social revolutions which, since the eighteenth century, have permeated all countries. Before this time the individual estates and classes were fairly well differentiated; they each had their own particular functions, duties, and rights, wherein they were protected by law. But now new economic conditions arose, into which the old arrangements did not fit. The citizen class, the so-called third estate, did not possess the rights which were its due according to the importance to which it had attained in public life. This led to the struggles of the French Revolution, in which the third estate came out victorious. Henceforth money or property became the determining power. Capitalism, that system under which influence in the state and political power are determined by the amount of wealth which one possesses, now arose.

However, with the beginning of the Revolution a fourth estate had arisen — as a consequence of the development of the trades into industries through the introduction of machinery. A new class of men had entered the field, the workingmen, who were in the market with their physical labor, and, wherever this was accepted, worked under a voluntary agreement for wages. These workingmen sided with the third estate in the Revolution, but they did not realize till about forty years later that their interests and those of the third estate were totally antagonistic. According to the system of capitalism, they had no political influence whatever, because possessing no property, and yet they began to realize of how great importance they were under the new conditions. St. Simon first pointed out the difference between the *bourgeois* and the *peuple*, the former the property-owners and rulers through the power of money, the latter the dependent laborers, who, as the weaker party, were always defeated in any free wage contract. In England, where industry had the greatest development, the sad conditions of the laboring classes first appeared in a strong light. In France the workingmen first formed themselves into a political party and now we find such parties in all European countries.

The common feature in the effort of all combinations of

workingmen in Europe is that they endeavor first of all to render secure their condition and to protect it against the changes of industrial life, in which not only wages fluctuate very much, but crises and stagnation in business also occur, which, forcing idleness upon thousands of workingmen who are dependent upon the daily work of their hands, bring them to the verge of destruction. They endeavor to secure their object through coalition, through the combination of all such as have similar interests. At first this was attempted through purely economic combinations, consumers' unions, and associations which were intended to make existence easier for the man of small means as over against the great industrial corporations. Later the same end was sought to be accomplished through labor unions, *i. e.*, combinations of all the workers in one trade throughout the country, in order that in making his contract for wages the single worker might not be compelled to deal with the powerful capitalist, but might make such contract on principles uniform for the whole mass of workers, in which case the negotiations would naturally issue in more equitable results. Through such combinations the workingman escapes the necessity of being forced to sell his labor for whatever price, however low, may be offered by industrial concerns. Through refusal to work (a strike) higher wages can now also be secured.

The labor movement exerts itself either in the purely economic sphere, in the trades, the strikes, the brotherhoods that seek the improvement of their conditions; or else upon the political field, by sending representatives to legislative bodies, in order in the very framing of the laws to represent the interests of workingmen.

It is self-evident, however, that their effort is now no longer directed simply to obtaining protection against the insecurity of their condition, but also toward an elevation of the class itself, toward securing higher wages, shortening of the hours of labor, improvement of the conditions of life, better education of all members of the working class.

It is peculiar to the labor movement in Europe that from its beginning it bore, not only a revolutionary, but also an

anti-religious character. It is not difficult to account for this fact. The modern labor movement arose at a time when the religious life of the church was at its lowest, in France as well as in Germany and England. In periods of religious vitality economic endeavors easily associate themselves with religious aims. The clearest example of this is the insurrections of the peasants (the working class of that time) before and during the Reformation. Those insurrections present many resemblances to the labor movement of the nineteenth century. Economically, it was then as now a progressive age. There was a large class of poor people who were benefited but very slightly by this progress, and nothing but hopeless ruin was the prospect that confronted the great mass of them. Then as now there was a coalition of the weaker elements of society which tried to maintain their existence through united exertion. Then as now the air was full of undeveloped theories of strongly communistic coloring about the improvement of society. But as respects the attitude of the movement toward religion, what a difference between that and the present time! Then appeal was made to divine justice, to primitive Christian conceptions, to evangelical liberty; and coupled with this was the demand for the preaching of the unadulterated gospel.¹ But today we see only hatred against the "parsons," derision of religion, and fierce opposition to all the work of the church.

The explanation of this difference is found partly in the character of the times, partly in the different attitude of the church. In regard to the former it is worthy of note that the first social-revolutionary phenomena of the nineteenth century coincide with a violent apostasy from the Christian religion and its conception of the world on the part of large portions of the more educated classes. Materialism, based upon an abuse of the natural sciences, gained great influence. And, though the sixteenth century was not free from unbelief (to mention only the Italian Humanism), nevertheless today the interrelations of the different classes of society with one another and the publicity

¹ See my work, *Die christlich-socialen Ideen der Reformationszeit und ihre Vorgeschichte*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1897.

of our life through the rise of the press have made things very different from what they were then. The peasants of that time knew nothing of the epicureanism of the educated, while today every workingman has easy access to all that is taught by skeptical professors, poets, and philosophers.

In addition to this we have the different attitude of the church. To be sure, the discontented workingmen of the sixteenth century rightly saw in the official church their enemy. With its continued demand for money and its acquisition of real estate, it was lying like a mountain-weight upon the economic life of the people. But at the same time they knew of other exponents of Christianity, *i. e.*, the Reformers, that were very friendly to them, who, for ecclesiastical reasons rising against the hierarchy, by this furthered their ends also. Thus the whole mass of workingmen, though confusing the nature of evangelical liberty with their own desire for freedom, joined hands with the Reformers. In the middle of the nineteenth century, on the other hand, the labor movement found itself in the presence of a church taken up with interests far other than the welfare of the people. Theological scholasticism built systems, consumed itself in strife over ritual formulas; but when men like Wichern pleaded for the work of Inner Mission, it protested loudly against such a menace to the existence of the church. Unfortunately those parties which in fervent love and fiery zeal entered the work of the Inner Mission had only to a very limited degree the insight necessary to estimate and understand the forces active in the labor movement. So the latter, left an orphan by the church, grew into an abnormity.

And when the church awoke to its duties in regard to social questions, it was too late to give the entire movement a different direction, to change the general situation to correspond with it. At present the leading spirits of the labor movement on the European continent are anti-Christian fanatics, who show far more zeal for their political and philosophical theories than for the practical needs of the workingmen. Besides this there is the fact that among these leaders there is a large number of Jewish journalists, who, having cast off their own religion, retain

only their hatred of Christ. These things explain the opposition of the European labor movement to the church.

If now we turn to America, we find that in the United States the labor movement has had an entirely different history.* There the labor problem is much more recent. In Europe this problem arose from the fact that the masses of workingmen, confined in relatively small countries, in which industries developed, were driven to the necessity either to emigrate or else to work for any price and put up with any dependent condition imposed upon them. In America the industrial regions along the coast had back of them immense territories with the most varied opportunities for obtaining a livelihood. The population was much less stationary. It had come from the Old World in order to find more favorable circumstances than at home, and, if conditions were not pleasing on the coast, it would go farther inland. On this account the consciousness of the solidarity of the class and of common interests could not develop itself so soon. Not until colonization had progressed farther and great centers of industry began to be formed also in the interior could conditions arise similar to those of the Old World. And with these, coalitions of workingmen arose there also. The trades united, and trades organizations were formed. These combined again into more general unions, and thus in 1866 the National Labor Union was formed. However, all the older unions, the Knights of Labor, the American Federation of Labor (1881), differ considerably from the labor parties of Europe formed by the social democrats. Not, indeed, that the American workingmen are more modest than their European brothers; for

*Of course, I am not acquainted with it from personal observation, but I rely on the writings of SARTORIUS VON WALTERSHAUSEN, *Der moderne Socialismus in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika*, 1896; and by the same, *Die modernen Gewerkschaften*, 1886; KULEMANN, *Die Gewerkschaftsbewegung*, 1900 (North America, p. 159); LEVASSEUR, *L'ouvrier américain*, 1898, and by the same writer, "Du degré de bien-être de l'ouvrier aux États-Unis," in the *Journal des Économistes*, 1897, p. 29; in the same journal the "Lettres des États-Unis" by GEORGE NESTER TRICOCKE, 1900, Vol. 41. I refer further to PAUL DE ROUSSIER, *La vie américaine*, 1892; and to STEAD, *The War between Capital and Labor in the United States* (translated into German by Pannwitz, 1894); MONDANI, *La questione dei negri nella storia e nella società Nordamericana*, 1898; ROCHETIN, "Les œuvres d'assistance mutuelle en Amérique," in the *Journal des Économistes*, February, 1898.

the former make higher demands upon life, their wages are better, and their manner of life is much less simple. The assertive self-consciousness, stimulated by the immense economic development and the democratic form of government, the entire absence of all conservative-patriarchal relations, lead to a rather reckless procedure on the part of the labor unions. Strikes are frequent and violent, and though peaceful arbitration is advocated, yet most unions have their own strike funds.

Still, these unions are not carried away with materialistic principles, and the movement has not developed into one hostile to the government, as is the case in Germany, nor has it acquired such proportions as to become dangerous to the rest of the population. Most of its leaders are strictly religious, often leaning toward the temperance movement. It is, indeed, a peculiarity of the English-American nature that a religious trend dominates these organizations. This possibly explains the tendency of their unions, though they aim chiefly at economical results, to take on the semi-religious appearance of an order, with every sort of fantastic ritual.

Lately, however, the American labor movement has taken on a new aspect through the increase of the German element. The more German workingmen immigrate, the more do socialistic principles spread, and that in their most violent and most developed form, viz., anarchism. For a time it even seemed as if the socialist element was to become dominant among these workingmen. But the anarchistic excesses brought them to their senses, and it can be said that the American labor movement still differs from the European as sketched above. When, in 1896, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was formed, it was in opposition to the "corrupt and unprogressive" older unions. This phrase expresses the hatred which the materialistic social democrats feel toward the American workingman, and their anger that he will not in general permit himself to be won over to their revolutionary and anti-Christian schemes. The Knights of Labor are said to contain relatively the largest socialistic element; but even among them this is in the minority.

It is true that communistic ideas have entered to some extent

into the largest labor unions, but, nevertheless, the opposition to socialism in the form of the social democracy has not ceased. Communism is simply a theory as to the best disposition of property, and the adoption of it at some time is one of their aims, yet they do not attempt to introduce it by force, but are content to hope that the insight of society will finally lead to it. The American workingmen and labor leaders are too practical to allow such utopian ideas to shape their conduct. It is also significant that the Socialist Labor Alliance consists chiefly of unskilled workingmen, who naturally have much less interest in peaceful development than members of the trades unions proper.

Still, all labor movements, no matter how differently they may develop in America or Europe, and with what shades of divergence again in the separate countries of the latter continent, have common characteristics. Everywhere the free wage-earners, who form one of the most numerous classes of the people in modern times, have come to a consciousness of their solidarity. Everywhere they have learned to know that there is strength in union, and they use their united strength to procure for themselves a firmer and higher economic condition—a condition secure, on the one hand, against the pressure to which they may be subjected in the natural relation between capital and labor, and against the precariousness of their existence, which is frequently conditioned upon economic circumstances over which they have no influence whatever, such as slackness of business and times of enforced idleness; a condition, on the other hand, higher than the workingman could secure single-handed, since he would be forced to sell his labor for the smallest wages offered, which might be sufficient in times of health to provide for his family, but is not calculated with a view to protect him against sickness, old age, special misfortunes, and unexpected times of need.

Security and elevation of life—this, then, is the end, and, we say, the just end, which workingmen endeavor to realize. And this elevation has for its object not alone higher wages; it also aims to obtain sufficient time for family life, a share of the blessings of civilization, the enjoyment of so much luxury as is the

just due of the class, proper homes, and opportunities to foster the spiritual and intellectual life, etc. Of course, all lazy and easy-going workingmen will fall in with these ideas, but it would be a great mistake to call all who aim at these things lazy, indolent, and pleasure-loving. For all those aims and desires are in themselves noble, good, and worthy of endeavor. They are all human, and such that every man, from a reasonable point of view, is in his own way, to some extent, entitled to them.

Having now become acquainted with the labor movement in its general outlines, we can turn to the question: Where does the work of the church come into contact with the labor movement? But first of all we must come to an understanding as to the meaning of the word "church." In a Roman Catholic periodical this would not be necessary. There it would be taken for granted that it refers to the clergy, and the question would be: What have priests, pastors, and bishops to do with the labor question? Among evangelical Christians, however, the word "church" has a different meaning. Since Luther's time we know that in the church of Jesus Christ no class has a monopoly of the preaching of the Word, and that even the layman needs no human mediation to come to God, and that everyone who has received grace has with it also taken upon himself the duty of witnessing for Jesus Christ. When, then, we ask: What sort of task has the church in reference to the labor movement? we mean: What demands, in accordance with the gospel, should evangelical Christians, be they clergymen or laymen, make upon the labor movement, what aims should they inculcate, and what influences should they exert over it? Everyone should be free, indeed, to express his wishes or follow his theories because the one or the other seems useful or practical. A clergyman may do so, or a layman; but in that case neither would be doing the work of the *church*. Moreover, should, for instance, a synod, or an individual clergyman, by virtue of his office, lay down a particular method for the employment and remuneration of workingmen, because present economical conditions demand it, they would overstep the limits of their calling. Should, on the other hand, a synod urge all employers of its district to adopt,

in the name of the gospel, and in the interest of Christian faith and love, a better arrangement in reference to their employés—this would be an action of the church in reference to the labor movement. And not less would it be so, should a layman, a worker in the Inner Mission, a writer, a statesman, or a working-man himself, in the name of the gospel, make this plea. Our question, then, from the evangelical point of view, is: Have we, as the representatives of the gospel of Christ, to set up standards for the labor movement, to make demands upon it? Have we, as Christians, to pass judgment upon its aims, reasons, and means, and are we under obligation to exert an influence upon it, either to resist or to promote it?

We should certainly answer these questions with an unqualified "no," if purely economic interests were at stake; if, as many erroneously hold, political economy were identical with technical science. The well-known German theologian Beyschlag, who was a zealous opponent of Stöcker and his work, showed himself so ignorant in his polemic that he could write the sentence: "*Den Theologen ginge doch zum Beispiel die Technik des Bergbaues nichts an.*" This is undoubtedly true. But it is a mistake to suppose technology and political economy are the same thing. Technology deals with the preparation and treatment of materials. It would be absurd to determine on the basis of the gospel the kind of leather out of which shoes are to be made. But it is childish to think that, such an absurdity removed, the duty of the church in the social sphere is settled. Political economy, in distinction from technology, treats rather of the attitude of man toward worldly goods, and toward his fellow-men with reference to the attitude toward these goods. It treats of man's attitude in general in the production of wealth, its use and distribution. But these are questions (topics) of ethics. Ethical ideas which prevail in a nation or in a class of people influence the method of production, the distribution and use of wealth. The Christian preaching of love to God above all things (above all earthly goods) and of love toward one's fellow-men is, therefore, of great importance for the labor movement. This is also the view of political economists, and they

declare themselves to the same effect. "Deux peuples, qui n'adorent pas le même Dieu, ne cultivent pas la terre de la même manière," says Ribot. And Schmoller once said that even in the way in which a man drives a nail his moral status may be seen.

Because the labor movement is a social movement, and because in social movements the moral attitude of man toward earthly goods and fellow-men is decisive, and because this moral attitude is most decisively affected by Christian ethics, we conclude that the church necessarily has a duty also toward the labor movement. She must plant those virtues which will guarantee to that movement a healthy development, heavenly-mindedness, brotherly love, righteousness, industry, contentment, and love of family. It is her duty to proclaim and establish the Christian teaching of man's duty to rule the world, its teaching in regard to labor, marriage, and government. In her preaching she is to enter into all those interests which move the world of workingmen, in order to permeate and transform it by Christian truth. The first important point of contact, then, between the labor movement and the work of the church is the disposition. A right disposition on the part of employés as well as of employers is what is necessary, and the church offers to help bring this about.

So far, no doubt, we can count upon the general assent of all parties, for the universally acknowledged duty of the church is the cure of souls. This is accomplished by preaching and pastoral visitation, so far as their object is the accomplishment of moral results. But this is not all. The church is interested, not only in the disposition of the individual and its rectification, but also in actual social conditions. As the representative of the gospel, as an institution for the cure of souls, she cannot be indifferent as to the conditions in which workingmen live, and, therefore, she must be interested in the efforts for the improvement of these conditions.

We have now arrived at the central point of our task. All depends upon a right understanding of the proposition concerning the interest of the church in the conditions of the workingmen. We shall first consider what is not meant by this proposition.

In all countries where labor movements have appeared there have been people to whom these were very unwelcome. They perceived that they could make more money if the workingmen would put up with anything. And they have been bold enough to hint to the church that its duty should be to exert all its influence to keep the workingmen "content." The church, they have said, should preach to workingmen heavenly-mindedness, in order that employers might the better gratify their desire of worldly pleasure. Does not Christianity teach obedience to government and to those in authority? Does it not teach contentment and patient forbearance? Does not Christ say: "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth"? And does he not warn against the danger of riches? Therefore, good workingmen, show yourselves true Christians in bearing patiently all adversity, and comfort yourselves in privation with the hope of eternal life! Such preaching as that to combat the labor movement has been expected of the church. It is the deepest insult that could be offered her. Carlyle says of this: "Think of a man who recommends the preaching of faith in God in order that the workingmen in Manchester may remain content at their looms. . . . I would sooner furnish milky ways and planetary systems for the guidance of herring ships than preach religion in order that the constable may remain possible." And Johann Tobias Beck spoke of men who would like to use the gospel as a "heavenly fertilizer for their terrestrial dung-beds." Contrary to this, we affirm that the representatives of the gospel have no interest whatever to maintain the present or any other social or political order. The church of Jesus Christ can prosper in a republic as well as under a monarchy, under serfdom and a feudal system as well as under a thoroughgoing democracy. Social organizations change with the revolutions which come in the course of history, and it never can be the duty of the church to preach: Whoever is for Christianity must be for the old order of things.

Therefore it is never *a priori* the duty of the church to oppose reforms, even if they serve to give a whole class of men greater independence. It is to act under a totally wrong

conception to attempt to apply the command of obedience to government to the relation of workingmen who are only under a voluntary wage-contract with their employers. Therefore, for example, a strike cannot be condemned off-hand. It is rather a necessary and morally justifiable weapon of the workingman in his endeavor to secure such an elevation of his class as is in accord with the condition of the times. I say, in accord with the conditions of the times, for naturally there are also unjustifiable strikes, hopeless from the beginning because the condition of the specific industry does not immediately permit a raising of wages. In spite of this a strike is undertaken simply to make the defeated workingmen dissatisfied with society in general—the favorite method of the social democrats. But the church must not smother the effort of the laboring class for progress and elevation; on the contrary, so far as she is concerned in it, she can only aid such effort. Workingmen must see in the representatives of the gospel their friends, who wish them well, rejoice in their progress, and, when occasion arises, vigorously reprove their excesses.

Christianity spreads culture wherever it goes. It teaches uncivilized peoples to read, gives them a language and literature, begets in them the desire of civilized life, love of cleanliness, neatness, order, comfort, and the joys of family life. If now a class of workingmen finds itself in a condition where they cannot enjoy family life because the hours of labor reach far into the evening, a condition where wages are not sufficient to educate the children and provide proper homes, where even the wife and children are compelled to work early and late—ought we not to rejoice if from such a condition they should rise to a higher one, to one that permits the individual workingman to spend some time with his family, and to cultivate his mind and soul? However, it is to be remembered that it will seldom be our task to awaken the desire to obtain this condition, because, unfortunately, this has already been done by agitators in the wrong way. It will rather be our duty to guide and ennoble; at any rate, it cannot be our duty to suppress for the sake of religion every desire of workingmen for the improvement of their condition.

One reason why the church, in Germany at least, and also in England up to the time of the Christian socialists, suffered the suspicion and hatred of the workingmen was because its representatives felt themselves called as a sort of ecclesiastical police to oppose every movement of dissatisfaction among them, without inquiring into the reasons of such dissatisfaction. What confidence can workingmen have in a pastor who compliments the manufacturer on his enterprising spirit shown in the extensive enlargements of his business, who contentedly dines with him in his new villa, but when the workingman's wife complains to him of the difficulties of providing for the children, the starvation wages, the straitened home, etc., offers her only the comfort of heavenly patience, without making any attempt to induce the employer to fulfil his Christian duty, and in addition discourses upon obedience to government? He uses categories which belong to the seventeenth century, and is not conscious of the change of social conditions.

We reject, then, emphatically the view that the church's interest in the labor movement is only to suppress it, and that the point of contact between its duty and that movement is that thus the opportunity is given to preach sermons of censure to workingmen.

But we must no less reject the opposite view, which would make it the duty of the church to further the labor movement by taking sides with the workingmen. I have said above the church does not only have an interest in the inner life of the individual, but also in social conditions and relations; yet this must not be misunderstood to mean that certain social conditions are alone compatible with Christianity, and that the labor movement is ushering in the truly Christian social order. I am inclined to believe that this latter view is the more dangerous perversion of the Christian religion. While the view which we opposed before emphasizes so one-sidedly the supernatural character of Christianity that its necessary participation in the social life on earth is obstructed, this view drags religion down into the material world and realizes the kingdom of God in the establishment of a social system with the equalization of all classes,

of the tasks of life, and of property corresponding to these. Under this delusion sides are taken for the workingmen in the name of the gospel.

Of course, this is possible only for a theology which misunderstands the central truth of Christianity. In America it is the Unitarians who attempt to secularize our religion in a best order of society. I mention, as an example, Jaynes and his work *Unitarianism as a Social Force*. It is said Unitarianism aims at the culture of the individual character, not in the interest of a doubtful salvation in the future, but because it conceives Christianity to be the basis of the social order of this world. For it the kingdom of God is realized through acts of love in the present age. The so-called eternal life of the theologians is nothing else than what may be realized through Christian love and righteousness in the social life. The Unitarians of Germany—the name is applicable to an outgrowth of the school of Ritschl—hold the same view. Christian hope, in the sense of the old confessions, is entirely blotted out of their program, and they conceive the duty of the church to be the realization on earth of the Christian idea of love.

From such a position it is not far to the dream of an order of society which does away with the differences among men even in economic and social relations. We have the explicit declaration from Friedrich Naumann: "Christianity has for its aim the abolition of poverty." From this point of view, among other things, the possession of large landed estates is attacked as contrary to the gospel. On this theory, the connection between the church and the labor movement is a very close one and perfectly clear. The latter aims at ends which are also directly the ends of the gospel, viz., to bring about an order of society as far as possible communistic in its constitution. The clergy have, therefore, nothing better to do than to take the lead of the social democrats, in order to make it clear to them that in reality their party is something very Christian, and all it needs to do is to give up its mistaken enmity toward Christianity. So in Germany, some time ago, the "Candidat der Theologie" von Wächter, and recently the former pastors Göhre and

Blumhardt, have publicly united with the social democracy, on the supposition that thus they fulfilled the ends of Christianity and would be the true representatives and preachers of the gospel.

This phenomenon is nothing new. We know such a combination of religion with the spirit of social revolution in the heathenism of pre-Christian times. We meet it in the church as early as the fifth century in the Donatist sect of the Circumcellians. It is found throughout the Middle Ages, and it took on a dangerous character in the peasants' wars and the Anabaptists of the Reformation.³ The fundamental error is a legal conception of Christianity. As Moses legally established a definite social system, based upon the protection of family property, so Christ is said to have desired to realize the ideal of universal equality through the renunciation of individual property and the abolition of both wealth and poverty. In all these phenomena in the history of the church there were present ideas about the abolition of war, arms, civil government, titles, and honors, and an outspoken disinclination to art and science. A representative of this legal Christianity was, for example, Carlstadt. Under his influence interest in theological studies diminished perceptibly; he himself would no longer confer the master's degree, because Jesus had prohibited the use of titles. And, in order to realize true Christianity, he went into the country to serve as a waiter in peasant's garb.

Over against these legalistic and fanatical aberrations, Luther held fast to the gospel of the liberty of the children of God in its biblical purity. By Christian equality he understood the equal right of everyone to come before God without mediation of the papal priest caste, but not, as did Carlstadt, in the equalization of culture, dress, and property. By Christian liberty Luther understood deliverance from the fear of punishment, since there is no condemnation for those who are in Christ, but not in freedom from tithes, as did Münzer and the peasants. The same duty to guard Christian truths from materialistic,

³See their history in my work, *Die christlich-socialen Ideen der Reformationszeit und ihre Vorgeschichte*, Gütersloh, 1896; also in my work, *Mitarbeit*, *ibid.*; and *Die nordafrikanischen Circumcellionen im 4. u. 5. Jahrhundert* in the "Universitätschrift," Greifswald, 1900.

social-political corruptions rests again upon the servants of the church today. The entire activity of the church is the cure of souls; its only purpose is through the Word to bring souls to Christ and keep them in him. No external conditions, whether of poverty or riches, can permanently deprive a soul of its calling to enjoy a blessed life in Christ.

The main argument for this position is the attitude of the apostle Paul toward slavery. When among the Christian slaves of his time also there was a movement to shake off their yoke under the cover of Christian liberty and^a brotherhood, he emphasized with great earnestness the duty of obedience. He never demanded of Christians that they should set free their slaves. He sent Onesimus back to Philemon. He did not declare slavery to be incompatible with Christianity. Therefore, neither can we do so. Often Paul had to give to slaves what seems to us too harsh admonitions, in order to prevent the idea that the liberty which he proclaimed had anything to do with the social relation between master and slave. We affirm, the abuse of slavery is un-Christian, and possibly we say also, this abuse is almost unavoidable. In the above sense we work for the abolition of slavery everywhere, but not in the sense that there is a Christian law regulating the external relations of men to one another, or the outward form of social dependence.

Therefore we can no more appeal to the gospel in the interest of the aims of the labor movement, so far as these have for their end the equalization of the classes and the abolition of capital, than we can appeal to it against them. For we affirm that the aim of Christianity is to win men for the kingdom of heaven, and that can be done under every social condition, in every social state, and under any kind of political organization.

And yet it was necessary to maintain the proposition that the church has an interest in social conditions as well as in the individual disposition. We have shown what was not meant by that proposition. It is not meant that the realization or retention of definite social relations is the aim and end of the church. Nevertheless, these may become means to an end. Let us now make that clear.

However much we emphasize that the gospel is intended for the soul of man, still we are not less convinced that God has united soul and body into one. The importance of this fact may be underestimated to the detriment of the spiritual life. Man certainly has a body in which the soul that is destined for salvation dwells. And bodily conditions influence the life of the soul. There is a certain refined philosophy which is so taken up with the life of the soul that it despises all material things. This was the case with the old heathen philosophy in its contempt of the humbler callings of life. From it the philosophy of the Middle Ages borrowed the same view by differentiating between a life of meditation and contemplation as alone worthy of a Christian, and the civil life as a lower phase. Similarly, also, the intellectualism of the theology of the nineteenth century has often misunderstood the importance of external relations, and particularly with reference to the Christian life of faith and holiness. We must recognize that the latter is affected when the mind is engrossed with external circumstances and conditions. According to the Scriptures, the two means which the prince of darkness uses to turn away men from Christ are the world and the flesh. We do not here speak of the latter. But how shall we translate the biblical expression "world" into the language of our time? We shall not go wrong if we say "the world" is the environment. In the parable of the four kinds of soil Jesus shows his disciples how environment affects the spiritual life. And does not every Christian have the experience that love and faith are more difficult in certain circumstances than in others? Is not scriptural fasting a testimony that the Christian must withdraw for a time from many relations in order to escape without damage to his inner life? Do not missionaries have the experience that in the case of different peoples the reception of the gospel is affected in different degrees, not only by the condition of the heart, but also by the differing circumstances? It is a fact of missionary history that not infrequently missionaries work without success for a long time, because the circumstances which they find stand in the way. So, then, everywhere the Christian life is affected by the

circumstances surrounding a man, be it that they support, or assist even by their very opposition, or else that they prevent and tempt to evil.

To these external conditions, moreover, belong also the social relations, *i. e.*, those relations in which the individual is involved in consequence of the economic, moral, and social condition of the class or the whole nation. Certainly rich people can be saved. But Jesus himself points out the danger to the soul which may arise from riches (Luke 18:24). These dangers may vary in degree, according as the legislation of a country permits greater or less freedom in the abuse of wealth. The same we must say of poverty. Certainly poor people can be saved. But there is a kind of poverty which blunts in great measure the receptivity of the soul for divine truth. Concerning the children of Israel in Egypt it is said: "They hearkened not unto Moses for anguish of spirit and for cruel bondage" (Exod. 6:9). A social condition is there described which seriously affected the religious life, a condition under which pastoral work is almost impossible. But also in modern times do we know of labor conditions very similar to that cruel bondage coupled with anguish and distress of spirit. When the pastor meets with these, he will, in spite of them, try again and again to reach the soul, but he will not stop with making a change in these conditions a subject of prayer; he will also work for that end so far as it is in his power.

He will take the same attitude toward everything in social life which tends to temptation, whether by making sin attractive to the senses or by deadening mind and conscience. How dangerous it is for workingmen to receive on Saturday their weekly wages in a place where liquor is sold! The pastor who sees the evil consequences of this (drunkenness, abuse of wife and children, poverty, etc.) will of course endeavor to bring the soul to Christ; he will work for a change of heart; but will he not at the same time exert his influence for the abolition of such an institution, *i. e.*, be interested in bringing about a different social condition? But the moment he does this he participates in the labor question, yet without going outside his pastoral

duties. The same can be shown in numberless other relations. There is another class of cases where it is the duty of the state to interfere with its mighty arm. In Germany the state has realized its duty to protect the weak, not only in the battle for physical existence, but also in that for moral development. As in America some states prohibit the sale of liquor in order to protect the weak against their own weakness, so Germany has undertaken by legislation an extended protection of youth. I refer to the law of guardianship, which went into effect only this year, and to the introduction previously of compulsory education in Christian institutions, the protection of Sunday, and the like.

Whoever takes part in politics in order to secure such laws works in the interest of the kingdom of God. And we do not see why the church should not work for a change of such evil conditions. Young people whom we have confirmed we see exposed to many dangers when they leave us, dangers which arise chiefly from the insufficient oversight which juvenile workers receive. Daily in my prayers I remember them in their dangers; but should I not also rejoice when these dangers become less through stricter discipline? Should I not also myself try to improve such conditions? And if all pastors in any country, having the same experiences with the young people under their care, unite in protests and petitions to the legislative powers, do they thereby leave the sphere of their pastoral work? Well do we know that not all temptations can be removed, and that the Christian must withstand many temptations to become tried in the faith; but wilfully to let dangers remain that can be removed, that is tempting God.

When I was a pastor in a large manufacturing town, I saw how the family life of the workingmen was very much harmed through the long hours of labor. The family had no evening together, for the children were already asleep when the father came home from the factory, and in the morning he had to leave again before they were awake. How can there be any "bringing up" under such conditions? What becomes of the duty the workingman owes to his own soul in such circumstances? I

considered it therefore my Christian duty to ask and admonish the manufacturers to shorten the hours of labor. And this I did as a pastor. But I cannot deny that in so doing I found myself in the midst of the labor movement.

And this gives us a new field for pastoral work. Social relations bring temptation, not only to the workingmen and the poor, but also to employers. They in their turn are greatly tempted to sacrifice the interests of their employ  s when competition impels them to the utmost exertion of their powers. Thus it may happen that even noble-minded and Christian employers become guilty of injustice and unkindness to their employ  s, either because they are not sufficiently able to put themselves in their places, or else because the actions of their selfish and conscienceless competitors force them to it. In this state of things it becomes the duty of the church, on the one hand, to make conscience keener and stronger by the preaching of righteousness and love, and, on the other hand, to endeavor to secure such regulations as will make it most difficult to do violence to these Christian virtues.

I mention one more example where the connection between pastoral work and social conditions becomes most evident. It is the question of proper dwelling places. At the last Anglican church congress, in October, 1900, a report upon this subject was given by Rev. Mr. Horsley. He was for twenty-four years pastor in London, and came to know dwellings of workingmen in which, according to his opinion, it is impossible to lead a Christian life. But we have the same state of things in all large cities, and not only in large cities, but also in smaller ones, and not only in cities, but also in the country. The family is the germ cell of society. To protect the family life, to build it up, to make it Christian—this must ever be the aim of the philanthropist. The stronghold of family life is a family home. But innumerable abodes of workingmen do not deserve the name of homes. But even where it is not the case that more than one family lives in the same place, the rooms are often so small as to make an orderly family life impossible. When parents and children, little ones and those of older years, sleep together

without separation in one room, there is no possibility of bringing them up in modesty and chastity. When, in addition to this, part of the room is rented to lodgers of both sexes, the condition of things is simply abominable. Besides, there is the discomfort and dirt. What sort of life does the soul live in such places? Children have no room to prepare their school lessons; nor can anything be done for mutual entertainment, advancement, and edification. When a pastor steps into such a house, the feeling immediately comes over him that a change must be made. Rev. Mr. Horsley says: "To preach in such homes chastity and the fear of God, without doing anything to change things, is not only a fruitless attempt, but religious insanity."

Thus is shown the close connection of the pastor's work with that of the economist. How shall an improvement in the homes of the workingmen be brought about? The giving of money to enable the individual to rent a better house would be only childish work. There is a twofold possibility: it may be done through societies or through laws. Christian societies instituted for that purpose existed in Germany in the forties of the century just closed. At that time V. A. Huber founded the mutual building association, which developed a humane activity, though at first it found but little appreciation. In the last decade the Inner Mission has taken up this work. The most zealous worker for the improvement of workingmen's homes has been Pastor v. Bodelschwingh who founded the society called the "Workingmen's Home Society." However, public sentiment in Germany inclines to the view that the state should be called on to give assistance here. And though in this way political activity for the improvement of dwellings is developed, yet the home question can never be separated from pastoral work, and therefore the pastor, because of his calling, cannot rid himself of the duty of participating in these efforts.

We have rejected the view that the duty of the church toward the labor movement is its suppression, and likewise we have rejected the opposite view that its duty, according to the gospel, is to promote the efforts of the workingmen toward communism.

Nevertheless, the pastoral duty of the church includes an inquiry into the social conditions with which the labor movement is concerned, in order to determine how far they are detrimental or favorable to the development of the religious and moral life. And the representatives of the gospel through which the souls of men are to be saved cannot be excused from exerting an influence upon this development. The influence actually exerted by Christianity upon labor conditions and upon society in general throughout the centuries is to be explained from this point of view. Once more we take slavery as an example. The greater the number of slave-owners that were converted in the early periods of the Christian church, the better treatment the slaves received. It was one thing to be the slave of a heathen master, and another to be one in a Christian home. The apostle characterizes the former class in 1 Tim. 6: 1 as "servants under the yoke." The more the Christian status and treatment of slaves prevailed, an influence was necessarily exerted upon slavery in general. And so we actually find a milder legislation in regard to the treatment of slaves in the second Christian century.

Similarly, if at the present time the church in the interest of pastoral work demands a better treatment of minors, an improvement in workingmen's homes, etc., this demand will exert a slow but certain influence upon public opinion, and through it there will also come changes in the social conditions, coinciding frequently with the aims of the labor movement. Christianity everywhere has secured benefits for all civilized life, even without directly aiming at these. But in order to appreciate duly this influence, there is needed a deeper inquiry into the laws of the development of social conditions, such as I have tried to give in my work, *Die Mitarbeit der Kirche an der Lösung der sozialen Frage, auf Grund einer kurzgefassten Volkswirtschaftslehre und eines Systems der christlichen Socialethik* (second edition, 1897).

At every point of contact, however, between the work of the church and social movements these two things are equally to be maintained: (1) The only duty of the church is to work for the

cure of souls. It has to prepare the way for the kingdom of God in this world of sin and imperfection, leaving it to the Lord himself to establish it when he comes in glory. (2) The soul is no abstract being, but it is influenced in many ways through the body with its desires, impulses, and environment. To strive to make these latter as helpful as possible must therefore not seldom be the imperative duty of the pastor. Here we find the point of contact between the work of the church and the labor movement.

THE ANTIQUITY OF CIVILIZED MAN.

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RECENT archæological discoveries in the East have emphasized two facts: the antiquity of oriental culture and the intimate relations that existed from an early date between the nations of western Asia and the eastern basin of the Mediterranean. Civilized man had his earliest home in Babylonia and Egypt and the countries adjoining them, and as far back as our researches have yet carried us we find him enjoying the arts and sciences of cultivated life. The obsidian vases found in the tombs of Menes and his immediate successors indicate intercourse between the Egypt of the First Dynasty and the Ægean sea; the seal-cylinders and use of clay as a writing material, which the prehistoric graves of Upper Egypt have revealed to us, imply a migration of the elements of culture from the Euphrates to the Nile; even the sacred trees of primæval Egypt have been shown by Dr. Schweinfurth to have come from the coasts of southern Arabia. At a somewhat later date the Sumerian princes of Chaldæa imported limestone from the Lebanon and diorite from the peninsula of Sinai. The culture of the ancient oriental world goes back to a remote past, and it was linked together by the closest ties.

Of this culture the art of writing formed an integral part. And the writing did not consist only of pictographs employed to record a few public events or the festivals of a priestly calendar; it was the instrument of an advanced culture, and as such was used with a literary aim. Already on the potsherds of the First Egyptian Dynasty we find a cursive script, and the cuneiform characters of Babylonia are but the letters of a running-hand. The pictures out of which they have developed are often unrecognizable even on the oldest monuments that have been brought to light; unlike the more conservative Egyptians, the Babylonians did not preserve their pictorial hieroglyphics by

the side of the cursive characters of a later age. The ancient culture of the East was literary as far back as we can trace its history.

This is a fact which for many years I preached in vain to an unbelieving world. Then came the discovery of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, which proved that, to a certain extent at any rate, my contention was right. They showed that in the Mosaic age education was widely extended throughout the civilized East. Not only in Egypt and Babylonia, but in Canaan and Asia Minor as well, men and even women were reading and writing and carrying on with one another an active correspondence. And in the larger half of this literary area the correspondence was conducted in a foreign language and script. The Babylonian language and the complicated Babylonian syllabary were used, not only on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, but also in Palestine and Egypt, in Syria and Cappadocia. By the side of the archive-chambers and libraries there must have been schools and teachers. The literary works of Babylonia were carried even as far as Egypt, where they became the text-books of the young scribes. We need not wonder, therefore, if the old legends and traditions of Babylonia made their way to Canaan along with the other elements of Babylonian culture, and there received a local coloring. The principles of the Babylonian cosmology reappear in that of Phœnicia, and the chief deities of the Babylonian pantheon gave their names to the cities and high-places of Canaan.

But the evidence of the Tel el-Amarna tablets did not stop here. They further proved that the influence of the literary culture of Babylonia upon western Asia must have been of long duration. The Babylonian syllabary had been, as it were, domesticated in various parts of the oriental world. It had assumed one shape among the Amorites, another among the peoples of Asia Minor. It had branched off into different forms like the so-called Phœnician alphabet in later days. The use of it in other lands than Babylonia itself could have been no new thing in the Mosaic age.

The discovery of the Tel el-Amarna tablets has been followed

by other discoveries which confirm and extend the inferences derived from them. The excavations of the French, and above all of the Americans, in Babylonia have poured a flood of light on the literary and political history of that country. We have learned that already in the time of Abraham Canaan was a Babylonian province, and on a monument dedicated to the Canaanitish goddess Ashratum or Ashêrah, and now in the British Museum, Khammu-rabi or Ammurapi, the Amraphel of Genesis, is entitled simply "the king of the Amorite land," the name under which Syria and Palestine were known. Indeed, the monument seems to have been erected by a native of Canaan, Ibi-Ashratum the son of Shebuel by name, and the fact that it is written in the Sumerian language of primæval Chaldæa shows that the Canaanitish foreigner studied, not only Semitic Babylonian, but non-Semitic Sumerian as well. It was found in the ruins of the temple of the sun-god at Sippara, and may therefore have been set up by one of those "Amoritish" merchants who, as we know from the contract tablets, had a district assigned to them in the neighborhood of the city.

Intercourse between Babylonia and Palestine, however, was already old in the age of Amraphel. Centuries earlier Sargon of Akkad and his son Naram-Sin had carried their arms to the shores of the Mediterranean, and included Syria and Canaan in a Babylonian empire. And the literary culture of Babylonia was already far advanced. There were libraries and readers, written laws and the records of trials, contracts and deeds, and other documents which testify to the existence of a large and well-educated trading community. There was even an organized postal service, and a cadastral survey, published by M. Thureau-Dangin (*Revue sémitique*, April, 1897), mentions a "governor" of the Amorites who bears the Canaanitish name of Uru-Malik or Urimelech. The conquest of western Asia by Sargon necessarily brought in its train the literary culture of the Babylonians. A knowledge of the Babylonian script and literature was carried from the Euphrates to the borders of Egypt.

And in Egypt itself recent excavations have made it clear that literary culture, and therewith authentic contemporaneous

history, are far older than had been supposed. The tombs of Menes and his successors of the First Dynasty have been discovered, and the art and culture disclosed by them prove to have been as highly advanced as they were in the age of the Fourth Dynasty. And yet it is but a few years since the kings whose splendid tombs have thus been revealed, with their wealth of artistically wrought jewelry and exquisitely carved ivories, were pronounced to be "fabulous" and "semi-mythical"! So far from being mythical, however, they mark the bloom of a period of advanced artistic and literary culture; the hieroglyphic system of writing had long since been perfected and stereotyped, and a running-hand had been formed out of it. It even seems probable that by the side of this native Egyptian script another, less pictorial, script was known which, though not so well adapted to artistic purposes, was easier to write and understand.

While the natural writing material of Babylonia was clay, that of Egypt was the fibrous pith of the papyrus. Babylonia was an alluvial plain, where stone was practically unknown, and where accordingly every pebble was precious. Here, therefore, the art of the gem-cutter first developed; the pebbles were cut into cylindrical form, and, after being engraved with figures and inscriptions, were used as seals. They were attached to the wrist by a string which passed through a hole that had been driven through them from end to end, and after being rolled over wet clay left upon it the impression of the name and design which had been carved upon them. Such an invention was obvious and natural in Babylonia, but nowhere else in the ancient oriental world.

Least of all was it natural in Upper Egypt. Egypt was a land of stone, and only in a few places did clay exist which was fit to receive and retain the impression of a seal. Elsewhere the soil was loamy and friable, mixed with the sand which the Nile brings down from the deserts of Nubia. The seal-cylinder with its concomitant, the use of clay for the purposes of writing, could never have been invented in Egypt; it must have come from without to the valley of the Nile.

It is, therefore, a significant fact that the seal-cylinder and the inscribed clay belong to the earliest period of Egyptian history. With the rise of the historic dynasties their employment begins to cease. In the so-called "prehistoric" graves multitudes of stone and wooden cylinders have been found; at Negadiya, opposite Girja, Dr. Reisner has discovered one of gold with the *Ka*-name of Menes upon it, and the tombs of the kings of the first three dynasties are full of clay sealings over which the cylinder has been rolled. As time goes on, however, the cylinder becomes larger and more sumptuous, but less common; the clay sealings which testify to the use of it grow more and more rare, and finally come to an end altogether. Under the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties the ivory rod on which the cylinder had turned takes its place, and the scarab is used as a seal. If the seal-cylinder still lingers under a changed form, it is only as an antiquarian survival; it had never been native to the country, and consequently, in spite of Egyptian conservatism, was doomed eventually to disappear. It was an exotic like the sacred trees which, Dr. Schweinfurth tells us, were emigrants from southern Arabia, and accordingly died out when religious veneration ceased to protect and preserve them.

The seal-cylinder thus bears testimony to contact or intercourse between Egypt and Babylonia in those early days when as yet Menes had not united the kingdoms of the north and south. The culture of the dynastic Egyptians must have been influenced by that of "the land of Shinar." Some scholars would go still farther and maintain that it was derived from the culture of Babylonia. Personally I believe that they are right; customs like the use of brick for building purposes on the stony soil of Upper Egypt, as well as the traditions of the Egyptians themselves, which described the gradual conquest of the country by Horus and his followers the "smiths," incline me to such a view. But whether or not we are to see in the dynastic Egyptians, with their weapons of copper and bronze, emigrants from Babylonia, it is clear that some of the chief elements in their culture were of Babylonian origin. The application of the engineer's art to irrigation more especially was first developed in the

Babylonian plain; its application to the Nile and its branches was of later date.

But pre-Menic Egypt had intercourse not with Babylonia merely; the broken vases of obsidian found in the tombs of Menes and his successors show that there was intercourse also with the people of the Ægean. The island of Melos was the nearest source from which the obsidian could have been obtained, and at how early a date its mines of obsidian were worked has been made evident by the recent excavations of the British School of Athens in the island itself, not to speak of those of Dr. Schliemann at Hissarlik. Already in the pyramid texts of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties we hear of the Mediterranean, or "circle of the great green," whose inhabitants were known as the Ḥa-nibu, a name in which the Egyptians themselves saw two of their own words, "north" and "lords," while later generations identified it with "Ionian." Long before the Mykenæan period the Ḥa-nibu of Melos had been carrying their knives of obsidian to the other islands of the Ægean and receiving in return the marble that was found in them. When the first settlement was founded at Phylakopi in Melos, the volcanic glass was already manufactured into implements of daily use.

The first settlement was followed by a second in which the primitive art of the first attained a higher level. The rude incised black pottery made way for vases with geometric patterns, some of which are for the first time marked with the characters of a linear script. With the process of time these characters become more numerous and more frequently repeated; occasionally two or three are combined together, and seem therefore to have possessed syllabic values.

It was in the age of the third settlement at Phylakopi that the traces of this primitive writing are most frequent. The third settlement, indeed, introduces us to a period of considerable culture in the history of the Ægean. The city was surrounded with massive walls; the houses were incrustured with painted stucco, and the pottery was ornamented with beautifully painted designs which exhibit spirited drawing and realistic art. Vases make their appearance belonging to the so-called Kamárais

class, whose earliest home appears to have been in Krete, and we find ourselves in the presence of a civilization which belongs to the same age as that of the neolithic city on whose site stood the palace of Minos discovered by Dr. A. J. Evans at Knossos. The third settlement at Phylakopi is thickly covered with the débris of the Mykenæan epoch; the palace of Minos at Knossos similarly transports us to the full bloom of Mykenæan culture. Like the neolithic remains of Knossos, the third settlement of Phylakopi bears witness to an Ægean civilization which immediately preceded that of Mykenæ.

The same testimony is borne by the mounds of Hissarlik where the excavations of Schliemann have been supplemented and corrected by those of Dörpfeld. Here, too, the "Mykenæan" stratum, in which Schliemann thought he saw the evidences of a Lydian occupation, lies above the ruins of three villages which succeeded, one after the other, to the great walled prehistoric city—the second city of Schliemann's list—which must have been overthrown centuries before the foundation of Mykenæan Troy. Its pottery is of the age of the pottery of the first settlement at Phylakopi, none with geometric patterns having been found on the site, but the civilization to which it testifies is that of the third Melian settlement rather than that of the first. Huge spearheads formed of the obsidian of Melos have been disinterred from its ruins, as well as inscribed objects—a whorl and a seal on which are engraved the characters of a syllabary closely resembling that of Cyprus. So close, indeed, is the resemblance that it is possible to identify most of them and to read on the seal the name or the word E-si-re.

A discovery made last spring by Dr. Evans enables us to assign an approximate date to the neolithic settlement at Knossos. Among the foundations of the palace of Minos he found the alabaster lid of an Egyptian vase, bearing the cartouches of the Hyksos Pharaoh Khiyan, the Iannas of Manetho. We may conclude, therefore, that the palace, with its sumptuous architecture and brilliant frescoes, was erected not long subsequently to the eighteenth century B. C., and that in Krete, at any rate, the bloom of Mykenæan art and culture extended from about 1700

B. C. to 1200 B. C. How high this culture had reached may be judged from the carved gems, some of which are as finely cut and show as advanced an artistic conception as the best intaglios of the classical Greek age.

But more precious objects even than intaglios have been found within the precincts of the palace of Minos. These are the inscribed tablets of which many hundreds have been disinterred. They fall into two divisions. In one part of the palace, and in one part only, tablets of yellow clay and curious shapes have been discovered, the inscriptions on which consist of pictographs, the existence of which was first made known by Dr. Evans some few years ago. He has traced them to the eastern end of the island, where they seem to have constituted the script of the original inhabitants of the country, the Eteo-Kretans of the Greek writers, and the collection of tablets on which they were inscribed must have come to Knossos from tributary princes. Some of the tablets are shaped like crescents, others have the form of balls, and the words occurring in them are divided from one another by a cross.

Quite different are the tablets, collections of which have been met with in various parts of the palace. They are made of black clay and are of the usual Babylonian shape. The words and single lines are divided from each other by lines, and the characters are linear and not pictographic. A few of the characters are ideographic, and so give a clue to the meaning of the inscriptions in which they are found, but the greater number are phonetic and constitute a syllabary which, like that of Cyprus, consists of about seventy signs. Several of the signs are identical in form with signs that occur in the Cypriote syllabary; other signs meet us again on the pottery of Phylakopi. The script is evidently that of the "Mykenæan" lords of Knossos, and must henceforth be regarded as characteristic of Mykenæan culture.

The discovery is peculiarly gratifying to myself. For more than twenty years I had maintained that Mykenæan culture implied a system of phonetic writing, and that, if no traces of it had been discovered, this was due to accident or careless

excavating. I had further maintained that it was a system of which the Cypriote syllabary and the non-Greek letters in the alphabets of Asia Minor were survivors, and that inscriptions in the characters of the syllabary had actually been found at Troy. It is needless to say that "criticism," so called, laughed at my credulity; but the laugh is now on the other side.

In the bloom of the Mykenæan age, that is to say, in the Mosaic age of Hebrew history, the art of writing was thus known and practiced, not only in western Asia and Egypt, but throughout the eastern basin of the Mediterranean as well. And the script that was used by the peoples of Krete and Cyprus, of Asia Minor and Greece, was not the cumbrous hieroglyphic system of Egypt or the cuneiform syllabary of Babylonia; it was, on the contrary, a phonetic system of comparative simplicity, the pictorial beginnings of which had been so long left behind that the characters had become linear and conventional. It was, in fact, the precursor of the so-called Phœnician alphabet, and Dr. Evans has even been tempted to derive the latter from it. In this I do not follow him; but it is certain that just as the use of the clay tablet indicates Babylonian influence, so the adoption of the Phœnician alphabet may have been influenced by a previous acquaintance with the Kretan syllabary.

Between Krete and the neighboring coast of Palestine there must have been close and frequent intercourse. Greek tradition remembered the "command of the sea" once enjoyed by Minos of Knossos, and, according to Stephanus of Byzantium, Gaza bore the names of Minôa and Iônê, while the sea that lay between it and Krete was known as the "Ionian." At Jerusalem itself a stone weight with an inscription in Cypriote characters was found by Sir Charles Warren under the pavement of Robinson's Arch,¹ the age of which, however, is uncertain, and the Mykenæan pottery discovered at Lachish and Tell es-Sâfi points unmistakably to a connection with Krete. It is not until the Dorian invasion had destroyed the Mykenæan culture and Phœnicia had succeeded to the maritime empire of Minos that

¹I have given a copy and reading of the inscription in the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund, January, 1893, p. 31.

the pottery of southern Palestine ceases to connect itself with that of Greece and resembles instead the pottery of the iron-age of Cyprus.* Krete, in fact, was probably the home of the Philistines of the Old Testament, and their settlement in Canaan may have been the result of the Dorian invasion. The Philistines were called also Cherethites, which the Septuagint version of Ezekiel (25:16) and Zephaniah (2:5) transliterates as "Kretans." Some years ago I discovered the names of Kap-tar or Caphtor and Kasluhet or Casluhim among the geographical cartouches in the Egyptian temple of Kom Ombos, and it was from Caphtor and Casluhim that the Philistines are said by the Old Testament writers to have come. That Caphtor should be Krete is by no means a modern idea, and it is even possible that the name is merely a derivative from that of the Kaft of the Egyptian monuments who brought as tribute to the Pharaoh ingots and vases of the same patterns as those which have been revealed to us by the excavations in the palace of Minos.

However this may be, we now know that the use of writing for literary purposes was by no means confined to the great kingdoms of the Euphrates and the Nile. Long before the Mosaic age a linear script was in use in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, which was derived from pictographs of "Ægean" or Asianic origin. The ancestors of the Philistines were acquainted with it, and the Amorite pottery found in the mounds of Palestine is inscribed with allied characters. It is no longer necessary, therefore, to suppose that all the early literature of Canaan was written in the cuneiform syllabary of Babylonia; there was a simpler syllabary nearer home in which the languages of the Canaanitish tribes could have been expressed as easily and as readily as in the letters of the "Phœnician" alphabet. The Israelites, whether in Egypt or in Palestine, were surrounded by literary systems of writing to an even greater extent than we have previously imagined, and the difficulties involved in the theory that Moses and his contemporaries employed either the cuneiform of Babylonia or the hieratic of Egypt disappear

* See F. B. WELCH in the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund, October, 1900, pp. 342-50.

as soon as we allow that they may have made use of a syllabary which resembled the later Phœnician alphabet. It must be remembered that characters belonging to this syllabary have been met with, not only on the pottery of pre-Mosaic Canaan, but also on that of Egypt centuries before the Mosaic era; they were known to the potters of the Fayyûm and Upper Egypt, and with far more reason were therefore likely to have been known to the shêkhs and overseers of the Israelitish tribes.

BLOOD-REVENGE IN ARABIA AND ISRAEL.

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BLOOD-REVENGE IN ARABIA.—Among the Arabs there has always been a sense of grave responsibility in connection with the shedding of even animal blood. Allah's permission for the killing of an animal is always sought, and the slayer exclaims, as he strikes the knife into the victim, *bismillah*, "in Allah's name."¹ When a beast is to be killed for food, the whole clan is regarded as joining in the act of the slayer, and after the feast is prepared, they are invited to it or come without invitation.² This sense of responsibility in connection with the shedding of blood rests upon the fundamental Semitic notion that the blood holds the life, and that the life is sacred to the god of the tribe or community. The same conception lies at the basis of the immemorial custom of blood-revenge. It is felt that the blood of a man is sacred and cannot be spilled without divine sanctions. Another fundamental Semitic conception, moreover, is that of a bond constituted by sharing in a common blood. This common blood takes in all the members of the same kin; and, by the proprietary rights of the tribal god in their blood and his participation in it brought about by sacrifices and sacrificial meals in which he is regarded as entering into blood-bond with his worshipers, it includes, as well, the tribal god.³

The obligation of blood-revenge arises in cases of man-slaying where the common blood of a kin has been violated by a member of another kin and the sacred rights of the tribal god thereby invaded.⁴ Where a kinsman kills another kinsman, there is no blood-revenge resting as an obligation upon the tribe or any member of it. In this case sacrilege has been committed which can be expiated only by the

¹ W. ROBERTSON SMITH, *The Religion of the Semites*, 2d ed., p. 417. Cf. HUGHES, *Notes on Muhammadanism*, 3d ed., pp. 143, 176.

² SMITH, *op. cit.*, p. 284. Cf. DOUGHTY, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. I, p. 46.

³ SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 f.

⁴ POST, *Entwicklungsgesch. d. Familienrechts*, p. 113; W. ROBERTSON SMITH, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 22; BURCKHARDT, *Beduinen u. Wahaby* (German ed.), p. 251.

formal exclusion of the manslayer from the kin or by a judicial execution (in which, originally, no blood was shed).⁵ In either of these events the whole kin acts as a unity, and the action is public and judicial—not private, as is always, in some sense, the case where blood-revenge is in question.

There can be no doubt that the custom of blood-revenge is religious. The rights of the tribal god have been violated, and he joins the dead man's kin in seeking vengeance. His displeasure will cause him to break off communion with them, should they not avenge the shed blood. Moreover, the spirit of the dead must be propitiated.

When one of another kin has been killed, there is no feeling among the Arabs that the slayer has committed any sin. They know that the other tribe will avenge the blood, but with them sacred blood is the blood of kinsmen only, and obligations of a religious nature are to the kin god only.⁶ The slayer's people owe nothing to the tribal god of the slain man's people.

We have in many cases, as might be expected, the religious element in blood-revenge rather buried out of sight by more natural motives. Not to speak of motives of private passion and tribal hostility, in blood-revenge more than in many other features of Arab life we find expressed the aristocratic feeling of family honor common to tribal peoples generally, but in Arabia prevailing to a degree rarely met with elsewhere.⁷ It is the honor of the kin, as well as sacred usage, which forbids that a kinsman's blood remain unavenged, and which equally forbids that the kindred of the slain should take the initiative for a settlement of the feud by payment of the bloodwit. It is a saying current among the Beduin: "I will have my revenge, if I should be cast into hell for it."⁸ In many cases other obligations are entirely disregarded that this of avenging blood and vindicating the closely related honor of family or tribe may be discharged.⁹ Long wars result really from the desire to avenge the tribal honor, though nominally, and it may be in the beginning, to avenge the blood of a tribesman. Mohammed Ali tried to do away with blood-revenge in Egypt in the beginning of the last—the nineteenth—century, by making it a criminal offense, but the Fellaheen kept up the practice in spite of his

⁵ *Kinship and Marriage*, pp. 22, 38; *The Religion of the Semites*, pp. 272 f.; PROCKSCH, *Ueber die Blutrache bei den vorislamischen Arabern u. Mohammeds Stellung zu ihr*, p. 3.

⁶ *The Religion of the Semites*, pp. 272 f.

⁷ Cf. *Beduinen u. Wahaby*, p. 253.

⁸ *Ibid.* ⁹ *Religion of the Semites*, p. 272; *Beduinen u. Wahaby*, p. 252.

penalties.¹⁰ About the same time, Saûd, the Wahaby leader in Arabia, sought to induce the tribes to accept the principle of bloodwit in all cases where blood-revenge might be deemed a duty. He did not succeed; but, on the contrary, secured to himself on all sides reproach for his pains.¹¹

In examining blood-revenge more closely, we look first at the attitude of the slain man's kindred and tribe toward it. This one of the two interested parties considers that a great wrong has been done by the violator of its kindred blood. The other party does not, however, consider its accused member to have done anything wrong, though his act may have been imprudent because of its likely consequences to himself and his people.¹²

Responsibility for blood-revenge rested primarily upon the *raht* (رَهْط). This, according to Burckhardt,¹³ included all the descendants of a great-great-grandfather; that is, five generations. It extended downward to the *humsa* (خُمْسَة), the fifth generation from a given ancestor. Women were within the *raht*, but were not regarded when reference was made to those who were its members. Among the males, or, in other words, the members of the *raht* group, the brother and the eldest son were nearly equal in their responsibility for blood-revenge.¹⁴ From my own observation, I would say that the greater responsibility rested upon the brother rather than upon the son. These two were the first heirs of a man, as well. In fact, there seems to be some kind of relationship between these two things, inheritance and blood-revenge. This is suggested by the sharing of brother and son, not only in inheritance, as we have just said, but in the bloodwit, where that was accepted instead of revenge.

A father was seldom called upon to undertake the execution of vengeance. A person killed was generally one capable of bearing arms and engaging in war, and in the case of such a one his father may be assumed to be of such an age as would direct that the duty of revenge should be left to those more able to perform it.¹⁵ The responsible position of a father in relation to his family it is hardly likely

¹⁰ *Beduinen u. Wahaby*, p. 252.

¹¹ PROCKSCH, p. 11.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 253.

¹³ *Beduinen u. Wahaby*, p. 121.

¹⁴ PROCKSCH, p. 26. One of these two, according to Mohammedan law, is the one to recite the service over a dead kinsman at his burial. See HUGHES, *Notes*, p. 188.

¹⁵ But cf. PROCKSCH, pp. 27 f.

was considered an obstacle to his assuming the obligation in question, for the brother of the slain, who was unquestionably under obligation, would in many cases have the same responsibility of family headship resting upon him. When no one nearer than he was available, however, it might occur, and did actually occur, that the father had to intervene. Procksch says²⁶ that even the head of the group might be called upon to act. If, for inability or other cause, a brother or eldest son did not assume the execution of revenge, the duty passed downward to each of the other sons in turn, until the youngest was reached, and then was transferred to the sons of a brother. There are some cases where women have taken upon them the avenging of a brother, father, or son.²⁷ In these instances we may suppose that, generally, the vengeance was fulfilled by tribesmen who acted for the women who had undertaken it.

The avenger of blood is termed the *walī* of the slain, or of the surviving kin. The same term is applied, likewise, to marriage and inheritance. The *walī* of the bride is her father, if he be alive. If he be not alive, her brother acts, or, failing brothers, then a cousin. In inheritance, the *walī* is the immediate heir. The verb *walā* in the II. form is used sometimes with the force "to constitute one an avenger of blood."²⁸ It is a noteworthy fact that the brother should have, as we have pointed out, a very important part in blood-revenge. As a partial explanation it may be said that fraternal affection is one of the outstanding traits of Beduin character. In the elegiac poetry of the Arabs the grief which finds expression is most frequently over lost loves and lost brothers.²⁹ In connection with what has been said of the obligation to avenge blood resting immediately upon the descendants of a given ancestor to the fifth generation, Procksch cites the interesting fact noted by anthropologists that five generations taken together is a natural solidarity, as recollection does not extend backward beyond the fifth generation, that is to say, the fourth generation of ancestors.³⁰

A term equivalent in extension to *rahṭ* is 'āl (آل). In each tribe there were a number of these 'āls or *rahṭs*. For example, according to one of the old poems there were in the tribe of Murra ten *rahṭs*, each one bearing the name of its head. The mere fact of a man's bearing the clan name, whether he were related to its members in our

²⁶ IDEM, p. 28.

²⁸ IDEM, p. 25, note 4.

²⁷ IDEM, p. 48, note 2.

²⁹ IDEM, p. 26.

³⁰ IDEM, p. 24 and note 2.

sense or not, made him one of the kindred and imposed upon him the obligation to avenge the blood of any member of the group.²²

We have now to speak of the relation of the larger groups, called by the common term *ḥayy* (حَيّ), "tribe," to blood-revenge. When the *rahṭ* could not obtain vengeance, the matter became an affair of the tribe. It might become such very early in the progress of the feud. In the case of a weak *rahṭ* this was more likely to occur than in that of a strong one. The action of the tribe might consist in effort to obtain blood-revenge by friendly negotiations, craft, or secret attack upon the offender's people. If these methods seemed to promise little or actually failed to gain the end sought, war would be waged by the one tribe against the other. Very rarely the avenging tribe proposed bloodwit. To do this a tribe must have lost its tribal pride, and must be prepared to endure the contempt of all true Arabs. It is against all sense of honor among the Beduin that the avenging side should take the initiative in a money settlement. Nevertheless, as we have seen, Sa'ūd the Wahaby leader made the proposal that all cases of blood-feud should be adjusted in this way.

Tribal action in revenge is that of the *ḥayy* in the narrower sense of a group made up of *rahṭs*, not in the larger sense of a group made up of units which themselves bear the name *ḥayy*. A *ḥayy* in the sense of a federation of tribes claiming descent from a common ancestor may sometimes act in blood-feuds as a unity, but more frequently we find that the tribes making up the unity have blood-feuds among themselves, and have therefore little disposition to act in accord with one another. The Beduin speaks of the *'ahl*, or people of his tribe; the *diyār*, or camps of his tribe; and the *ma'shar*, or kindred of his tribe. All these terms relate to the group which usually acts together in war and revenge; that is, the *ḥayy* in the more limited sense. The *'ahl* and *dār* (plural, *diyār*) are familiar in their Hebrew cognates *'ōhel* and *dōr*. In Arabic *'ahl* applies to a group of people; probably, in primitive times, the group that occupied a single tent, for the Hebrew uses the word *'ōhel* of the tent itself. *Dār* in Arabic applies to a camp of huts or tents grouped together in a circle, or semi-circle, it may be. It also is very largely used of a single dwelling. In Assyrian there is a meaning akin to this for the cognate word *dūru*, a wall. In Hebrew *dōr* is used in the Old Testament but once with reference to a dwelling, but very commonly with the meaning "generation." In Genesis the tradition makes the *dōr* equal to

²² *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 272 f.

one hundred years. As in the case of *'dahl*, so in this case the Hebrew seems to have modified the older sense of the word. The word in its older usage probably referred to a family dwelling, and the Hebrew has come to use it of the family and then of a period of time determined by family relations.²² It is probable, however, that the oldest member of the group occupying a *dār* in Arabia would approximate the age of one hundred years, which is the period of the *dār* in the patriarchal tradition of the Old Testament.

When the tribe took part in blood-feud, the common result was a war which ever increased the feud between the parties, because every man killed began a new quest for revenge. Blood-revenge is so commonly a cause of war that in old times the terms applied to blood-vengeance were applied likewise to war—*tha'r*, *thu'ra*.²³ When it comes to war, the motive of private revenge soon intensifies the fierceness of the conflict; and the passionate avengers, unable to reckon with the actual slayers of their kin or to deal according to the ancient usages of revenge, slay as they can.²⁴ An indiscriminate slaughter of this kind is called a blood-bath in modern Arabia, and, according to Burckhardt, occurs where there are circumstances of special irritation.²⁵ The rule of blood-revenge is that an equivalent of the blood shed is to be obtained, but in the blood-bath the aim is merely to satisfy the passion of the avengers by the spilling of what they may deem sufficient blood to cover the claim and punish their enemies.

The terms used to designate the right to revenge are: *qisās*,²⁶ *ḥaqq*, and *'adl* (عَدْلٌ, حَقٌّ, قِصَاصٌ); those designating more properly the act itself are: *tha'r*, *witr*, *dahl* (ثَارٌ, وَتْرٌ, ذَحْلٌ).

It ought to be said, before leaving this part of our subject, that in the earliest society in Arabia the kindred group must have been a much larger one than later. There is convincing evidence to show that kinship in primitive times was reckoned through the mother, and not through the father as in the later times of which we have historical records. Blood-revenge in the period of the matriarchate would be different from that of the patriarchal period chiefly in the order of

²² PROCKSCH, pp. 20 f.

²⁴ IDEM, p. 4.

²³ IDEM, p. 5, note 4.

²⁵ *Beduinen u. Wahaby*, p. 260.

²⁶ HUGHES, *Notes*, p. 142, explains *qisās* in Mohammedan law as that punishment which can be remitted by the person offended against, upon the payment of a fine or compensation.

responsibility for its execution, and in the number of persons responsible in a given case. All the relations of the mother and wife would, in the matriarchal society, be responsible, while, later, responsibility would lie upon the relatives of the father and husband. The wife's brother and his sons would also occupy the important place which was filled in later times by the husband's brother and his sons. As we have no records of any but the patriarchal society of Arabia, we can give no particular account of the institution of blood-revenge under the primitive form of society, nor can we trace the development from the one stage to the other.²⁷

We seek now to understand the relation of the slayer and his people to blood-revenge.

According to Burckhardt, the manslayer's tribe had a time of grace in which a settlement could be broached to the other party to the feud, or in which to flee to the protection of some stronger tribe. As to the slayer and his people, we have to keep in mind that danger from the avenging side threatens each and all of them. The vengeance may fall on any member of the tribe other than the slayer, just as easily as on the latter himself. The traveler who has just been mentioned reports that he has seen hundreds of tents broken up in the flight of a tribe which was seeking protection from blood-vengeance.²⁸ No tribe possessed of the true tribal spirit will ever think of surrendering the actual offender that he may suffer for his deed. His people, as we have sought to make plain, do not regard him as one who has done any wrong. They simply know that he has done an act which exposes himself and them to great danger, and they make up their minds to safeguard him, even to the length of war, and perhaps their own annihilation as a tribe. A weak tribe will likely propose to settle the feud by the payment of blood-money,²⁹ but if this be not accepted, true Arabs will never forsake their fellow-tribesman. An instance is recorded of a father proposing to give up his son, who was a thoroughly vicious man in any case, to the avengers, but the tribe intervened and would not allow the surrender.³⁰ Where the Beduin, however, comes in contact with the inferior spirit of the towns, or has been corrupted by the manners or gold of the Turks, there may be a compromise of the honor of the desert, but the nomad tribesmen would hold in execration Arabs who would sacrifice honor

²⁷ PROCKSCH, p. 22.

²⁸ IDEM, p. 253.

²⁹ *Beduinen u. Wahaby*, p. 122.

³⁰ PROCKSCH, p. 11, note 3.

in a question of blood-revenge.³² The time of grace to which we have referred was, among the tribes where Burckhardt's information was gathered, three days and four hours.³³ This is likewise the period of hospitality extended to the stranger who comes to the tent as a guest.³⁴

Where the tribe of the manslayer is strong, the likelihood of securing revenge is greatly diminished. It was the boast of Zuhair, one of the pre-islamic poets, that he belonged to a tribe which both could and would defend its members against blood-revenge.³⁵ When a chief was the manslayer, the likelihood of a peaceful settlement was only a remote one, as the chief's act was held to be, in a strong sense, the action of the tribe. The avenging party is not likely to accept the blood-money in this case. On the other hand, if the slain be not a chief, it will be an argument used by the slayer's side that, as the slain was but an ordinary tribesman, blood-money should be accepted.³⁶

Where a tribe is too weak to execute blood-revenge, it will often wait long for its opportunity. Lane speaks of blood-feuds among the Fellaheen in Egypt which are of more than one hundred years' standing. In the meanwhile, small feuds that come close to provoking war are frequent between the two parties.³⁷

The subject of asylum, or, more properly, protection (*Dakheil*), as distinct from asylum, comes in here. In nearly every tribe there are individual outlaws from other tribes, who have at some time placed themselves under the new tribe's protection; and in many strong tribes are found, also, bodies of other tribesmen who have sought refuge from blood-revenge with them.³⁸ In the case of private revenge, we have satisfactory evidence that, when the actual slayer was known, despite the theory that any life of his tribe would satisfy blood-revenge, he was pursued, and, as an individual, fled for refuge to another tribe. This was in many cases that of his mother's or his wife's relations.³⁹ His tribe, though now rid of him, would still be exposed to vengeance, however, and would seek to arrange a settlement as quickly as possible.

There were different ways of securing protection. A sheikh of the interior of Arabia gives the following rules (quoted in Robertson Smith's *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 259): The man who

³² *Beduinen u. Wahaby*, p. 267.

³⁴ PROCKSCH, p. 11, note 1.

³³ *IDEM*, p. 122.

³⁵ PROCKSCH, p. 9 and note 4.

³⁶ *IDEM*, p. 144.

³⁷ LANE, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 178.

³⁸ See DOUGHTY, Vol. I, p. 16; KOELLE, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism Critically Considered*, p. 142.

³⁹ *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 42.

itches his tent so that its ropes touch the ropes of your tent is protected by you; the man who travels with you by day and sleeps with you at night is protected by you; the guest who has eaten with you is protected by you until he has eaten with another.³⁹ Occasionally protection is assumed by formal announcement at a shrine or sanctuary, and is withdrawn by announcing the withdrawal at the same place.⁴⁰

It was generally understood when hospitality was sought that a period of three days and four hours was the limit for the entertainment of a passing guest. He is, at the end of this period, expected to go to another tent of the tribe to be entertained, or to leave altogether.⁴¹ This does not appear to have been a rule where one was seeking protection rather than entertainment. Except under stipulated conditions to the contrary, a *jār*, as the one seeking refuge was termed, was seemingly looked upon as enjoying his protector's protection as long as he needed it.⁴² The position of a *jār* (Hebrew יָרֵי) was that of a sojourner. The term was used to denote those who occupied a relation of permanent clientage as well, but these were more definitely described as *maulās* (or *mawālī*).⁴³ The surest way to obtain a man's protection was to eat salt with him (*melḥa*, مِلْحَة). This requirement is met by partaking of the smallest portion of his food.⁴⁴

A *jār* by coming under the protection of a tribesman came likewise under the protection of the whole tribe.⁴⁵ In time, the tribe was oftener disloyal to its members at this point. That is, it would not consider itself bound to protect the *jār* of one of its members. There was, according to the true Beduin standards, nevertheless no obligation more sacred than to protect the man who had sought refuge with you. He has become a member of your family, and, even if it should involve you in conflict with his own tribesmen, or with tribes in friendly relations with yourself, you must do for him as you would do for your own blood kindred.⁴⁶ The *jār* himself has all the rights and obligations of his adopted tribe, and none of the obligations of his own, not even blood-revenge.⁴⁷ He may, however, undertake

³⁹ WELLHAUSEN, *Reste des arabischen Heidentums*, 2d ed., pp. 109, note 3; 194.

⁴⁰ *Kinship and Marriage*, pp. 42 f.

⁴¹ *Beduinen u. Wahaby*, p. 144.

⁴² *Kinship and Marriage*, pp. 42 f.

⁴³ A *jār* might be a *maulā*, but it does not appear that a *maulā* need be a *jār*.

⁴⁴ *Beduinen u. Wahaby*, p. 264.

⁴⁵ See KOELLE, pp. 87 f., 107 f.

⁴⁶ PROCKSCH, p. 38; cf. KOELLE, pp. 102 f.

⁴⁷ PROCKSCH, p. 38.

obligations for those with whom he still feels himself bound as a kinsman.

Robertson Smith states⁴⁸ that conditions may be attached to protection. It may be promised against only a particular enemy, or only for a time, or it may be against death. If the last-named, the protector has obligated himself to pay blood-money, if required to do so, to the next of kin, should his *jâr* be slain.

Was the protection dependent upon the personal watchfulness of a protector solely? Burckhardt answers this by showing that the man could not be slain in the tent of his protector or in that of the avenger of blood, or, in short, in any tent other than his own.⁴⁹ Protection might not be refused once contact between its two parties had been established, though a hint might be given that some other refuge had better be sought. Such an intimation is usually enough, however.⁵⁰ Protection may be refused, if the householder perceive the stranger coming toward his dwelling.⁵¹ It is, indeed, likely to be denied, if there be a probability of attack from a much stronger tribe, especially if the existing relations between the two tribes be unfriendly. Sometimes, moreover, tribes are friendly, but not to such a degree that one could venture to receive the enemy of the other.⁵²

The dismissal of *jârs* from protection is sometimes known.⁵³ If a *jâr* slay a tribesman of the tribe which has adopted him, or even another *jâr* of the tribe, his act is not a subject for blood-revenge; its true penalty is excommunication from the tribe.⁵⁴

A more specific name by which to designate the refugee from blood-revenge, but which was applied also to other temporarily protected strangers, is *dâḥil*, which is derived from the expression used by the stranger in seeking protection, *daḥaltu alayka*, "I have come in unto thee."⁵⁵

There was, besides the protection of another tribe, asylum as a means of protecting the slayer.

We have stated that from the grave there is believed to come a demand from the dead for vengeance. The spirit of an unrevenged

⁴⁸ *Kinship and Marriage*, pp. 42 f.; see KOELLE, p. 146, *infra*.

⁴⁹ *Beduinen u. Wahaby*, p. 123.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 267 f.; see KOELLE, pp. 102 f.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

⁵² *Beduinen u. Wahaby*, pp. 271 f.

⁵³ *Kinship and Marriage*, pp. 42 f.; cf. KOELLE, p. 101.

⁵⁴ PROCKSCH, p. 39. After being excommunicated, private vengeance was sometimes taken.

⁵⁵ *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 41.

man who has been slain finds no peace in the grave until the *hâma* or *şaddâ*, "the death-bird," which hovers at the head crying, "Give me to drink," has been satisfied with the blood of the murderer or one of his tribe. On the other hand, it is held also that protection may be given by the dead to the manslayer. The slayer may place himself under the protection of an ancestor at the grave and be secure against the avenger. The man who seeks to become a *jâr* of the ancestor pitches his tent over the grave and is safe as long as he remains there.⁵⁶

Asylum was also obtained in sacred areas (*himâ* or *haram*), in which all life was protected.⁵⁷ To violate these would be to violate the holiness of the god to whom they were sacred. Within such sacred areas there were certain portions and certain things which were more surely protective still, as being more intimately connected with the deity. Such were altars, images, the immediate precincts of the sanctuary itself, etc.⁵⁸ It should be borne in mind that the belief was that all protection is related to the god of the tribe.⁵⁹ This is self-evident in connection with holy places and holy things. But, moreover, when a man seeking protection of a tribe became a member of it, it was thought that in this instance, likewise, the tribal god had extended or enlarged his protection so as to take in the stranger. This fact insured his safety.

We have spoken of the tent as an asylum. The avenger might be at the door biding his time, but he could not enter to take vengeance. Within the home or tent he who placed himself under the protection of a woman was most sure. Her protection was indicated by her throwing her mantle over the stranger.⁶⁰

Outside of protection and asylum there were still other things which restricted the operation of blood-vengeance.

The sacred months did not allow killing, revenge, or war. In old times there was Rajab in the spring, and the period in the autumn represented by the later months Dhu-'l-Qa'da, Dhu-'l-Hijja, and Muharram, the season of the great annual fairs in Arabia, which Wellhausen thinks was originally one great time period. Rajab was especially sacred.⁶¹

⁵⁶ PROCKSCH, p. 42.

⁵⁷ Cf. KOELLE, p. 203.

⁵⁸ GEO. F. MOORE, article "Asylum" in *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

⁵⁹ *Reste arab. Heidentums*, p. 223; *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 148, 161 f.

⁶⁰ PROCKSCH, p. 48.

⁶¹ IDEM, p. 42. Mohammed violated it, however; see KOELLE, pp. 143 f.

The *qasâma*, or oath of purgation,⁶² has a special relation to blood-revenge. There is another kind of oath which is used to enforce vows and expression of intention — the *yamîn*, but it exercises no limiting influence on blood-revenge. The *qasâma* bears especially upon those suspected of manslaying, though it is sometimes undertaken where there may be evidence indicating ground for more than mere suspicion. A man is taxed with the killing of another. He denies the charge. The oath is laid upon him. He then must get fifty fellow-tribesmen to be his helpers in the oath. They all swear that the man has shed no blood, and he is clear.⁶³ It is not a question of knowledge with the helpers in the oath. The principle of protection to a kinsman is a supreme motive. We read, however, of individuals summoned to help in the oath buying off from joining in it by paying to the avenger of blood their share of the bloodwit.⁶⁴ Even this, compromising as it is in our eyes, does not render the *qasâma* invalid for its purpose. Generally speaking, in modern Arabia the oath is avoided; sometimes innocent men prefer even to pay blood-money to swearing an oath.⁶⁵ In this relation there still remains in effect the widely prevalent belief in the objective working of curses, blessings, and oaths.

In ancient times resort was often had to the oracle. It was obtained by means of the lot in the hands of the priest or *kâhin*. (*Kâhins* in pagan times held themselves very haughtily toward those who consulted them, but in the century before Islâm the gods had lost caste and the *kâhins* were mere hirelings to be bought with money. We read of one man who sought the oracle, and who, not getting the answer he desired when he wished to know whether he should avenge the blood of his father or accept an alternative, threw the arrows at the image and cried out: "You wretch! If your father had been killed, you would never have forbidden me to avenge him."⁶⁶) The oracle of Hobal at Mecca was the most famous of all. It was obtained by drawing one of seven arrows differently inscribed, Yes, No, Revenge Blood-Money, etc.⁶⁷ This lot might thus settle a categorical question which required only "yes" or "no," or it might give specific direction, such as to indicate which one of a number of individuals was to

⁶²Cf. *Beduinen u. Wahaby*, p. 125.

⁶³PROCKSCH, p. 49 and note 2.

⁶⁴*Kinship and Marriage*, p. 53, and note on p. 263.

⁶⁵*Beduinen u. Wahaby*, p. 259.

⁶⁶DOZY, *Het Islamisme*, 2d ed., pp. 5 f.

⁶⁷Sometimes the accounts speak of people bringing arrows with them when an oracle is sought. The arrows do not always appear to have been a fixed number or to have been part of the fixed appurtenances of a shrine.

undertake blood-vengeance or the payment of blood-money. It might also decide whether the one or other was to be offered or accepted.⁶⁶

Burckhardt mentions⁶⁷ another modification of blood-revenge which prevailed among the Beduin of the Sinai peninsula. If a settlement by payment of bloodwit were sought, the slayer's kin were allowed thirty days to arrange for it. If arrangement were not reached by the end of that period, the murderer had to hide or flee. In the interval he was safe as to life and property, if he placed himself under the protection of one of the leading men of his own tribe.

The most important of all restrictions on blood-revenge is blood-wit. The acceptance of this method of settlement is, theoretically, just as complete a satisfaction and as honorable an adjustment as the execution of vengeance. Practically, however, the question of tribal honor largely enters in at this point. It was in old Arabia a boast with certain tribes that they did not accept anything but life for life.⁶⁸ Weak tribes, on the contrary, unless they can secure allies in war, were and are practically shut up to the acceptance of the blood-money. How largely honor or tribal pride enters into such matters may be seen from a usage that prevailed long ago and still prevails. One condition of the acceptance of blood-money was that a full acknowledgment of the ability of the accepting party to accomplish revenge should be made. The slayer was delivered up to the avenger. He entered the avenger's tent saying: "Here I am; kill me or accept ransom." By saying this he renounced his claim to the protection of the tent and might have been slain. Actually, however, it was not often the case that one who did this was slain.⁶⁹ The purpose of the renunciation is merely to satisfy the avenger's pride, and this purpose of the act is always respected by the latter. The pride of the tribe appears also in that a powerful tribe may demand more than it will pay as bloodwit. Its members are valued higher than those of its neighbor tribes. This kind of aristocracy is largely based on might; and, indeed, aristocracy among Arab tribes is determined to a great extent by relative strength.

In some cases there was the reference of the question of how settlement should be effected to an arbitrator. Such a man was one who was known for his high rank and his impartiality. He might be of one

⁶⁶ PROCKSCH, pp. 50 f.; cf. KOELLE, pp. 33 f.

⁶⁷ *Beduinen u. Wahaby*, pp. 259 f.

⁶⁸ PROCKSCH, p. 52 and note 2; *Beduinen u. Wahaby*, pp. 123, 253.

⁶⁹ *Beduinen u. Wahaby*, p. 257; PROCKSCH, p. 53, note 1.

of the two tribes involved. He decided whether the bloodwit offered or the revenge insisted on by the other party should prevail;⁷³ and in cases of dispute as to the amount of the bloodwit he occasionally settled the sum.

The amount of blood-money in ancient times was one hundred female camels. This was also the ransom price of a prisoner and the amount of money given for a bride. Burckhardt⁷³ and Doughty both name a much lower figure as the normal blood-ransom in some tribes. One tribe is mentioned by Doughty as having a higher valuation for the life of one of a friendly tribe and a very low valuation for the life of an Arab belonging to a tribe hostile to them. The sum in the latter instance was five she-camels.⁷⁴ The normal bloodwit is rarely ever paid in full. When the proposal is made to settle by payment and the principle is accepted, the avenger of blood consults with the kin and fixes the price. It is set at a high figure, but one and another of the tribe that has to pay begs an abatement on his own account. The maidens and women also ask for a present in the shape of something allowed them from the amount, until finally the amount is settled after much begging and flattering and bargaining. Payment is then guaranteed by the tribe, and the actual payment follows at periodic intervals, extending, it may be, over two or three years.⁷⁵

As the Beduin are very poor, it becomes a serious matter with them to be obliged to assume a heavy bloodwit. In many instances, four or five camels may be all a man has, and these not all female camels, such as the avenger usually requires.⁷⁶ The sum was generally raised by the near kin of the slayer. If they were not able to raise it, an assessment was laid upon the tribe as a whole. Sometimes one man, the slayer it might be, paid the whole amount. We have from Doughty the account of a man who paid the ransom for his son and impoverished himself to do it.⁷⁷ Often the chief of a tribe was regarded as specially responsible for the payment of the blood-money.⁷⁸ As he received the fourth (*mirba'*) of the spoils in war and raids, he was often looked to for the entertainment of guests, the payment of ransom, and other money obligations.⁷⁹ A tribesman or a chief who readily undertook the settlement of bloodwit was held in the highest reputation.

⁷³ PROCKSCH, p. 55.

⁷³ *Beduinen u. Wahaby*, pp. 253 f.

⁷⁴ DOUGHTY, Vol. I, pp. 402, 475 f.

⁷⁵ *Beduinen u. Wahaby*, pp. 256 f.; DOUGHTY, Vol. I, pp. 403 f., 475 f., 491.

⁷⁶ DOUGHTY, Vol. I, p. 491.

⁷⁸ *Beduinen u. Wahaby*, p. 258.

⁷⁷ IDEM, Vol. II, p. 147.

⁷⁹ PROCKSCH, p. 9 and note 2.

At times a man would ask help from volunteers in the payment of the claim resting upon him, and, if he were highly esteemed, would receive not merely enough to discharge the obligation, but would be considerably enriched besides.⁸⁰

It must not be thought that camels alone could go to make up the price fixed upon. This depended upon the kind of country in which the blood-feud occurred. Almost any staple of the locality might be accepted, and the valuation of the articles or animals would be according to the supply and demand in the place.⁸¹ When a *jâr* was killed, it was his kinsmen, not his protector, who accepted the blood-money. When a husband killed a wife belonging originally to another tribe, they or the kin within that tribe accepted the blood-money.⁸²

Women were not often slain in revenge, though Doughty relates a case of the kind where the sister of a sheikh was killed and stripped because her tribe had killed a woman of the avenging tribe and stripped her. Doughty, however, speaks of the case as out of the ordinary.⁸³

Blood-money is *diyya*; the paying of blood-money is '*akl*'. There is in modern Arabia the *sul'a* also. This is a fixed gift that must, among the great tribe of Aneza, always accompany the variable *diyya*. Burckhardt says it consisted in his time of a riding camel, a mare, a black slave, a coat of mail, and a flint-lock. The quality of these things, except the first, was of small account. It is not quite clear from Burckhardt whether the requirement of the *sul'a* applied outside of the mutual relations of the Aneza sub-tribes or not.⁸⁴

When Islâm came, the main modification introduced was that all Muslims were obliged to avenge a Muslim who was slain, and to defend a Muslim slayer against all outsiders.⁸⁵ This, as striking at the very root of the tribal principle in social organization, would have wrought a great change in blood-revenge, but, despite Islâm, the tribal principle has been preserved almost unmodified in the desert, and with it the ancient usage in blood-feuds.

Once a settlement has been made by blood-money, there is every prospect that the tribes involved and their respective members will be in friendly relations, if they were so before the difficulty arose.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ *Beduinen u. Wahaby*, pp. 254 f.

⁸¹ PROCKSCH, p. 53.

⁸² *IDEM*, p. 61.

⁸³ DOUGHTY, Vol. II, p. 449.

⁸⁴ *Beduinen u. Wahaby*, p. 123.

⁸⁵ PROCKSCH, pp. 65 ff. HUGHES, *Notes*, p. 142, shows that both revenge and bloodwit lie in the power of the individual in Moslem law. That is, the next of kin decides whether blood or blood-money is to be exacted.

⁸⁶ DOUGHTY, Vol. II, p. 214.

BLOOD-REVENGE IN ISRAEL.—After having thus given an account of the custom of blood-revenge in Arabia, it may be of advantage to examine, with the information gained, the customs relating to the manslayer among the Hebrews. According to the tradition furnished by J in Gen., chap. 4, the usage of blood-revenge goes back to the nomad period of Israel's existence.⁸⁷

In Judg. 8:18 ff. a brother, Gideon, is the proper avenger of his own uterine brothers. He would have dishonored the Midianite chiefs by having his eldest son and heir slay them (8:20). The boy refused, and Gideon became his own avenger. Robertson Smith reports Nilus as saying that the Saracens (Arabs) employed lads to slay their captives.⁸⁸ This would be, on their part, a slaughter of blood-revenge to avenge their own slain who had been killed in battle.

In Judg., chap. 19 and subsequent chapters, there is an account of the vengeance taken for the death of a Levite's concubine. This Levite and his concubine had taken lodging in the house of an Ephraimite sojourner among the Benjamites of Gibeah. The Ephraimite sojourner was responsible for the safety of those who had been accorded hospitality by him, and by his act the Benjamites likewise were bound to respect and protect his guests. That the narrator should represent all the tribes as having been called to act against Benjamin by a Levite does not seem so strange when the position of the Levites in Judges and Deuteronomy is considered, especially when there probably would be recognized in any event a claim on Ephraim and Judah. The host was an Ephraimite, and the Levite was from Bethlehem-Judah. The position of the Levites during this period would lead the mass of tribes to help them in a cause of blood-revenge. The absence of any reference to Yahweh as an avenger in the narrative points to a tradition of rather early date. He appears as such in Gen., chap. 4 (J). There could have been no execution of vengeance in this case except by war, as the actual offenders were withheld and protected by their tribe. We need not lay stress on the cutting of the woman's body into twelve pieces and the sending of these throughout all Israel, nor need we take into account the story of chaps. 20 and 21; but the events of 19:1-28, 30, and the implications they contain, point to a war of revenge as the necessary outcome of the circumstances, and

⁸⁷ SMEND, *Alttestamentliche Religionsgeschichte*, 2d ed., p. 163.

⁸⁸ *Religion of the Semites*, p. 417; cf. FISCHON, *Der Einfluss des Islam auf das häusliche, sociale u. politische Leben seiner Bekenner*, p. 101.

the natural result of such a war would seem to be the practical extinction of the weaker side, in this case that of the Benjamites.

In the Abimelech story in Judg. 9: 26 ff. we have a professed war of revenge on the part of Abimelech against Shechem, but there is as well, in vss. 22 ff. and vss. 57, 58, the idea of God avenging blood on Shechem and Abimelech.

In the old story of Jael and Sisera we have a case that, probably, does not in the least concern our subject. The older poetical account is obscure, and is no sure ground for any unfavorable opinion on Jael's act.

In Gen. 4: 1-15 (J) we have as the most prominent features: The crying of the blood upon the ground for vengeance, corresponding to a common view among the Beduin. A concrete expression of it in Arabia is the myth of the death-bird at the grave, which cries out, "Give me to drink (of the blood of vengeance)." Then, in vs. 7, there is a trace of the ancient sacredness of the tent as an asylum, in the words: "and if thou doest not well, sin coucheth at the door and unto thee shall be his desire and thou shouldest rule over him." In this case the tradition apparently has confused some much clearer allusion to the custom of tent-asylum in ancient Israel. The original story must have dealt with some such conflict between the nomad Beduin and the settled agriculturalist as is preserved in the late prologue of Job. To make the parties brothers does not harmonize with the fact of their occupations and the traditional hostility between these occupations. But nothing else could have been done when both were to be made sons of Adam and the older story given in this way a place in J's history of the beginnings. The interposition of Yahweh is of the later stratum, but his action is strictly in harmony with the fraternal relation of the brothers. He banishes Cain from his kin, as he should be banished by the usage of tribal society in such cases. Another thing to be noticed is that the outlawed Cain realizes that he is without a human avenger, if anyone should slay him. Feeling this, he appeals to Yahweh, who assumes his protection, *i. e.*, Cain finds asylum at a sanctuary or altar, and becomes thus a *jâr Allah* or *jâr Yahweh*

(جَارُ اللَّهِ). The sign spoken of in the narrative may be the same kind of sign as a *jâr* would wear to mark his connection with his protector or his protector's people. In this case, would it be circumcision? It would then be veiled because of the regular introduction of it later by J, who, indeed, brings the rite from the desert of Midian.

Cain is to become a desert nomad, according to the narrative of Gen., chap. 4.

As to the case of Jacob, who, in Gen. 27 : 43 and 45 (J), is exhorted by his mother to flee, lest she should be bereaved of both him and his brother Esau in one day, we have what we have met with in Gen., chap. 4 : the slaughter of a kinsman — though here it is only threatened. The possibility contemplated is Esau's slaying of Jacob and vengeance being taken upon him by the relations for the slaying. This would have been out of accord with ancient usage, as we have already seen it. Had Esau killed his brother, the ancient usage would have looked to it that he should be banished from his kindred because of his act. There would not have been any shedding of his blood necessary.

The same kind of thing is met with in the case which the woman of Tekoa presents to David, 2 Sam. 14 : 5 ff. (J). Here again there is vengeance for manslaying within the kin. The case of Absalom, 2 Sam., chaps. 13 and 14, to which the woman's parable stands related, exhibits the same feature. Absalom, after slaying his brother, flees to the protection of the king of Geshur from the vengeance of his kin. In this instance, what we find in Arabia is noticed, viz., protection sought by preference with the relatives of one's mother. So it is with Jacob, who, though he was not fleeing from the avenger of blood, yet seeks asylum with his mother's kinsmen. In the woman of Tekoa's fiction, and also in Absalom's actual case, God is distinctly said not to exact blood-revenge (at least, in such cases as slaying within kin), 2 Sam. 14 : 14. The same thing is seen in Cain's case. Yahweh is cried to for vengeance, he banishes Cain from the kin, but protects him from blood-revenge. In the woman's case there is a restraint put by the king upon the exercise of vengeance, or, perhaps rather, the king gives his protection to the slayer. We have not met this feature in the cases already noticed. This case framed by the woman of Tekoa is interesting, inasmuch as it allows the right to put to death for what appears to be much the same or a less aggravated instance of fratricide than that of Cain. J, in Gen., chap. 4, makes Yahweh banish and then give protection to Cain when he is banished. No one is to be allowed to slay him. Here, however, the family would kill the one who slew his brother.

In 2 Sam. 1 : 14 ff. (J) David avenges on an Amalekite *gēr* (גֵּר) the death of his father-in-law Saul. There is now a new consideration to be noted : the man slain by David's order is one for whom no vengeance is to be allowed, because his death is ordered by a judicial

sentence of the community through its king. The criminal, for such he is now, is slain under the uttered formula, "Thy blood be upon thy head." We have in Arabia instances of this abjuration of responsibility for blood in the case of the one who is excommunicated by his tribe for manslaughter within the kin. It is against tribal usage to put a tribe's client to death, as is done here, for slaying one of the tribe, but we have already seen old usage set aside in other cases in Israel.

In 2 Sam. 3:27 ff. (J) the solidarity of the tribe in blood-feud is expressed in the declaration of David: "I and my kingdom are guiltless before Yahweh forever from the blood of Abner the son of Ner;" while the particular responsibility of the immediate kin within the tribe is shown in what follows (vs. 29): "let it fall upon the head of Joab and upon all his father's house." The killing of Abner by Joab was an act entirely justifiable under the simple unmodified law of blood-revenge, inasmuch as Abner had slain Joab's brother Asahel. David's declaration was, however, one which could not be justified by Beduin usage. Abner after the killing of Asahel had been protected by the house and following of Saul; he, for cause, put himself under David's protection, and David had sent him away in peace; that is, he had assumed the obligation to protect Abner; Joab by guile secures his return, and then kills him. A Beduin would hold himself liable for the payment of blood-money, at least, in such a case. But David, according to the account, does not; he appears to repudiate responsibility. In the meantime, Joab is too strong to allow of any move against him. When Solomon comes to the throne, he finds a way to divide and break up the Joab faction and has Joab put to death. So we see that David's declaration in 2 Sam. 3:28 does not represent the fact. David's house did retain a sense of responsibility for blood-revenge on account of its protégé, and in the time of opportunity it accomplished the vengeance, 1 Kings 2:28 ff. (J). In this passage there is seen, not merely responsibility felt for the death of Abner the protégé of the house of David, but also the king's prerogative to modify the right of asylum at the altar as well. The Book of the Covenant asserts the right of the innocent to asylum at the altar of God, but directs that the guilty are to be taken away thence and slain. In this passage, 1 Kings 2:28 ff., it is implied that the altar should protect even the guilty, and there is unwillingness on the part of the king's officers to drag Joab away by force. The right to slay the guilty man at the altar is given only by the order of the king. In this

instance, also, the man slain has no right of blood-revenge, because he dies under the sentence of the king by the hand of a public officer. His "blood is on his own head," 1 Kings 2:32, 33.

It is interesting to notice in 1 Kings 2:36 ff. (J) that Jerusalem has the privilege of asylum connected with it for Shimei, though, as far as we know, his case was not one of manslaughter.

Judg. 1:6 f. (J) there is torture and the law of *talio* applied in what appears to be a case of blood-revenge. This was a feature of Semitic blood-vengeance as seen in Arabia, though torture was forbidden by Mohammed in taking revenge. The ordinance of Mohammed has never been observed by the Beduin, however. The same principle of *talio* is asserted in 1 Sam. 15:33 (E and E2). Gen. 34:30 (J) shows the practice of blood-revenge as obtaining among the Canaanites, and the danger there was of a general blood-bath in revenge for an indiscriminate slaughter (of the Shechemites).

In examining the legal portions of the Pentateuch, we begin with the Book of the Covenant, Exod. 21:12-14. This passage appoints an asylum for the unintentional manslayer. The present text in vs. 13b does not give us the correspondence we expect with 14b, but the altar, wherever found, is evidently an asylum. There is a development upon the original institution here, for the murderer with intent is excluded from asylum. A lingering reminiscence of the general character of the asylum afforded by the altar in ancient times is seen in this passage, in that the intentional slayer cannot be killed at the altar, but must be taken away from it and be put to death. In the case of Joab we see that he, too, deemed the altar an asylum, even though it actually proved not to be such for him in the end. In this law of asylum in the Book of the Covenant there is implied a judicial process which would discriminate between smiting intentionally and smiting unintentionally. There are some other special cases of a similar, though not identical, nature, distinguished in this code, which likewise imply a considerable development in the system of justice in Israel. We need not do more than specify them, as they do not come into a comparative study of blood-revenge. In 21:20 the instant killing of a servant by a blow is punished, but there is no punishment if death do not follow at once; in 22:2, 3 distinction is drawn between the killing of a thief by night and the killing of one by day; in 21:28 ff. death by an ox concerning whose viciousness the owner had been warned, and death by one not previously known to be vicious, are distinguished. These are distinctions which suppose a considerable remove from a primitive stage of justice.

Another sign of developing ideas is found in the central tribunal of Deut. 17:8. This court was to decide questions which it was becoming hard to settle at the gate in the different communities, and is a still greater remove from early justice. This court of appeal was to settle just such questions as the Book of the Covenant suggests—blood and blood, plea and plea, stroke and stroke—and was a court of last resort. In Deut. 19:1-12 is found the law of the older Deuteronomic Code respecting the cities of refuge. Three cities are to be appointed to which the slayer who by accident kills another may flee in order that “innocent blood may not be shed in the midst of thy land . . . and so blood be upon thee.” The intentional murderer is safe from the pursuer in the city of refuge, but, on complaint of the avenger to the elders of his own city, an inquest is held by them, and, the fact of guilt being established, they take the man who slew with intent from the asylum city and give him over to the private vengeance of the avenger. The three cities referred to by this law are not named in it, but were evidently appointed before Deut. 4:41-43 was written, for they are in prospect here in Deut., chap. 19; and in Deut., chap. 4, the three extra cities over Jordan have been named by name. What three cities they actually were which, following the law of Deut., chap. 19, were appointed on the west side of Jordan we learn from P in Josh., chap. 20: Kedesh in Galilee, Shechem, and Hebron. In location, these cities agree with the direction of Deut. 19:3 to divide the land into three parts for purposes of asylum. These cities of refuge, as we should expect, were cities that had enjoyed from very early times a preëminent right of asylum as the leading sanctuaries of Canaan.⁹

In P, in Josh., chap. 20, the accused is to declare his cause to the elders of the city of refuge, and, when he has so done, shall, if an involuntary slayer, be protected until he stand before the congregation (*‘ēdhāh*, עֵדָה).¹⁰ After favorable judgment by the latter, he remains in the city of asylum until the death of the ruling high-priest. This punishment of the involuntary slayer by banishing him from his home cannot, according to P in Numb. 35:32, be commuted by ransom. It does not appear that P contemplates even temporary asylum for the wilful murderer. Numb., chap. 35, distinguishes between (1) unwitting killing, for which there is asylum, trial before the congregation, acquittal of the capital charge, and punishment by exile in a city of

⁹ GEO. F. MOORE, article “Asylum” in *Encyc. Biblica*.

¹⁰ Thus, as we see from עֵדָה, the post-exilic community is contemplated. MOORE, *loc. cit.*

refuge until the death of the high-priest; (2) smiting with an instrument of iron, the employment of which constitutes proof of murderous intent and is punished by blood-revenge; (3) smiting with a stone in the hand, the same; (4) smiting with a weapon of wood, the same; (5) passionate thrusting in hatred, or hurling something at anyone while lying in wait for him, with the result that he dies, or striking a blow in passion with death following; the same. (6) On the other hand, where there is an absence of passionate hatred, and death results from the accidental casting upon one of something, or from the throwing of a stone without harmful intent, the case must be judged by the congregation, and the man formally cleared of any capital charge and sentenced to exile in a city of refuge. The condemnation of a wilful murderer was by the sentence of the congregation based upon the accordant testimony of two witnesses, at least. According to the law of Deuteronomy, the process of trial was to be very thorough in its endeavor to come to a judgment upon all the facts and only these.⁹¹

An involuntary slayer's asylum did not extend beyond the limits of the city of his banishment, Numb. 35: 26, 27. If he went beyond these, he might be slain without legal recourse.

All the laws of P are for stranger and home-born alike. Gen. 9: 5 ff. (P) expresses the ancient notion of the sacredness of the blood as the life; and, in a general way, gives the law of blood-revenge, extending guilt, in harmony with the general view of P, to animals and things, as well as men.

In ancient Israel the duty of protection was a sacred one. Slayers usually sought asylum with other tribes or individuals. Moses, for example, put himself under Jethro's protection by his act in the watering of the flocks of Jethro's daughters. Jacob went to his mother's people, and Absalom likewise.

Asylum was also very commonly sought at altars and sanctuaries. The altar or image was the most sacred part of a sanctuary for this purpose (Moore, as above). With the centralizing of worship, the right of asylum formerly possessed by the leading shrines whose location still survived was continued to them. It is probable that originally some sanctuaries were more sacred as asylums than others. The cities which became cities of refuge were, indeed, shrines sacred in a superior degree in early days.⁹² Flight out of the land was always possible to those in fear of punishment. Many of the עָרֵי אָשִׁלָּה in Israel doubtless

⁹¹ SAALSCHÜTZ, *Das mosaische Recht*, p. 456.

⁹² MOORE, "Asylum," *Encyc. Biblica*.

were refugees from justice in other nations. Maimonides says that altars still protected after the institution of the cities of refuge. A *gō'el* who slays an unintentional slayer at an altar is himself to be put to death.⁹³

In Judaism asylum was under the law. This is a vital difference, for there was no law over asylum to restrict or direct it in nomad times. In Judaism asylum protected from the injustice and the immoral violence of tribal custom, but did not protect from law,⁹⁴ as it might have done in the desert.

Blood-revenge acted as a protection to life. This is implied in Yahweh's assurance to Cain; in Lamech's boast; in Job's comforting confidence that his *gō'el* liveth; in the promise that God will require the shed blood; in the promise contained in the name of Yahweh as Redeemer. But it appears that with the growing power of individuals the fear of blood-revenge was not a sufficient deterrent from assassination; cf. the case of Naboth and his sons; also Isa. 1:21; Ezek. 9:9; Hab. 2:8, 17.

The records show that in early times there need be no effort to visit blood-revenge on the actual slayers. As in Arabia, so in Israel, all the members of the slayer's kin are held responsible for the act of the manslayer. This is illustrated by the vengeance of the Shechemites which Jacob fears, and which is to fall on those who had had no part in the slaying. An illustration may be found, also, in the case of the seven sons of Saul given over for revenge to the men of Gibeah; also, in that of Joab and all his house who are declared by David to be liable to revenge for Abner's death. The earlier and even later Old Testament view of the inheritance of guilt is in accordance with this view of kin responsibility for blood.⁹⁵ In later times the advancing sense of individualism demanded that the actual wrongdoer be punished and that justice intervene in securing the regular trial of cases. Deut. 24:16 orders that kin shall not die for the crime of kin; each man shall die for his own sin. But even Jeremiah speaks of children being put to death for their father's sin, and Ezekiel opposes this practice as if it were prevalent in his day. In the time of the author of Kings it was recognized that each man must die for his own sin, 2 Kings 14:6, but it is implied that this view was not always lived up to. Similarly, but at a much earlier date, in Exod. 21:12 f. only the actual slayer is to be punished, and so we may conclude that even in

⁹³ Quoted by BISSELL, *Law of Asylum*, p. 61, note 2.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 59, note 1. ⁹⁵ NOWACK, *Hebräische Archäologie*, Vol. I, p. 330.

the age of the Book of the Covenant ideal justice, at least, punished only actual wrongdoers. It must be noticed that this individual element, especially as it implies a moral estimation of actions, is revolutionary in relation to blood-revenge. The nomad seeks not justice, but a vengeance which will compensate for a violation of kindred blood, and which will propitiate at once the tribal god and the spirit of the slain.

Settled life, destroying tribal bonds and establishing bonds of neighborhood as it did, brought about what is seen everywhere under similar conditions, namely, the decline of blood-revenge and the introduction of principles of social justice. The settled life is the explanation of the specification that there shall be one law of revenge and asylum for home-born and *gēr* (גֵּר) and *תושב* (תושב), a special class of גֵּר.⁶⁶ Such a formal emphasis on the equality of home-born and client in law would not have been made in a tribal society. It would be assumed. The motive "for ye were strangers," too, is superfluous in tribal society. Revenge among the tribes would apply to all outside the kin; asylum would avail for anyone who sought it. The absence of protection for a *nokri* (נֹכְרִי), "foreigner," who does not join himself to the community is indicative of degeneration of the old custom of nomad hospitality and protection. For, though Burckhardt testifies that the Beduin is much more ready to give protection and entertainment to an Arab than to one of another race, he still shows that toward himself these duties were recognized.⁶⁷

The rise of a central civil authority (in the person of the king), with real power to carry into effect its behests, introduced a modifying influence of incalculable power. We have noticed some instances of the king's interposition in blood-revenge, and have observed that he can even venture to rather rudely set aside ancient custom. The central tribunal of judges and priests appointed by the king was operative after the exile, and under the conditions then prevailing had, likewise, considerable influence; cf. 2 Chron. 19: 5-11.

The new principle of society—the bond of neighborhood—brought in what the old blood-revenge did not know—blood-revenge for the slaying of kin. Men had lost the old idea of a pure tribal blood, which kin-murder violated; the community had no common

⁶⁶ See BERTHOLET, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden*, p. 159.

⁶⁷ Doughty's testimony is to the same effect. He cites instances of Christians and Jews receiving protection from Arabs; cf. Vol. I, pp. 24, 25.

blood, in the tribal sense. Hence, whether of the kin or not, all slaying was treated alike. With the organized community there is in this respect as in others a growth of the moral notion of justice.

The absence of bloodwit from the Old Testament⁹⁸ represents a growing sense of the worth of individual life. Where an ox known to be vicious kills anyone, however, the owner is liable to death, and yet there is provision for a fine, Exod. 21:29-31.⁹⁹ This is the nearest approach to bloodwit which I have noted, though it is not at all a case for blood-revenge.¹⁰⁰ This absence of blood-ransom also is explained by a growing sentiment of social justice, which forbids, in the earlier stages of law, an encouragement of what endangers the social order — “evil in the midst of thee ;” and which, in the later, forbids the pollution of the nation and the land. This latter is a return to something like the idea of polluting tribal blood by kin-murder, though the motive is different in the respective cases. In the old nomad notion there was far more of a belief in actual physical pollution. In the priestly notion there was more of a reference to the objective existence of moral pollution — the so-called ceremonial impurity.

I think the Yahwism of Israel had most to do with modifying the custom of blood-revenge. Yahweh was in the minds of the nation the avenger of blood. Abel's blood cries to him, so Gen. 9:5; see also Job 16:18 f., etc. Slaying must be referred, therefore, to those who stood for him among the people — whether these be kings, priests, judges, or elders.

It is noteworthy that in Israel punishment of death which was the act of the community — blood-revenge in its true sense never was such — was accompanied by the utterance of a formula putting the blood upon the man's own head. In some cases of capital punishment there would appear to have been an attempt to avoid blood-shedding, as when the Jews are said to have wished to cast Christ over the cliff at Nazareth. Stoning was adopted mainly because it was an act of the whole community, and blood could not in such cases be easily avenged, except by war. Even in stoning, at least later, the Jews first compelled the condemned to leap from a height.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ A fine is implied as possible in any other case than that of the manslayer, Numb. 35:31 (SAALSCHÜTZ, note 568).

⁹⁹ SAALSCHÜTZ, note 545.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. KENNEDY, article “Goel” in HASTINGS' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

¹⁰¹ SAALSCHÜTZ, note 580, and p. 457.

Strangulation was resorted to later, and so was burning by pouring molten lead down the throat.¹⁰² These means were adopted so that blood should not be shed. In such cases the blood was in a real as well as forensic sense upon the man's own head. As a fact, however, the Rabbins were strongly against capital punishment, especially, of course, if it were likely to involve shedding of blood.¹⁰³

A remainder of the ancient tribal usage is found in the absence of initiative against the manslayer on the part of the authorities of justice in Israel. The initiative must always be taken by the avenger of blood.¹⁰⁴ It would, indeed, seem as though the avenger of blood, if powerful enough, could obtain sometimes his own vengeance on a slayer without any help from the authorities. Vengeance taken thus, if visited on an *involuntary* slayer, could not be called a crime. It was simply provided against by asylum, if the slayer could reach an asylum in time.¹⁰⁵ No doubt such a vengeance would be regarded as a case for blood-revenge in its own turn, but it was not a case for the law to condemn by capital sentence. It is likely that the law would take the view that it was the involuntary homicide's misfortune, rather than the avenger's fault, that the former should have been put to death.

The law would justify by formal decision, on the other hand, a man who slew an *intentional* homicide before trial.¹⁰⁶ Against him there stood no blood-revenge, but there was a trial held to establish formal justification. In many cases the law was probably of effect only in modifying individual vengeance, and private persons still continued to be avengers of their kin. In other capital cases the community assumed the responsibility of visiting penalty, as for crimes of unchastity, smiting of father and mother, man-stealing, etc. But blood-revenge to the very last retained more or less of its private character, the executioner being always someone who acted for the kindred who had been wronged.

A *ḥōḇēl* in the Hebrew community had evidently a close connection with inheritance, as the *wālī* in Arabia likewise had. In Israel, according to the Priests' Code, he redeemed a man who for debt had bound himself to servitude;¹⁰⁷ redeemed a poor man's estate for him;¹⁰⁸ received, together with the added fine, the returned goods or money

¹⁰² SAALSCHÜTZ, note 580.

¹⁰⁵ See Deut. 19 : 6.

¹⁰³ IDEM, note 572.

¹⁰⁶ SAALSCHÜTZ, pp. 451 f.

¹⁰⁴ IDEM, note 536.

¹⁰⁷ Lev. 25 : 47 ff.

¹⁰⁸ Lev. 25 : 25 ff.

belonging to a dead relative, which had been wrongfully taken away from him in his lifetime.¹⁰⁹ Maimonides¹¹⁰ says that the *ḥabīb* must be the nearest heir, and cannot enter upon his inheritance until he has avenged his slain relative. Declining to avenge, he must himself be executed by judicial authority. The Old Testament itself knows no penalty for refusal to avenge.¹¹¹ There would possibly be much the same kind of shame put upon a *ḥabīb* who refused to avenge blood as upon a brother-in-law who refused to marry his brother's widow.¹¹²

Exod. 21 : 18 ff. implies that there is no blood-revenge for one who does not die immediately from a blow.¹¹³ This does not accord with the custom of the desert, where those who have wounded tribesmen are sometimes held until it is known whether the wounded will recover or not.¹¹⁴ (Compare this with the case of a slave who does not die immediately under chastisement, Exod. 21 : 20 f. There is no blood-guiltiness in this latter case either.)

Where the slayer of a man found dead is unknown, the nearest homestead bears the blood-guilt, and the community, through its elders, has to make an oath of purgation, while performing the proper accompanying ceremony of breaking a heifer's neck in an uncultivated valley traversed by a stream of running water (Deut. 21 : 1-9). The oath of purgation is employed in similar cases in Arabia, and this, in fact, is its proper application among the tribes of the desert. The thought of blood going unavenged is a fearful thought for the Hebrew mind; from this source arose Cain's intensity of dread that "whosoever found him would slay him" (Gen. 4 : 13, 14), and Job's prayer that the earth would not cover over his blood if it were shed, but that its cry might continue to go up until vengeance had been obtained (Job 16 : 18 f.); and other similar passages.

That God was a protector of the manslayer must have been a belief common in Hebrew antiquity, judging from the use of the thought of God's protection in spiritual relations and in other figurative relations; for example, in the prophets, Isa. 8 : 14; Ezek. 11 : 16; in the Psalms, 61 : 4, 5 (Hebrew); 27 : 5; 31 : 21 (Hebrew), etc.; and in Prov. 14 : 26; 18 : 10. In Israel the altar or sanctuary of Yahweh protected only those who acknowledged Yahweh. The "fear of God" bound tribesmen

¹⁰⁹ Numb. 5 : 6 ff.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Deut. 25 : 8-10.

¹¹¹ Quoted by BISSELL, p. 54, note 3.

¹¹² SAALSCHÜTZ, pp. 538 f.

¹¹³ BISSELL, p. 55.

¹¹⁴ PISCHON, pp. 101 f.

to protect a stranger guest who had fled to the sanctuary of their god and put himself under the god's protection. Abraham's fear in Gerar for his life was because there was "no fear of God in the place;" that is, fear of the tribal god did not act as a motive restraining the men of the place from using violence toward those who claimed their god's protection. Joseph, too, will preserve Simeon from harm, for he "fears God." This relation of a client to a god must have been common among the Phœnician Canaanites, who were near neighbors of Israel, judging from the frequent occurrence of proper names compounded of *gēr* (גֵּר) and a god name. The protection of life by the god of the land through the true acknowledgment of him by the people is illustrated in 2 Kings 17:24 ff., where a priest is sent from Assyria to teach the new settlers the worship of Yahweh that he might not continue to destroy them by wild beasts. In Ruth 2:12 the expression "Yahweh the God of Israel, under whose wings thou art come to take refuge" is suggestive. Ruth comes as a stranger who acknowledges the God of Naomi's people, and the latter receive and protect her. The *gêrim* (גֵּרִים) in the Old Testament view appear to be as much *jirân Allah* as *jirân Israel* (جِيرَانُ إِسْرَائِيلَ, جِيرَانُ اللَّهِ).

It will have been remarked that the recorded instances of blood-revenge in the Old Testament are mostly found in the document J; this may be partly because the institution was more familiar to those in the southern kingdom, owing to their proximity to the desert, and partly because it survived longer in that kingdom.

The most striking difference between the blood-revenge of the Old Testament and that of the Arabs is that slaying a man of another tribe is deemed no wrong by the latter, while in the Old Testament the slayer's act is generally regarded as, in some degree, immoral, and the slayer's family does not pretend to use force for his defense, as would be surely the case, where possible, in Arabia. An evidence of aristocratic feeling as demanding increased consideration in blood-revenge is found in the song of Lamech, where the old spirit of the desert declares that, if Cain be avenged sevenfold, Lamech shall be avenged seventy and seven fold. A hint of the same motive is felt in reading the account of Gideon's vengeance on the Midianite chieftains (Judg. 8:18 ff.).

The result of our investigation is to show that in Israel, as compared with Arabia, blood-revenge has been so far modified by the social organization and religious belief of the nation as to appear to

have other motives and ends than the ancient tribal usage, and, as a natural result, other outward features as well. There is sufficient evidence, however, to show that the cases occurring in Israel's early history have not been recorded as they really happened, but that the real events have been modified in the course of the tradition handed down to the historians who wrote long after the occurrences.

THE CHEYNE BLACK ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA, VOL. II.¹

Hebrew Lexicography.—The article Hebrew Language is W. R. Smith's article on the same subject in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, revised and abridged by A. A. Bevan. The original article is well known as a concise and careful piece of work presenting the various theories as to the origin of the name Hebrew, the relation of Hebrew to the other Semitic languages, and the history of the development and decay of the language. The additions of the reviser are comparatively unimportant, and increase the value of the article but little. One can but regret that more space was not granted to this important subject, and that an attempt was not made to present a full and fresh treatment of it.

Most of the lexicographical work scattered through this volume is from the pen of Professor Cheyne himself. It furnishes fresh evidence of his great learning, versatility, and originality. The latter appears especially in his treatment of proper names, for many of which he offers new etymologies. Isaac is explained as a corruption of *ahihalaš*, *i. e.*, "the brother defends;" Jacob is a contraction and distortion of *abibod*; Israel was originally *Jizrah-el*, *i. e.*, "God shines forth," which was corrupted into both *יִשְׂרָאֵל* and *יִזְרְעֵאל*, as well as into *יִשְׁשַׁכָּר*. *יִנְרִי* is to be taken as a corruption of *נִרְיָה* (see article Galeded); the name Jericho was originally *יִרְחֵמָאֵל*, which was also transformed into *עִיר הַחֲמרים*, *i. e.*, "the city of palm trees;" and Judas Iscariot was perhaps originally Judas Ierichotes, *i. e.*, Judas of Jericho. It is safe to say that few of these and other etymologies of similar character will meet with general acceptance, but they are at

¹ *Encyclopædia Biblica*. A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political, and Religious History, the Archæology, Geography, and Natural History of the Bible. Edited by REV. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford, and formerly Fellow of Balliol College, Canon of Rochester; and J. SUTHERLAND BLACK, M.A., LL.D., formerly Assistant Editor of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Vol. II, E to K. New York: The Macmillan Co.; London: Adam & Charles Black, 1901. Cols. 1146-2688. Maps and Illustrations. Cloth, \$5. To be completed in four volumes. A review of Vol. I is found in the *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY*, Vol. IV, pp. 364-85 (April, 1900).

² See also CANON CHEYNE, "From Isaiah to Ezra: A Study of Ethanites and Jerahmeelites," *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY*, Vol. V, pp. 433-44.

least suggestive, and they will serve to lay emphasis upon the possibility that greater corruption has taken place in the forms of proper names than has usually been supposed.³ Professor Cheyne's brief articles on Earth and World, Head, and Heart are especially good, as is also that on Flesh (רֶשֶׁת), by W. E. Addis, and that on Idol, by Professor George F. Moore.

The large amount of labor bestowed upon the minutiae of philology and lexicography in this *Encyclopædia* is worthy of all praise, since thorough work of this kind is a prerequisite of good exegesis.

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Assyriology and Egyptology.—The articles on Egyptian topics are by W. Max Müller, whose dissertation (about forty-five columns in length) on Egypt is learned, ample, and well arranged. He also writes on Ethiopia, Etham, Goshen, Hophra, and the route of the Exodus. We are struck by the caution displayed by the writer in his statement of conclusions. It is evident that larger knowledge, while it has served to overthrow earlier hypotheses, has brought us a large margin of uncertainty in which we are at present moving about with considerable uneasiness. The "sure ground" of archæology has not been reached. In Assyrian matters the topics are exceedingly few. Tiele writes on Ellasar, accepting the identification with Larsam, but confessing difficulty. Esarhaddon is treated by C. H. W. Johns, a competent scholar who deals with his theme thoroughly, almost too fully for the needs of the Bible students. Johns also contributes the article on Euphrates. He might have added to his references Peters' *Nippur*, Vol. I, where one of the most recent Euphrates journeys is described in detail.

As a whole, the articles on Assyriology and Egyptology in this volume of the *Encyclopædia Biblica* are more valuable than the corresponding ones in the Hastings *Dictionary*.

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Archæology.—About forty articles in this volume come under the head of biblical archæology. All seem to be by competent authorities

³See G. BUCHANAN GRAY on "The Encyclopædia Biblica (Vols. I and II) and the Textual Tradition of Hebrew Proper Names," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XIII, pp. 375-91.

and to be well done. Those which have especially taken my attention are the following :

Education, by G. H. Box. The author points out the necessity for oral teaching of children by parents even in the earliest age of Hebrew history. The tradition of religious rites must at least be cared for wherever religion exists at all. In certain classes of the community this oral teaching is considerable in amount, as, for example, among the priests, whose duty it is to decide questions of conscience or of ritual for the people at large. A thorough education of some sort must have been given also to a man like Isaiah. An impulse to popular instruction was undoubtedly given by the publication of Deuteronomy. The ideal of the book is seen in the frequent exhortations to instruct the children in religion, though this ideal was not carried out till after the exile. An epoch was undoubtedly marked by Ezra. Where a ready scribe in the law has such influence, and where the synagogue (primarily a school for the study of the law) is a recognized institution, education has already become a part of the people's life. Even if the work of Ezra is much exaggerated by the chronicler (as the present reviewer thinks to be the case), there can be no doubt of the tendency of his time. With the scribes we find in the post-exilic period a class of sages also coming into view, some of whose works have come down to us. These were really educators. Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus may almost be considered manuals of pedagogy. What relation existed between the guild of the scribes and that of the sages does not appear. The latter are perhaps more distinctly influenced by Greek thought. A new epoch for popular education was opened by Simon ben Shetach. At least he is generally credited with the regulation that children should attend the elementary schools (Schürer's preference of a later date for this regulation is noted). The schools for children were probably attached to the synagogues. The custom of the teachers to earn their living by a handicraft so as not to exact fees for teaching reminds us of the apostle Paul. The training of the memory by constant repetition, of which Jerome speaks, is like the method still in use in the East.

Diseases of the Eye, by C. Creighton. These are notoriously prevalent in the East. The case of Tobit is discussed at length, the author maintaining that the cure narrated is intended to be only an example of ancient medical treatment. The white spots produced by ophthalmia are made inconspicuous by pigmentation, for which fish gall might be used, together with charcoal from the burned liver. It is

doubtful, however, if this hypothesis does justice to the original account, in which Tobias rubs the fish gall alone in his father's eyes, "and when he rubbed them the white spots scaled off, and he saw his son and fell on his neck." A radical and miraculous cure seems intended. This same article renews the hypothesis that the apostle Paul's thorn in the flesh was ophthalmia.

Family and Kinship, two related articles by Benzinger. The former emphasizes the fact that community of worship is the bond of the family and of the clan. In this respect the Semites differ nothing from early Indo-Germanic peoples: "The house-father was in primitive times the priest who had charge of the relations between the members of the household and the god. . . . This is clearly shown in the case of the Israelite house-father in the Passover ritual. The transference of the designation 'father' to the priest in this connection is also worth noting." It might have been added that the earliest writers of Genesis assume as a matter of course that the patriarchs are the priests of their families. Anticipating, to a certain extent, what will be said in the next volume on the head of marriage, the article on Family discusses particularly the place of women in the baal-marriage, which the author regards as originally a marriage by capture. But may it not be said that the sale of a daughter as a slave is as old as any title established by capture? To be sure, it is necessary to consider here the facts of matriarchy as brought out more fully in the article on Kinship. The writer might have been more positive in his statement concerning the "uncleanness" of the mother at childbirth. After citing Ploss' theory that this is a primitive quarantine, he says: "More probably the original idea was that the sickness of childbirth, like any other sickness, lay under the influence of certain demons, or that this, like other events in the sexual life, was under the protection of a special spirit." It seems to me quite certain that in the polytheistic stage of Israel's religion the whole sexual life was devoted to a special god (or goddess), and that the *taboo* of childbirth is a survival from this stage. The article on the Family is supplemented by Canon Cheyne in a brief discussion of the term "adoption."

Fasting, also by Benzinger. The author doubts whether the original purpose of the observance was to raise Yahweh's pity, and favors Robertson Smith's explanation that fasting was originally a preparation for the sacrificial meal. While there may be room for both explanations, I confess that the former seems to me more natural. Fasting in order to compel action on the part of an earthly friend

(or of an enemy for that matter) is a very ancient institution. In the naïve apprehension of Yahweh's relation to his worshiper which prevailed in early Israel, it would seem to be the most natural thing in the world to seek to move him in this way.

Food, by Professor Kennedy. The article illuminates the Old Testament material by statements from the Talmud, and by analogies from modern oriental life. Vegetable foods are enumerated, and the limitations in the use of animal food are pointed out. The article here touches upon a subject more fully discussed under the head Clean and Unclean. Instructive, however, is the discussion of the Jewish rules for slaughtering animals intended for food.

High Place, by G. F. Moore. This is a clear presentation of the facts concerning the early sanctuaries, and to this extent an outline history of the cultus in Israel.

Hosanna, by Canon Cheyne. The proposed derivation of the word from the Aramaic *'ushna* ("strength") has much in its favor. Whether it has been proposed earlier I do not know. A number of other articles by the same author show his well-known acuteness, especially in emendation of the biblical text. That many of these emendations are more ingenious than convincing is perhaps what we must expect in dealing with an ancient and faulty text.

The volume maintains the standard set by its predecessor, which is saying a great deal.

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Geography.—In this second volume there are more than seventy articles on biblical geography, illustrated with seven full-page maps, of which six are accompanied by lists of names. Some of these maps indicate in colors the elevations and depressions of the country. Besides, there is a map of Egypt covering two pages, with a list of names occupying two more. There is also an excellent article by Francis Brown, which is designed "to investigate the nature of the geographical conceptions of the Hebrews and the extent of their geographical information." He discusses the subject with great thoroughness for nineteen pages, illustrating it with four charts: for the time of the Judges, the tenth, the eighth, and the fifth centuries B. C., respectively.

It is natural to institute a comparison between the geographical articles in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (=DB.) and those in the

Encyclopædia Biblica (=EB.). In which of the two will the minister or the specialist find the more valuable information? If a library can afford only one encyclopædia of the two named, which deserves the preference? Does the one work supplement the other?

DB. has only two maps for the articles corresponding to those in Vol. II of *EB.*; it has no general article on geography, but furnishes an admirable presentation of the geology of the country, by Hull, in eleven columns. There is no such article in *EB.* This is a serious omission, as the general contour of the country cannot be understood without reference to the geology.

There are fewer distinguished contributors to *EB.* than to *DB.* G. A. Smith, who has furnished three independent articles and assisted in the preparation of three others, including a composite article on Jerusalem, in which W. R. Smith and Conder shared; Nöldeke, who has written on Edom; Driver and Budde, who have each prepared a brief article, complete the list of noted names, but in *DB.* there are contributions by eleven distinguished travelers and explorers: Bliss, Conder, Ewing, Hull, Mackie, Merrill, Pinches, Ramsay, Sayce, Warren, Wilson, some of whom have lived years in Syria or Palestine, or have won renown in connection with the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Professor Cheyne is a man of immense learning and of critical erudition, but it is impossible for him to prepare matter of the same interest and value as specialists. He has, indeed, traveled in Palestine, but only as a tourist and for a brief period. His forty-seven, or more, articles give the impression of being more critical than descriptive. There is a great difference between his treatment of Mount Hermon and that by Conder, who has visited it twice; between his discussion of Galilee and that of Merrill, who has gone over it with the utmost care. Descriptions drawn from books, however thorough, can never equal those made by competent students from personal investigations. It seems certain that the geographical articles in *DB.* are better adapted to the needs of ministers than those in *EB.* Libraries that aim at completeness will include *EB.*, but the ordinary student will find far more help and inspiration in *DB.*

The following may be noticed in detail: Edrei, by G. A. Smith, more valuable than in *DB.*, where Sayce makes no mention of the underground city, which is a most important feature; River of Egypt, by S. A. Cook and Canon Cheyne, is much more complete than that by Selbie in *DB.*; Ekron, by G. A. Smith and T. K. C., much superior to that of Beecher in *DB.*; Elath is treated briefly and clearly by

Selbie in *DB.*, but with much more fulness by Cheyne, who traces its history down to the present time; there is no mention of Eleutheropolis in *DB.*, a serious oversight; the information by Cheyne grouped under history and site is well-arranged; Selbie mentions three sites in connection with Elkosh, and favors the one near Eleutheropolis; in *EB.* Budde treats the subject with great learning and discrimination, inclining to the same view, though he pronounces certainty impossible; S. A. Cook in *EB.* is much more thorough than Conder in *DB.* in his discussion of Emmaus; with most moderns he accepts *Kuloniyeh* as the probable site; the argumentation by which Cheyne seeks to prove that we should amend the text of 1 Sam. 28:7 to read En Harod (Judg. 7:1) instead of Endor is characteristic of a weakness that sometimes appears in Cheyne's critical processes; there does not seem to be sufficient reason for rejecting the traditional site; the article, by H. W. Hogg, on Ephraim is incomparably superior to the one in *DB.*; it occupies nearly six pages, besides two pages devoted to a map and list of names; Millar scarcely touches the geography in *DB.*, which will doubtless be treated under another head; there is a great contrast between the anonymous article on Esdraelon in *EB.* and the one in *DB.* by Ewing, long a missionary in Palestine, all of whose articles are of a high degree of excellence, owing to his personal knowledge of the country, his habits of close observation, and his vivid style; on the other hand, C. H. W. Johns has given far more information regarding the Euphrates than Sayce in *DB.*; there is also a separate discussion of the reference in Jer. 13:4-7; the treatment of Galatia in *EB.* has the advantage of an admirable map; it is by Woodhouse and Schmiedel, and is largely at issue with Ramsay, who has furnished the contribution to *DB.*; the articles on Galilee and the Sea of Galilee, by Cheyne, lack the realism of those in *DB.*, by Dr. Merrill, who has made a special study of this part of the country, but the map in *EB.* is illuminating; Gaza in *DB.* is by Hull, who visited it in connection with a scientific journey in 1884; Cheyne in *EB.* makes some good critical suggestions; under Gennesaret, Cheyne claims that 'Ain et-Tin is the most probable site of ancient Capernaum; the article on Jerusalem is by Conder on site and excavations, and by W. R. Smith and G. A. Smith on ancient Jerusalem; G. A. Smith, contrary to Conder in *DB.*, considers it proved that the City of David is to be found on the south end of the eastern hill; the weight of authority, since 1878, seems to be favorable to this view; there is less assurance of the course of the second wall, which would leave the Church of the Holy Sepulcher

outside of it, as G. A. Smith, following Dr. Shick, is inclined to think (*cf.* Golgotha).

This volume of the *Encyclopædia Biblica* must be considered an important supplement to the *Dictionary of the Bible*, in the subjects discussed, for the scholar who desires every available help for the critical investigation of the geography of the Bible.

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Ancient History and Tradition, and Biography.—Under this caption are grouped some forty-eight articles by thirteen different writers. Canon Cheyne's initials stand at the end of thirty or more. In general it may be said that these articles are all well supplied with facts and bring the reader fully abreast with the most recent scholarship. At the same time, the great mass of detail is too often left in such a chaotic condition that the reader is confused, being unable to decide on first reading as to what even the author believes. Jastrow's article on the Hittites is an exception to this rule, and, in the present writer's judgment, is the nearest approach to what the lengthier articles ought to be, viz., fair, scholarly, and summarized.

The most important article of this entire group is the one by Guthe on Israel, seventy-two columns in length. It is an excellent piece of work from the point of view of both psychology and philosophy. Indeed, this study is a keen psychological interpretation of Old Testament events according to the modern philosophy of how Semitic religion developed. It is cautious and reverent throughout. Guthe holds, with the editors (and there is a decided editorial stamp to the whole work), that only the tribe of Joseph was in Egypt; that Moses instituted a new religion, monolatry; that the Philistines came into Canaan somewhat later than the Israelites; that Solomon's temple was at first nothing but the court sanctuary; that the schism was not so extraordinary, for there had never been any real blending between Judah and the other tribes; that Manassah's change of heart and policy, as recorded by the chronicler (*cf.* 2 Chron. 33:11-17), is only a legend which grew up under the influence of later theories of divine retribution; that Cyrus probably never gave a general permission for the return of the exiles; and that the second temple was built by the people already in Judah. The weakest point in the article is paragraphs 37 and 38, in which the author attempts to account for the origin of Deuteronomy and the reformation under Josiah. His

main argument is that *it was really necessary* for the prophets to descend from the bold heights of their ideals into the sphere of rude reality; and it was *imperative* that they should secure the introduction of the laws by the king himself. He allows that Hezekiah, through Isaiah's influence, aimed at the purification of the cultus (*cf.* 2 Kings 18:4), but denies that the preference for Jerusalem as the only place of worship, expressed in the same passage, comes from Hezekiah's age. It is more in accord, he thinks, with a later generation and the interests of the royal priesthood. The articles on Gad, Issacher, and Joseph are by H. W. Hogg, to whose direct editorial oversight the *Encyclopædia* owes its exactness and immaculate typographical character. These articles show an immense breadth of critical and historical information. Gad is treated as of Aramæan origin; Issacher is declared to have been more than usually mixed; while Joseph is the old name for all the clans that settled in Ephraim: the name Ephraim being an older geographical, but a younger ethnic, name than Joseph.

Benzinger's article on Government describes in an unusually instructive manner, on the basis of what is known of the pre-islamic Arabs and the modern Bedouins, Israel's evolution from the ancient tribal system while in the desert, through the local communities and territorial unions of Canaan, to hereditary monarchy, and finally the rule of the hierarchy after the exile, when the tendency of the law was to exalt the spiritual over the secular power.

Toy's sketch of Ezekiel is vivid, concise, and masterly. He describes him as a prophet whose life was spent in endeavoring to teach the significance of the captivity. Ezekiel was the last of the prophets, forming the transition from the prophetic to the priestly period. Those who came after him were seers.

Addis' attempt to portray the lives of Elijah and Elisha was a much more difficult task. From the narratives concerning the former in 1 Kings 17:19, which he naturally considers "legendary," he constructs a portrait of Elijah which entitles him still to stand as a great spiritual and ethical power not unworthy of a place by the side of Moses. From the stories about Elisha he finds it much harder to recover the kernel of literal fact. Yet, he claims, these stories are of great value. For the miracles he wrought, so far as they embody the spirit of active love, contribute a Christ-like element to the ideal of prophecy.

S. A. Cook writes on Genealogies, showing that the great majority

of Old Testament genealogies of *individuals* are found in post-exilic writings: genealogical zeal first arose during the exile.

The composite article on Galatia, by Woodhouse and Schmiedel, has one redeeming characteristic: it is accompanied by a good map (this, in general, is a praiseworthy feature of the *Encyclopædia*). Otherwise this article is decidedly unsatisfactory. It is too polemic. Woodhouse takes up the history of Galatia, and introduces the question: Where were the churches to which the epistle to the Galatians was sent? Schmiedel defends in an exhaustive argument the "North-Galatian theory" as against the "South-Galatian theory" of Ramsay. The article is more suitable to a theological quarterly than to an encyclopædia.

Nöldeke writes the articles on Edom, Hagar, and Ishmael. He maintains on the basis of Exod. 15: 15 the great antiquity of the title "duke" given to the Edomite princes in Gen., chap. 36, and declares that the territory of Edom was properly Mount Seir, but allows that it may have spread out both east and west and varied at different periods. He correctly identifies Sela' and Petra. Hagar he treats as the personification of a tribe or district (*cf.* the Hagarites of 1 Chron. 5: 10), and Ishmael as the personification of a group of tribes regarded as near kinsmen of the Israelites.

The article on Ezra, by the late Professor Kusters, of Leiden, is revised by Canon Cheyne, and brought up to date. That is to say, the article shares the doubts of Torrey concerning the historical character of all the supposed official documents inserted in our book of Ezra. This is the great fault of all Cheyne's articles. He is too careful to incorporate doubtful hypotheses. His own articles on Earthquake, Eber, Eclipse, Goliath, Jacob, Isaac, Joseph, Gideon, Esau, Enoch, Jehu, Jehoiakim, etc., are interesting, but too critical. For example, he doubts the reality of the earthquake in Amos 1: 1, and denies the historical character of Matt. 27: 51 f. Eber is an ethnological abstraction. The "darkness over the whole earth" (Mark 15: 33) is an addition to plain historical facts involuntarily made by men liable to the innocent superstitions of the people. The story of Goliath has poetical and religious truth, but not, except in a very minute kernel, the truth of history. Isaac is a tribal representative. Jacob fled to the Hauran (Bashan), not to Haran. His tribal character, too, is distinctly marked. Joseph is no doubt idealized, but the story is in details an approach to truth. This is one of Cheyne's best and most carefully prepared articles. His extreme views on Isaiah are too well known to be here rehearsed.

In general, one learns much from such a collection of critical material, and the world is indebted to the editors for giving the English people so many continental views; still, it must be said that the editors' ears have been too often open to modern vagaries and passing *individual* opinions, and too frequently closed to the *consensus* of modern critical research and common-sense exegesis. Instead, therefore, of giving us an encyclopædia of biblical facts, they have put into our hands a collection of the extremest critical hypotheses existing at the end of the nineteenth century. Listen to Schmidt, who writes on Jeremiah: "However favorably Jeremiah may have been impressed at the outset by the moral tone of the deuteronomic law . . . when he observed the 'carnal' confidence in the possession of this law, he had no hesitation in openly denouncing it as a fraud and a forgery (*cf.* Jer. 8:8)." What is this for exegesis? But he echoes Wellhausen.

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Old Testament Introduction.—The articles of this volume assigned to the present writer for examination are upon the following books: Ecclesiastes, by A. B. Davidson; Esther, by Th. Nöldeke; Ezekiel, by C. H. Toy; Ezra-Nehemiah, by W. H. Kusters and T. K. Cheyne; Habakkuk, by K. Budde; Haggai, Hosea, Joel, and Kings, by the late W. R. Smith, supplemented by Canon Cheyne, K. Marti, S. R. Driver, and E. Kautzsch, respectively; Isaiah, Job, and Jonah, by Cheyne; Jeremiah, by N. Schmidt; Judges, by G. F. Moore.

From the point of view of introduction to the Old Testament, this is the most important volume of the four, though the distinguishing characteristics of the *Encyclopædia*, appearing prominently in these articles, have been noticed by reviewers of the first volume. For special students of critical questions, the articles set forth, in admirable form, the history of research in this field and many of the problems now occupying the minds of scholars. The diligence and learning exhibited by Canon Cheyne, his breadth and candor, are worthy of all praise, and this volume will bring additional laurels to biblical scholarship and fame to the distinguished editor. One hesitates to offer any adverse criticism, in view of this marvelous exhibition of erudition. At the same time it would seem that, for general use as a dictionary of the Bible by "all serious students, both professional and

lay," the critical side has received undue emphasis, both in the matter and in the manner of its presentation, while the contents and teaching of the Bible have been somewhat overlooked. This impression is not derived wholly from the use of such terms as "fabrication," "invention," and similar undesirable words, as applied to the stories of the Bible. It is good, indeed, that we should realize that the leading men of old time spoke especially to the men of their own generation, did not all commit their oracles to writing any more than our Lord did, and were dependent, as he was, upon the accuracy of their followers rightly to reproduce their sayings; but the "serious student" who is untrained in critical processes and dependent on his Bible dictionary for information about the Scriptures will find too little that is positive in the articles of Cheyne and the writers who appear most in sympathy with his conclusions, and the comfort of supposing that these volumes mark the extreme limit to which he will ultimately be expected to go will be denied him. In the article on Isaiah, *e. g.*, may be found such expressions as these: "We can hardly expect to find that Isaiah left much in writing;" "It will be well for the student to be continually revising his earlier results in the assignment of dates in the light of his later critical acquisitions;" "It is too bold to maintain that we still have any collection of Isaianic prophecies which in its present form goes back to the period of that prophet." In the discussion of Isa., chaps. 40-66, six columns are given to criticism, even to the reproduction of superseded theories apparently not steps in the growth of the theory advocated, but the article has been searched in vain for a plain statement of the contents of these chapters. Now, the question of authors in the several parts of Isaiah has become so complex in recent years that refined criticism should be accompanied by the most careful analysis and statement of the teaching. The pen of Cheyne, always learned, sometimes runs away with him, as seems to have been true when he wrote the two hundred words of well-restrained praise of G. A. Smith's admirable studies of Isaiah.

The characteristics of the article on Jeremiah are, *mutatis mutandis*, similar to those just mentioned: "Even through the mists of tradition the fact can be discerned that there never were any Jeremianic autographs;" "there is not the slightest evidence that any part of the volume was ever written by him" (Jeremiah); ". . . 51: 59-64 is a piece of haggadic fiction;" "[chap.] 38 is manifestly a late legend." In spite of such statements as these, this article has much that is thoroughly good and informing respecting the origin of the book.

Special notice of these two articles has been made because of the great importance of the books treated in them, but other positions, leading the reader to indefinite or sharply challenged conclusions, are made prominent in this volume; as, for example, in Ezra-Nehemiah, wherein is maintained the unhistorical character of the story of a return in the time of Cyrus, and Ezra is given a place in the history subsequent to Nehemiah, though the latter position is disputed in at least two passages of the article itself.

Some of the articles do more justice to the actual contents of the books. This is true of that on Judges, which gives a brief statement of contents, and especially is it true of those on Ecclesiastes and Ezekiel. The former is to be commended for its clear perception of the philosophy lying at the basis of the author's words. Professor Davidson is at his best in analysis of this sort. He inclines to a date in the latter part of the third century B. C., two hundred years too early, according to Cheyne. The article on Ezekiel is a model in the way of positive presentation of our knowledge of the book in readable form. The last two articles are worthy of a place beside the best in the Hastings *Dictionary*.

Nöldeke believes that there is no historical kernel in Esther, but that the whole narrative is fictitious. In the article on Habakkuk Budde reproduces (see *Studien und Kritiken*, 1893) his interesting and strongly defended view that in Hab. 1:5-11 we have a threatening addressed to Assyria, and that the Chaldæan power of 1:6 is mentioned as the conqueror of this oppressor, the date being about 615 B. C. A skilful critic might have detected authorship from two different points of view in the brief article on Haggai, even without the initials of the two distinguished men who wrote it. The article on Hosea is thorough and satisfactory. The late date of Joel is defended with force. The most of Jonah is said to belong to the early post-exilic period, as literature it is to be classed with Tobit and Susanna, and the peculiar form of the story of the great fish is derived from the nature-myth of the dragon, the dragon here symbolizing the Babylonian power.

In the illuminating article on Job the complex nature of the problems of criticism is expounded, and the solution is found in the different purposes cherished by the writers at the several stages in the growth of the book. The book was not completed before the latter part of the Persian period.

No writer upon these topics can afford to ignore the positions maintained in this volume.

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The article Hexateuch is Wellhausen's article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* on Pentateuch and Joshua, revised by himself, to which is added a brief closing statement by Cheyne. The revision includes (1) modification of certain technical terms, *e. g.*, "fragment—hyp." for "fragmentary;" "supplement—hyp." for "supplementary;" "Yahwé" for "Jehovah;" (2) the substitution of the German titles of books cited for the English; (3) the use of smaller type for many sections; (4) the improvement of the phraseology in certain minor points; and (5) the omission of (*a*) the very interesting illustration of the critical methods as applied to Gen., chaps. 1-9 (pp. 517, 518); (*b*) the larger part of the discussion of feasts, including the Passover (pp. 521, 522); (*c*) the application to narratives of the conquest of Canaan (p. 523); and (*d*) the concluding paragraph in which the time and character of Ezra's work are described. The addition by Cheyne emphasizes the view that purely literary criticism is a thing of the past, since the future criticism will look to archæology and the comparative study of social customs for the material on which to base further progress. The work of Budde, Stade, and Baentsch is cited as furnishing examples of the kind of work called for. Much, it is said, is to be expected from Steuernagel and Gunkel. Attention is also called to the need of further development of Hebrew philology and textual criticism. The article, therefore, as printed in *Encyclopædia Biblica* (*a*) omits much that was illustrative in the old article; (*b*) contains nothing that is new upon the subject; but (*c*) is in better typographical form; and (*d*) exhibits the influence (*e. g.*, in the omission of the paragraph on Ezra's work) of the new views concerning the history of the restoration.

The article on Historical Literature, by Professor George F. Moore, appears to be one of the freshest and most instructive in the entire volume. Its aim is "to sketch the development of Israelitish and Jewish historiography from its beginnings down to the second century of our era." History-writing began under the stimulus of the organization of the kingdom after the overthrow of Philistine supremacy in the middle of the tenth century in Solomon's reign. The *first* form is narrative, dealing (*a*) with the great events of the preceding half-century

(*cf.* material in 2 Sam., chaps. 9-20; 1 Kings, chaps. 1, 2); (*δ*) after that, with history going back to the patriarchs (*cf.* J and E in the Hexateuch), and the sources, down to Solomon, were largely oral tradition, including poems, laws, legends, myths, folklore, fable, etc., but after Solomon, probably royal and priestly documents preserved in the palace and the temple. Under the strong influence of the prophets, who interpreted all calamity as a punishment for sin, catalogued the various acts and attitudes that constituted sin, and taught that sin had existed in every generation back to the beginning, a *second* form of history-writing grows up which may be called *pragmatic*, since it introduces an interpretation of the events, showing their interdependence and causation. It also includes a rhetorical element, seen in the enlargement and embellishment of older histories and the introduction of prophetic speeches which express the thought of the author. Here belong (*α*) the deuteronomistic history of the kingdom of Judah and Israel from Solomon on, found in the books of Kings; after which (*δ*) the earlier history is taken up on the same principles, as in the book of Judges, and to some extent in portions of Samuel; and (*γ*) the wanderings from Horeb on, and the conquest of Canaan, are treated, as in Deut., chaps. 1-11, and the book of Joshua; but naturally the patriarchal and primæval history did not lend itself to this treatment. As a specimen of a *third* form of history-writing, we find the biography of Jeremiah (combined with his prophecies), the first and almost the only example in the extant literature. A *fourth* form, although related to the second, is that which appears in the fifth century. We may call this legalistic, priestly, or religious history, although Professor Moore does not employ these terms, and includes (*α*) that history which begins with creation and closes with a technical description of the Israelitish tribes in Canaan, called P (with P², P³, etc.), together with (*δ*) the laws, which are to be regarded as an "ideal of the religious community and its worship projected into the golden age of the past, as Ezekiel's is projected into the golden age of the future."

We cannot, for lack of space, follow, even in this brief fashion, the treatment from this point forward, except to name in the order given the more important subjects of sections: histories combined, *i. e.*, the joining together of J and E, of J E with D and P; personal memoirs of Nehemiah and Ezra, a new type of Jewish historical literature; Aramaic chronicle, parts of which are seen in Ezra, chaps. 4-6; the Midrash of Kings, cited by the chronicler (2 Chron. 24:27; 13:22);

the books of Chronicles, an ecclesiastical history, based upon a new type of pragmatism, the religious conception being clerical rather than prophetic; popular religious stories, *e. g.*, Judith, Esther, Jonah, Ruth, Daniel; history of Asmonæans, as seen from the Palestinian point of view in 1 Maccabees, and from the Greek-speaking Jewish point of view in 2 Maccabees; Hellenistic histories of the Jewish people in the third and second centuries B. C., *e. g.*, Demetrius, Eupolemos, Artapanos, Philo, in his life of Moses and his account of the persecutions of the Jews in his own time; Justus of Tiberias, whose work is lost; Flavius Josephus; *Seder 'Olām*, a chronological outline.

In the classification of Hebrew historiography there is contained an epitome of the literature of twelve centuries; for the relation of the historical to the prophetic and legal literatures is exceedingly close. Perhaps this relationship is not as distinctly formulated as it might have been. No mention is made of the lack of influence exerted by Wisdom writers upon historiography; but the fact that the sages had no interest in the nation as such is sufficient explanation. While prophetic influence is supreme down to the destruction of Jerusalem 587 B. C., and after that the priestly or ecclesiastical, the first dominates the period of existence as a nation, the second the period of existence as a religious community or church. The sages stand out separate from and above the merely local situation, and consequently do not share in history-making. It is difficult to see how this presentation could be improved, unless it were (*a*) by some comparison, from period to period, of the contemporaneous historical literature among other nations, with a view to finding traces of the influence of such literatures (slight reference to this is given in the case of the Babylonian); and (*b*) a clearer presentation or classification of the different elements confounded as history, *e. g.*, myth, legend, folklore, story, fable, etc.

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New Testament Articles.—The articles on the New Testament in the present volume treat matters of the greatest importance, especially in the field of introduction. The work of Professor Schmiedel is naturally the center of interest, including as it does voluminous studies of the Gospels (in connection with E. A. Abbott), Galatia (in connection with W. J. Woodhouse), Galatians, and John the Son of Zebedee. Of these three papers that upon Galatians is largely a criticism of the South-Galatia theory of Professor Ramsay. Professor Schmiedel states

the two opposing views admirably, but, as one might have expected from his paper upon Acts, decides against Professor Ramsay and Luke. The Galatian churches were in North Galatia. It is not likely, however, that his arguments will convert the champions of the other view. On the contrary, his own statement of the case and his frank recognition of its merits, as well as his recognition of the difficulties inherent in his own position, will probably confirm them in their opinions. Much more important are Professor Schmiedel's two papers dealing with the four gospels. The first of these papers, *Gospels*, is prefaced by an exhaustive discussion by E. A. Abbott, in which the external evidence of the gospels is treated, with conclusions that leave the gospels little historical worth. Professor Schmiedel's treatment is independent of Professor Abbott's and really falls into two parts. The first deals with the question of the sources of the synoptists, and the second deals with their historical value. It is greatly to be regretted that the article is so written as to make it almost impossible for one to get the full position of Professor Schmiedel without laborious reading of it in its entirety, for this has already led to a misapprehension of its purpose. Any person, however, who is familiar with the critical treatment of the gospels will readily discover its excellencies as well as its defects. In the first part of the paper he has given an exhaustive and brilliant presentation of the various synoptic hypotheses, and has carried the search for sources a step farther than most current theories, deciding that it is possible to discover a stratum of sources, which lies under the sources used by the writers of our present gospels. He does not attempt any detailed presentation of what these sources are, but suggests a few which seem to him to be indubitably genuine. He mentions nine passages which he would consider as indubitably genuine, and therefore to be used in testing the other material of the synoptists, viz., Mark 3:21; 10:17; 13:32; 15:34; Matt. 12:31; and Mark 6:5; 8:12; 8:8-21; Matt. 11:5. Evidently the ground for Professor Schmiedel's certainty is the probability that no one would ever have invented them as sayings of Christ.

In his use of these too few critical certainties, however, Professor Schmiedel seems to have abandoned his method. When discussing the credibility of the gospels as they stand, instead of discussing their relation to original material, he is led off into an almost interminable discussion of the various discrepancies, some of them very minute, which appear upon comparison of the three gospels. Such a method seems most unfortunate in the light of his previous critical process.

Professor Schmiedel does not intend to leave such an impression, and in his treatment of the Johannine gospels he freely uses the synoptists as the standard of judgment. Yet, despite the fact that he does not disbelieve in the historical Jesus, he has so minimized his appreciation, and has so presented the negative side of his work, as to leave the impression that the gospels are of almost no historical worth. This we are inclined to believe to be a fault of an editorial supervision, which, though everywhere present, constantly magnifies difficulties and, at least in the New Testament field, seldom emphasizes constructive results.

The same general criticism may be passed upon Professor Schmiedel's treatment of the article upon John the Son of Zebedee, in which he discusses the Johannine literature. It is impossible in a brief review to follow him through his exhaustive discussion. He does not believe that the gospel was written either by John the son of Zebedee, or by the mysterious John the Elder of Ephesus, but rather by some unknown man of Asia Minor just before 140 A. D. As independent history it is valueless on the whole, though it contains many accurate statements of geography and chronology. It depends upon the synoptists, but as history has been rewritten to suit its own interpretation of Jesus as the Philonian Logos. The Apocalypse was certainly not written by the man who wrote the other Johannine literature, but Professor Schmiedel does not seem to be very clear as to who might have been its author. The treatment of Papias he so interprets as to make four generations of Christians, the apostles, the elders, the companions of the elders, and Papias himself. This makes some difficulty with John the Elder, who on such an interpretation of Papias would naturally be put in the same generation as the apostles; but Professor Schmiedel at this point changes his interpretation because of the impossibility of such a supposition. Partition theories also are not at all to his liking, and he criticises Wendt's position thoroughly. Altogether, his treatment of the fourth gospel is probably the strongest negative treatment which has appeared. For those who had thought that the Johannine question had been solved on the basis of external evidence the article will be most unwelcome.

The other articles, like that of Professor Cone upon James and Jude, and von Soden's rewriting of Robertson Smith's upon Hebrews, are of less importance. Naturally neither James nor Jude is regarded as of apostolic origin, and although Apollos is offered as a possible writer of Hebrews, that letter is held to have been written to some small Christian community at Rome in the time of Trajan, or possibly even Hadrian.

Other articles dealing with New Testament matters are of unequal interest. Very valuable is that by Deissmann upon Epistolary Literature, in which, after having made a distinction between the letter and the epistle, he decides that nearly all the genuine Pauline writings are distinctly of the letter rather than of the epistolary sort.

Professor Jülicher in treating Hellenism admirably combats a general tendency of today to magnify the influence of Hellenism in the New Testament, declaring that no single idea derived from a Greek source can be attributed to Jesus. Of the concessions to biblical theology, the papers upon Faith, by Professor Cheyne, and Gnosis, by Jülicher, are, like most constructive articles of the volume, of comparatively small importance, but that of Charles upon Eschatology, like all his work, is admirable. It would be difficult to find an equally succinct and serviceable compendium of the entire eschatological development of the Hebrew and Jewish people.

Two other articles may be barely mentioned. That of Professor Cheyne upon John the Baptist—whom, by the way, he persists in calling Johanan—as an article upon its subject is of comparatively little value, but characteristically Professor Cheyne finds an opportunity to amend various texts of the New Testament. Thus Luke 11:30 is so amended as to make Johanan the sign which is refused to Christ's generation. The other paper is by Professor Bruce upon Jesus, and is perhaps the greatest disappointment of the volume—all the more so because of the admirable treatment by Professor Sanday in the Hastings *Dictionary*. The article is written so vaguely as to make it almost impossible to determine what Professor Bruce's conclusions may be, and the entire treatment is so superficial and partial as to awaken a suspicion of incompleteness or severe redaction, and to arouse regret that it should have been permitted posthumously to detract from the reputation of Professor Bruce.

Thus, altogether the volume is, so far as the New Testament articles go, a companion of its predecessor. With positive constructive results its editors and writers have little interest. In the encyclopædic presentation of critical theories it is without rival; and as such will be of value to those already well versed in current discussions.

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Biblical Theology.—The plan of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, as far as revealed in the first volume published, was criticised for making so little of biblical theology. While the criticism is a fair one, and the

plan is not essentially modified in the second volume, an exception is to be noted in favor of the subject of Eschatology. This subject is given fifty-five of the 1,543 columns of the volume. Other biblico-theological topics (some of which, however, can only be brought into the category by an extreme stretch of the term) occupy thirty-three more columns; so that the total space given to this important branch of biblical study is eighty-eight columns. The special topics treated of are the Eucharist, Faith, Heresy, Idolatry and Primitive Religion, Excommunication, and Gnosis. To these may be added a brief section on the subject of faith as viewed in the epistle of James. In almost every case, however, the method of treatment reminds one of archæological articles, and raises the query whether these topics were not regarded as of interest from the archæological point of view only. But if the encyclopædia is meager on the general subject of biblical theology, no one will feel inclined to complain of the method and scope of the treatment of Eschatology. Whether introduced into the volume for its mere archæological interest or made an exception to the general law followed by the editors not to include biblico-theological subjects in the *Encyclopædia*, this special topic has certainly received ample and satisfactory treatment. The scholar charged with writing on it is R. H. Charles, whose specialistic zeal in the sphere of the apocalyptic literature of the inter-testamental period is fast pushing him to the very foremost place as an authority on this subject. Professor Charles' article, as already intimated, is a satisfactory one; and yet we must take exception to his position on the origin of the religion of Israel. It appears to us that he accepts too easily the theory of Stade and Schwally to the effect that the antecedents of Yahwism in Israel are to be traced to ancestor-worship. All the reasons which he gives in support of this view have, in our judgment, been proved irrelevant to the conclusion based on them by the investigations of Frey and Grüneisen (whose work Charles does not seem to have read). Of the other articles little needs to be said. That on the subject of Faith, by Cheyne, is tantalizing, not only on account of its brevity, but also because it shows how much more could have been put into the *Encyclopædia* of fresh and suggestive discussion on this and kindred topics. The article on the Eucharist, by J. Armitage Robinson, is certainly not open to the criticism passed on the same scholar's article on Baptism in the first volume.

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CRITICAL NOTE.

THE TEXTUAL VALUE OF THE NEWBERRY GOSPELS.

THE Newberry Gospels depart in 1,515 readings from the Textus Receptus.¹ Of these Matthew shows 434, Mark 348, Luke 449, and John 284. Of the whole number of readings, 774 may be considered significant; the rest are matters of practical indifference, being unimportant transpositions, manifest itacisms, insertions, and omissions of *v* movable, the *s* of *οὐτως*, and the like. The assignment of the readings gives the following figures for the Syrian, pre-Syrian, and singular or subsingular elements in the significant readings of each gospel:

	Syrian.	Pre-Syrian.	Singular, etc.	Totals.
Matthew - - - - -	82	105	65	252
Mark - - - - -	62	83	33	178
Luke - - - - -	65	68	40	173
John - - - - -	48	103	20	171
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Totals - - - - -	257	359	158	774

Without undertaking the minute calculation of the constituents making up the pre-Syrian element and their reduction to percentages, it may be observed that one-half of the 359 pre-Syrian readings are of no family, while one-fourth are Western, and one-sixth non-Western. The Alexandrian element, the most subtle and elusive of all the elements in attestation, is small.

In order to determine the significance of these figures, and thus of the critical value of the manuscript in comparison with other witnesses to the text of the gospels, we proceed to seek what may fairly be considered a representative section of the text, as a limited ground within which such a comparative study may readily be made. We have seen that the Newberry Gospels show 257 Syrian readings out of 774 significant divergences from Textus Receptus. Neglecting the 158 singular or subsingular readings as at least of doubtful value, the Syrian element is seen to be $\frac{257}{774}$ of the supported, significant readings of the manuscript, or 41.72 per cent. The same process shows the Syrian

¹ For the readings of the Newberry Gospels, cf. "The Newberry Gospels," AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, Vol. III, No. 1, January, 1899, pp. 116-37. In GREGORY'S *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* the manuscript appears as No. 1289.

element of Mark alone to be $\frac{62}{145}$, or 42.758962 per cent. The first five chapters of Mark by the same process give a Syrian element of $\frac{18}{43}$, or 42.857142 per cent. of the supported, significant readings. As this is less than 1 per cent. from the proportion shown by the manuscript as a whole, it may be regarded as a representative section, and a presumption is established for the representative character of the same section in other manuscripts. This presumption is, of course, liable to modification in the case of manuscripts, such as Δ , the text of which is notoriously heterogeneous; for all manuscripts of admitted homogeneity, however, it seems safe to accept our presumption and to build upon it. We thus proceed to examine the first five chapters of Mark in other manuscripts of various degrees of excellence.

Reference has been made to the Haskell Gospels, a large cursive of about 1500 A. D., which seems from its size and various lectionary indications in late hands in the margins to have been designed and used for public reading. Despite its comparative modernness, the writing of this manuscript is very pale, and has been retraced in considerable sections by a more recent hand. The original contents of the codex evidently comprised the four gospels, complete, but leaves, and even whole quires, are now missing. Of Mark the manuscript contains 1:1—7:24; 7:36—9:48; 10:14—11:33. With 12:1 begins a great gap, including the rest of Mark and more than eight chapters of Luke. For the first five chapters of Mark, the Haskell Gospels show 33 significant divergences from Textus Receptus. Of these, 3 may be neglected as singular or nearly so. Of the 30 significant, supported readings, 16 are pre-Syrian and 14 Syrian. The Syrian element is thus $\frac{14}{40}$, or 46.666666 per cent. of the significant, supported readings. It has already been pointed out that the Syrian element for these chapters in the Newberry Gospels was 42.857142 per cent., while the total number of significant divergences in them is 51.

As another manuscript with which to compare, Codex Montfortianus (61) has been taken. This is famous as having been employed by Erasmus for the text of 1 John 5:7 (The Three Heavenly Witnesses) in his third edition, 1522 A. D. The manuscript probably belongs to a date not much earlier, and has naturally been regarded with some suspicion, owing primarily to the circumstances of its first appearance. But this need not affect its value for our purposes. Its significant divergences for Mark, chaps. 1–5, number 78, of which 25 are singular or subsingular readings. Of the remaining 52, 31 are pre-Syrian

and 21 Syrian. The Syrian element is thus $\frac{31}{77}$, or 40.384615 per cent. of the significant, supported readings.

Turning to uncial witnesses, Codex Alexandrinus (A) shows 85 divergences from Textus Receptus in the first five chapters of Mark. Neglecting 9 of these as practically unsupported, we have left 76 supported, significant readings, of which 51 are pre-Syrian and 25 Syrian. The Syrian element is thus $\frac{25}{76}$, or 32.894725 per cent. of the supported, significant readings.

A still better uncial, for Mark's gospel at least, is Codex Sangalensis (Δ). The excellence of the text of this manuscript in Mark is well known. For Mark, chaps. 1-5, it shows no less than 192 readings that may be called significant. Of these 21 may be dismissed as singular or subsingular. Of the remaining 171, 136 are pre-Syrian and 35 Syrian. The Syrian element thus constitutes only 19.824535 per cent. of the supported, significant readings.

Attention was not long ago called by Dr. J. Rendel Harris to a rather remarkable twelfth-century cursive in the British Museum, Cod. Evv. 892 (Mus. Brit. Add. 33,277), with interesting subscriptions resembling those in the Newberry manuscript. A careful examination of its readings for the section under consideration fully confirms Dr. Harris' high valuation of the manuscript. Two hundred and eight significant divergences from Textus Receptus have been noted. Dismissing 20 of these as singular or subsingular, we have left 188, of which 158 are pre-Syrian and 30 Syrian. The Syrian element is thus seen to be less even than in Δ ; for 892 it is 15.957435 per cent., as against 19.824535 for Δ .

If we arrange these six manuscripts in the order suggested by these percentages, we have the following table :

	Significant divergences.	Syrian element.
Haskell - - - - -	33	46.66666
Newberry - - - - -	51	42.857142
61 - - - - -	78	40.384615
A - - - - -	85	32.894725
Δ - - - - -	192	19.824535
892 - - - - -	208	15.957435

The order of percentages, it will be observed, is the order of the significant divergences, inverted. That is, in the group of manuscripts, the more numerous the divergences from the Textus Receptus, the greater the proportion of pre-Syrian readings among those

divergences. This is, of course, precisely what is to be expected. Thus in number as well as character of variations from Textus Receptus the Newberry manuscript allies itself with 61 and the Haskell Gospels, rather than with Δ or 892. In other words, it is a Syrian manuscript, with perhaps an average admixture of pre-Syrian readings.

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RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

PSYCHOLOGIE DES WILLENS, zur Grundlegung der Ethik. Von HERMANN SCHWARZ. Leipzig: Engelmann, 1900. Pp. 391. M. 6.

THE twofold conviction, that no adequate moral philosophy can be constructed upon any other foundation than that of a thoroughgoing psychology of the will, and that such will-psychology has not yet been elaborated, constitutes the *raison d'être* of this treatise; as stated in the preface. The spontaneity of the subject in volition awaits that recognition and vindication which the spontaneity of the subject in cognition received at the hands of Kant. The point of departure, therefore, for the whole book, lies in the distinction between *Naturzwang* and *Normzwang*, as explained in the introductory chapter. Too often have ethical writers treated the volitional life as though there were no such thing as norm-law or norm-force in the realm of will, though all the while perfectly well aware of the reality of such norm-law in cognitive activity. The whole science of logic is an acknowledgment of the supremacy of ideal types in cognition; so ethics, with its psychological groundwork, should recognize and elaborate the doctrine of the norm or ideal in volition. Natural forces, instincts, impulses, and the like, must, of course, be reckoned with, but they are not the whole of the matter. *Der Mensch ist mehr als ein blosses Naturprodukt.*

In the first part of the work the shortcomings of materialism, hedonism, empiricism, and kindred doctrines are set forth. An act of volition is not a mere resultant of contending forces; nor is it determined by an idea, or a feeling, or by any complex of ideas and feelings, in and by themselves. How, then, is it determined? By the whole personality of the willing subject, in his capacity of analytic and synthetic choice, where *Normzwang* reigns supreme. The second part of the work is occupied with the explanation of these terms, analytic and synthetic choice or preference. The distinction between these is analogous to that which Kant has drawn between the analytic judgment and the synthetic, in the *Critique of the Pure Reason*. By analytic choice our author means the general direction of the human

will toward the good as such, apart from any more specific determination of that wherein the good consists. We will the being of the good, rather than its non-being; we prefer the non-being of the evil. All worth as such is preferred over all unworth as such. Had we, therefore, no other will-power than that of analytic choice, we should be obliged to wait until instructions should come from some extraneous source, with regard to *what* is good or bad, right or wrong, in any given case of contemplated action. This is perhaps the point at which Kant's ethical system fails of completeness. But now in synthetic preference the *content* of the good, as distinguished from its *form*, is made manifest in the free spontaneity of the choosing person, who in his act itself declares that the interests of personality by right take precedence over those of the circumstances and adjuncts of personality, and that the interests of the social whole (altruism) are to be preferred before those of merely individual incidence (egoism). Synthetic choice, it should be added, is directed to the *act* itself, rather than to the *object* of the act. "There is nothing good save a good will," as Kant said; but the good will is further defined as that which is directed to altruistic ends rather than egoistic, and to personal considerations in preference to circumstances or accessory conditions. So the possibility of ethics, one may say, depends upon that of synthetic choices *a priori*; even as, for Kant, the possibility of knowledge depends upon that of synthetic judgments *a priori*. How far the author has succeeded in avoiding the "circle" which has been charged upon Kant's ethical system, the reader must be left to judge.

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AVICENNE. Par LE BARON CARRA DE VAUX. Paris: Alcan, 1900.
Pp. viii + 304; map. Fr. 5.

THIS book is not simply an exposition of the system of Avicenna. It contains also a description of Muslim scholastic philosophy from its origin, and of the forces acting on it down to the time of the subject proper. This takes up the first 126 pages. Then comes a chapter on his life, and thereafter chapters on his system, under the rubrics: logic, physics, psychology, metaphysics, and mysticism.

For this long introduction there is ample excuse in the nature of the case. Very few, indeed, are prepared to take up immediately the life and theories of a Muslim of the fourth century of the Hijra and supply of themselves a knowledge of all that went to make him what

he was. In fact, if we have any quarrel with M. de Vaux, it is that he does not deal at sufficient length with the earlier development. In spite of all that has been done in this field, we are still much in the dark as to al-Kindī for example: Was he a translator and compiler only? and the earlier Mu'tazilites: How did they stand to philosophy in the narrower sense? Al-Fārābī, in spite of the labors of Dieterici and others, is still much of a shadow to us. The *Ikhwān as-Ṣafā*, the Fātimid propagandists, the later Assassins, how much influence, to and fro, and actual, conscious connection was there between these? That all the strictly non-orthodox forms of thought in Islām acted and reacted on one another seems certain; in some cases it amounted to their being really branches of the same great movement. Again, on the other hand, the development of orthodox theology cannot be ignored. It was strictly scholastic in form and ran as much into philosophy as in the Middle Ages of Europe. It left its undoubted mark on Avicenna. The partitions in his brain were not tight enough to keep it in its own compartment.

Before, then, the system of Avicenna can be adequately attacked, we must have a full treatment of his predecessors, not only in philosophy in the narrower sense, but in theology and mysticism. This is much to ask, but it is necessary. From lack of it have come what errors M. de Vaux has fallen into. He has treated the Mu'tazilites, the translators at the court of al-Manṣūr and al-Ma'mūn, the *Ikhwān as-Ṣafā*, the Encyclopædists generally, and the philosophers such as al-Fārābī. But he ruled out the theologians and the mystics, and thus lost the real key to Arabic philosophy. The atomic system of Muslim dogmatics as developed by such a man as al-Bāqilānī is a triumph of dialectic acuteness and the only really independent fruit of philosophic thought expressed in Arabic. The Mutakallims are really, as Ritter has well put it, the philosophers of the Arabs. But, again, in the deliberate omission of a study of mysticism in the introduction and in the relegation of Avicenna's own mysticism to a last, short chapter, written almost apologetically, lies an even greater weakness of the book. It cannot be often enough repeated that the Arabic philosophy, from al-Fārābī to Ibn Rushd, is nothing but the simplest neo-Platonism attached to Aristotelian physics and a grotesque Muslim mythology. That means that it is on an essentially mystical basis; its mysticism is not an appendix which can be separated from it and thrust into a corner.

But apart from this single, though, it must be confessed, far-reaching

error of judgment, M. de Vaux's book is one to be received with praise and gratitude. It inevitably challenges comparison with Renan's *Averroes* and comes off not badly from the challenge. If we have not here the pellucid clearness of Renan's style, nor his magic art of arrangement and exposition, we have a far sounder knowledge of Arabic and of the subject, and an at least equal enthusiasm and liveliness.

For criticism of details there is little need, nor does space permit. It may be enough to remark that the note on p. 145 would not have been written if M. de Vaux had taken the trouble to look up Lane's *Lexicon*, and that the *obiter dictum* as to *The Thousand and One Nights* on p. 55 is highly misleading. Anything that de Sacy took the trouble of writing is worth reading, but a great deal has happened since he wrote that *Mémoire*.

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KANTS BEGRÜNDUNG DER RELIGION. Ein kritischer Versuch.
Mit einem Vorwort über die Beziehungen der neueren Dogmatik zu Kant. Von WILHELM MENGEL. Leipzig: Engelmann, 1900. Pp. x + 82. M. 1.20.

THIS new addition to the exceedingly voluminous literature which has been called into existence by the critical philosophy proceeds along lines very similar to those followed by many of its predecessors. It combines high praise with severe criticism: praise for the distinguished service which Kant has rendered to philosophical thinking in his wonderful critiques; criticism for the inconsistencies and unresolved contradictions which are to be found in his system. The point of view is to be found in what the author calls a critical-realistic epistemology; and from this point of view Kant's shortcoming seems to consist in his failure to bring the *Ding-an-sich* within the realm of sure comprehension. Now, since the great realities of religion—God, freedom, immortality—belong to the extra-phenomenal order, they cannot be surely comprehended, nor set in any intelligible relation to our actual, finite existence; unless, indeed, we depart from the rigid *a priorism* of the Kantian *Grundlegung*. But this is the very inconsistency of which, among others, Kant has been guilty; for though in his ethics he repudiates in the strongest possible terms the right of any "affection" to be heard in the just appraisement of a moral act,

yet when he comes to treat of those great realities—God and immortality—with which religion has more especially to do, he rests them both upon foundations which contain *a posteriori* elements. The fundamental postulate here is that virtue and happiness must, somehow and somewhere, be capable of conjoint and proportionate realization. The being of God, as the one who alone is able to adjust virtue and felicity to each other, is thus the first condition of the realization of the highest good; while the immortality of the soul, without which no finite being could attain the good, is the second condition of its realization. So the philosophy of religion is grounded upon considerations which were deemed utterly unworthy to form any part of a true system of ethics.

Dr. Mengel's conclusion is that neither in his epistemology nor in his ethics has Kant provided any satisfactory foundation for a philosophy of religion; for in the former he denies to thought all real objective validity, and in the latter he most emphatically rejects that stone which afterward, in the philosophy of religion, is made the head of the corner.

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THE RELIGIOUS USE OF IMAGINATION. By E. H. JOHNSON. New York: Silver, Burdett & Co., 1901. Pp. x + 227. \$1.

UNCONSCIOUSLY, as it appears, Professor Johnson has in this volume developed a phase of the argument John Fiske supposed he had discovered, and which he stated in his *Through Nature to God*; really, however, it is involved in the Anselmic statement. This is (in substance) that, as the sprout from the buried acorn implies a sunlight external to itself, so the aspirations of the soul to God imply an evoking reality external to the soul. To show the validity of the imagination's products when it is applied to religious themes is the author's aim.

Professor Johnson divides his book into two parts: the service of the imagination to religious truth, and to life. In the first part he investigates the "competency and scope" of this faculty, its dealing with "problems as to the Creator, the Ruler, and the Father." In the second portion he shows how it "sees ideals, breeds energy, and enlists perseverance." He discusses the synthetic nature of the imagination, and vindicates its use in religion by citing its necessary employment in poetry, history, science, and art. He traces its relation

to faith as picturing ("image-ination") the objects of faith: "faith discerns God only when the ideas summed up in him are made luminous by imagination" (p. 48). It puts a check upon itself by discerning disharmony in its illicit products. He then applies these principles to the problems of God, man, life here and hereafter, miracles, etc.

In two points the author's reasoning is weak—the relation of imagination to miracles and to revelation or inspiration. The professor admits that the occurrence of miracles is "a question of fact;" then adds: "if this question of fact is made a question of imagination," etc. (p. 117). But we do not submit "a question of fact" to the imagination. Granted that it is true that "it is imaginable that God can work miracles; has wrought them" (p. 123), yet this merely proves miracles possible, it does not so much as make them probable. It is beside the mark to say that "the imaginability of miracles is so complete that to avoid imagining them has ever required greater adroitness than plain Christian folk can command" (p. 123). Precisely, "plain Christian folk"! "Plain Christian folk" display such "adroitness" as to "imagine" that the phases of the moon influence terrestrial weather and crops; but this does not establish as a fact the moon's supposed power. But Dr. Johnson has essayed a *scientific* treatment of imagination, and this is not a scientific, but an *ad captandum* argument. The trouble is that he has gone back on his own canon: imagination is to be applied to the higher realms, where other faculties cannot reach. By attempting to make it do the work of the logical faculty, our author casts suspicion upon the whole course of his argument and does not help the cause of miracles. And he is equally infelicitous in his treatment of revelation, in spite of the very fine passage on pp. 134, 135.

The volume is well printed, on good paper, in a neat cover, and has a serviceable index.

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THE LIFE AND LITERATURE OF THE ANCIENT HEBREWS. By LYMAN ABBOTT. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901. Pp. xiii + 408. \$2.

IN the winter of 1896-97 Dr. Abbott delivered a series of lectures upon the Old Testament before his church in Brooklyn. In 1899-1900 he took the same theme before the Lowell Institute of Boston. From these lectures the present book has developed. The chapters

appeared in the *Outlook* during the summer of 1900 in substantially their present form, except for the numerous footnotes. The book is written, so says Dr. Abbott, "first to tell the general reader what is the spirit and what the methods and the general conclusions of this (*i. e.*, the modern, literary, scientific, evolutionary) school respecting the Bible; and, second, to show that these do not imperil spiritual faith—that, on the contrary, they enhance the value of the Bible as an instrument for the cultivation of the spiritual faith."

This history of the book and this avowed purpose of the author, indeed the author's name itself, prevent it from being a technical, scientific "Old Testament Introduction" and require it to be a work for the people, full of suggestiveness for them. It may be, however, that it contains also a hint here and there from which the Old Testament teacher may learn how to secure the interest of his pupils. It is worth the reading with that problem in mind, at any rate. The Sunday evening lectures aroused great interest, and the book deserves to find a wide reading on the part of Bible students.

It may seem to those who spend their lives in Old Testament study that the work appears too late to have the apologetic value which the author hopes for it, but it is probably one of the things the scholar has to learn that his learned utterances are not yet received by the Christian world without hesitation, and that it is still worth while to show the reasonableness and the value of the new views with patience and tact. Dr. Abbott can buttress well-nigh every important position by appeal to the great majority of scholars, but the best appeal, after all, is to the reader himself, and here, as commonly, the author is successful.

Dr. Abbott does not quote authorities written in German. Doubtless he could have done so; or he could have hired the extra work done at a reasonable figure. We conclude that he did not wish to overwhelm the timid reader with a lot of foreign names. Can it be that he uses footnotes and references as an invitation to the reader to continue his study of the point in question by reading in the books cited? It is certainly a matter of congratulation that so high authorities, and so genuinely scholarly works, can be cited written in the English language. It may be that, for example in Egyptian history and religion, later works might have been quoted. But the editor of the *Outlook* is not lightly to be charged with being slow, and so at this point also we will assume the wisdom of his course.

The book is really a review of the literature of the Hebrews as determined by their life; for that is the right order; the natural one,

the divine one; it is the one which makes the Bible appeal to us. As the account of God's approach to men in manifold ways, we turn to the Bible with just and high expectation of helpfulness and inspiration for our life-tasks. Abbott frequently points the way to such benefit, and the reader will easily add to the list of practical lessons gained.

The division of the work is according to the kinds of literature contained in the Old Testament. The legislation is divided chronologically; there is admirable treatment of the fiction, of the Song of Songs (with translation), of Job, "a spiritual tragedy," of the wisdom literature as an ethical philosophy, and of the preachers of righteousness and redemption, the prophets.

Who is God? What is man? What is their right relationship? How can it be secured? These questions the Bible answers, and the author has had them constantly before him as he has written.

OWEN H. GATES.

DORSET, Vt.

A HISTORY OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA. By ROBERT WILLIAM ROGERS. 2 vols. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1900. Pp. xx+429; xv+418. \$5.

To PROFESSOR ROGERS belongs the distinction of having been the first to present us with a comprehensive history of Babylonia and Assyria in an English garb. The two handsome and portly volumes represent the fruit of the active labors of a decade, and it may be said at once that Professor Rogers has produced an eminently readable book, which is certainly one of the first qualifications that ought to distinguish a history. He wields a facile pen; his style is graceful, his English vigorous, and he well knows how to carry his readers along with him as he unfolds the interesting tale of Babylonia's and Assyria's rise to greatness and subsequent decline. The story is a long one, extending over several millenniums, but under Rogers' guidance it is never a tedious tale, and, even when discussing details that might easily become irksome to the general reader, he succeeds in investing them with deep interest. Combining with a thorough knowledge of details, so far as they are known to us, a sympathetic spirit that enables him to penetrate into the meaning of his vast array of facts, he has made a valuable contribution that insures for him an honorable place among modern historians as well as among Assyriologists. Professor Rogers has given us even more in his two volumes than the title-page would indicate. He has devoted the first 253 pages to a full account of the

first attempts at deciphering the Assyrian inscriptions and to an exhaustive narrative of explorations in both Babylonia and Assyria. Hitherto the only popular account of decipherment and of explorations accessible to English readers was to be found in Evetts' *New Light on the Holy Land* (London, 1891), but this was far from being complete. Rogers has gone to the trouble of having reproduced the very inscriptions which Grotefend, the first successful decipherer of cuneiform characters, had before him, and, by means of additional cuts of groups of signs from these inscriptions, makes perfectly clear to the uninitiated the method which Grotefend pursued. Following the progress of the decipherment, he sets forth in an interesting manner how, step by step, the secrets were wrested from the monuments, until a secure basis had been secured. In an "Excursus" he tells the strange story of Flower's copies of some cuneiform characters from Persepolis which will probably be new even to many specialists. Rogers might have added to this part of his work an account of the progress of Assyriological studies from the forties, when the system of decipherment was practically fixed to our days, and perhaps in a future edition he will be disposed to do so, and thus give the general public an idea of the extent and character of the field covered by Assyriology.¹ In his account of explorers of Babylonia, Rogers takes us back to the Hebrew narrative of Benjamin of Tudela in the twelfth century, and step by step advances to the great series of excavations in the mounds of Assyria and Babylonia which, begun in 1843, have had such remarkable results. He recounts in detail the work done by French, English, American, and German explorers, and his narrative is marked, as is the whole work, by the evident intention of being fair to all and giving to each his due. In chap. 7 he touches upon the much-vexed Sumerian question. So far as the history of this controversy is concerned, there is no objection to be found with Rogers' narrative. But since he does not enter into a consideration of the motives which led Halévy, and at one time Delitzsch, to oppose the current theory of the Sumero-Accadian origin of the Babylonian script and of Babylonian culture, Rogers cannot be said to have made any contribution to the subject. To the impartial student it must be clear that the question has by no means been settled. The current theory raises a number of

¹ In the earlier editions KAULEN'S *Assyrien und Babylonien* covered the ground, but the latest edition (1899) is a thorough disappointment, so that this once valuable work is now "antiquated" through a republication which fails to take into account the work of scholars during the past ten years.

problems for which no satisfactory solution has as yet been offered. On the other hand, Halévy is inclined to underestimate certain difficulties involved in his own theory, and yet it has always seemed to the writer that from the historical point of view the supposition that Babylonian culture is distinctly Semitic, even in the earliest period of which we have any knowledge, is the one least difficult to maintain. This, of course, is not the place to enter upon a prolonged discussion, but it is well to remind scholars that in questions of science majorities do not count. Certainly, if a specialist in Babylonian culture of so high a standing as Thureau-Dangin is inclined to side with Halévy, that is far more significant than the fact that two dozen Assyriologists who have not paid any special attention to the question stand on the other side. It must be confessed that among Assyriologists there are only three or four who have a right by virtue of their investigation to an opinion on this subject, and it would be well for Rogers in a subsequent edition of his work to call attention to the actual conditions, even at the risk of letting the world know that there are still many unsolved problems of a fundamental character in the domain of Assyriology.

After chapters on the sources, on the geography of Babylonia and Assyria, and on the chronology, Professor Rogers advances in Book II to the history proper. It may be stated that his chronology on the whole is conservative. We do not find here any reckless juggling with high figures in order to impress readers with the great antiquity of Babylonian culture. The author freely confesses the difficulties encountered in the early chronology, and his exposition in this respect presents fairly our present imperfect knowledge. The only serious criticism that we would offer in the account of the early dynasties is the manner in which he portrays the supposed conflict between the Semites and non-Semites for the control of the Euphrates valley. Since it is admitted that even the oldest inscriptions are either directly Semitic, or at least contain Semitic words and Semitic phrases, it is certainly hazardous to draw important conclusions from an exceedingly unsound basis. Let the historians for the present content themselves, so far as possible, with statements of the data, and leave the interpretation and reconstruction of the ancient periods of Babylonian history until more material has been found, and the ethnological and archæological problems connected with the origin of Babylonian culture are in a more advanced state than at present. With the period of Hammurabi (about 2300 B. C.) we reach an era of far greater certainty. Professor

Rogers' narrative from this period on and right through the various epochs of Babylonian and Assyrian history is most satisfactory. He has made a most careful study, not only of the texts, but of the studies upon the texts, produced by various scholars during the past thirty years. No monograph or article of any moment has escaped him, and one feels that he has carefully weighed the *pros* and *cons* in mooted points, and, as a general thing, has adopted the sounder view. He is not led away by scholarly conjectures, however brilliant, and, while this sobriety sometimes makes his narrative prosaic, the gain, on the other hand, is very great. Rogers may be implicitly followed as a guide by those who, without direct knowledge of the sources, wish to ascertain exactly what we know of Babylonian and Assyrian history. It may perhaps be objected here that he at times introduces details drawn from the inscriptions which do not appear to be of any importance, and yet it is better to err on this side than on the other, so that the "lay" reader may have as much material as possible before him. On the whole, therefore, Rogers' method in giving as full a compilation as possible, and holding back decisions on questions still in dispute, is to be commended. The highest praise that can be awarded to the author is to express the opinion that his work is a worthy successor of Tiele's history published in 1886, and which, but for the fact that during the last fourteen years the material has so largely increased, would still be a standard work on the subject. Tiele showed in his work how Babylonian and Assyrian history is to be written, and if his example had been more generally followed by those who entered upon this field, we should probably have by this time more certainty and less conjecture. Rogers is to be congratulated upon having produced a history which is a commendable reversion to a sounder method.

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STILISTIK, RHETORIK, POETIK, in Bezug auf die biblische Litteratur komparativisch dargestellt von ED. KÖNIG. Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung (Theodor Weicher), 1900. Pp. vi+420. M. 12.

MODERN study of Hebrew concerned itself for a long time chiefly with etymology. The language lacking classical syntax, it seemed possible to ignore with impunity all questions of formal syntax. More recently monographs upon special parts of syntax have appeared, and

in the full grammatical treatises the subject has received more attention. Still it has remained to be rediscovered that beyond etymology and beyond syntax, beyond all inflexible rules of grammar, there is style in Hebrew as in western languages.

When the question as to the author of the Bible was answered "God," or "the Holy Spirit," there could be little curiosity as to the style he employed. It had been irreverent to investigate the riddles, exaggerations, deceptions which are found, and comparatively useless to study other stilistic phenomena. But since it has become known again that divine inspiration did not influence the style of the writers, it is pertinent to examine the biblical literature and study its figures of speech, the rhythm and style of the several authors. And not only pertinent, but necessary; for in questions of unity and diversity of authorship, and in discovery of interpolations and glosses, witness borne by rhetoric dare not be ignored any more than vocabulary or syntax or orthography. The fully written history of the language must include the development of rhetorical as well as grammatical forms. Rhetorical features have not been overlooked in exegetical work, but study of them piecemeal and at close range could not yield surest results.

König's work upon the Hebrew language has followed the natural order: first "Formenlehre," then in 1897 "Syntax," and now the volume before us.

First he discusses style as expressive of intellectual activity, that is, style in its varying degrees of clearness; second, as exhibiting voluntative activity, that is, energy; and finally as exhibiting emotional activity, that is, elegance. His usual mode of treatment is to indicate briefly on what the property depends in its normal state, then what leads to defective style, and finally the elements of an improved style with the means of heightening the qualities concerned.

With a view to showing the wide field covered and the richness of biblical illustration possible, it may not be superfluous to sketch the course of treatment.

Lack of clearness in single words is due to the use of homonyms, archaisms, innovations, words in incorrect meanings, ambiguous, oracular, and enigmatical words, and diplomatic expressions. Lucidity of style is increased by the use of metonymy and synecdoche in their varied forms; for in these figures, properly used, some special quality of the object described is seized upon for forcible presentation. So also by parallels, by way of examples, proverbs, citations, comparisons, fables, parables, metaphors, personifications, allegories.

In connected discourse clearness is obscured by omission of parts, *i. e.*, logical subject, object, or the like, by lack of grammatical agreement, zeugma, parenthesis, digression, inversion of order. It is increased by use of noun for pronoun, chiastic arrangement of words and clauses, and clear indication of the beginning of an apodosis. Precision is increased by emphasis, advancing in position, indirect or direct repetition, hendiadys, climax, and the like.

In the sphere of voluntative activity vivacity of style is lost by pleonasms and repetitions. These defects, as seen in the Old Testament, König treats historically. Vivacity is gained by conciseness of expression in the several parts of the sentence, by change of sound of the sentence, parenthesis, monologue, dialogue, change of grammatical number and person, rapid change of subject, and the like.

Considered æsthetically, style is injured by use of expressions which offend the taste of the reader or provoke his antagonism, and by ill-sounding words. It is made agreeable by the use of elegant expressions and by harmony of content and form. Euphony is increased by harmony of units in the sentence (alliteration, assonance, annomination), and by the addition of rhythm.

Under the head of special rhythm König's treatment of Hebrew poetry is full of interest. After a critical examination he discards the theory which makes poetical rhythm depend upon a count of accented words, and also that which counts alternate syllables. These seem to appear to him too mechanical to be a test of poetry, for his conclusion is that "poetic rhythm was found by the Hebrews only in the essential symmetry of stichoi, and this symmetry rested only upon the essential similarity of the accent beats of corresponding stichoi." Such a view precludes a precise demarkation of poetry, for what is "essential symmetry," supposing an exact count is not essential? and who shall decide for us how even the author would describe his composition? And yet this essentially inexact statement fits the facts most exactly. In view of the frequent textual changes and exceptions to rule, which the more rigid tests involve, it is obvious that even in those tests the court of last resort is the literary judgment of the reader. He deals gently with the poet's mistakes in rhythm and refuses to be deceived by faultless rhythm of passages not "essentially" poetic.

The index of scripture passages is most elaborate, comprising about fourteen thousand references. Although the references are not exhaustive in the case of the more common literary phenomena, yet doubtless the greatest practical use of the book will be by means of the index, in

connection with study of particular passages. Opening at random, in order to illustrate the minuteness of the author's work, we find sixty-five references to Jer., chap. 2. He notes as a stilistic peculiarity the repeated allusion made by Jeremiah to the extraordinary source of the message he has to deliver, which is in sharp contrast (for example) with Isaiah. This pleonastic tendency, already noticeable, develops into the formal insipid style of late Hebrew.

Vs. 2 is one of the many cases where "thus" looks forward, although it sometimes looks backward. The same verse is cited in the commentary Mekhulta as not following the chronological order.

In vs. 3 the noun Jehovah is introduced, for emphasis, although the pronoun might have sufficed, the particular purpose being to prevent passing the name of the Deity unnoticed. The person changes from the first to the third person to secure vivacity of style. "Devouring" is a metaphor. By metonymy the thing devoured is said to be "men" rather than men's possessions. The last part of the verse shows the chiasitic arrangement of words.

In vs. 4 the ancestor is put by metonymy for his descendants.

In vs. 5 words are emphatic by contrast, and there is assonance of the contrasted words. The verse is used in the course of König's criticism of Hommel's contention that the phrase "to go after" of itself points to a divine name. There are also instances in the verse of paronomasia and synecdoche.

Vss. 7 and 8 contain chiasitic arrangement of words. Vs. 8 does not belong among examples of litotes.

Vs. 9 shows the same word at the beginning and at the end of a sentence.

These illustrations, covering nine verses, may suffice to show the painstaking character of the work done. Add frequent necessary discussions of questions of text, or of translation, or of exegesis, and some conception can be formed of the contribution here made to the study of Hebrew literature.

OWEN H. GATES.

DORSET, VT.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT IN GREEK. By HENRY BARCLAY SWETE. With an Appendix containing the Letter of Aristeas edited by H. ST. J. THACKERAY. Cambridge: The University Press, 1900. Pp. xi + 592. \$2.50.

In the preface to the first volume of the Cambridge manual edition of the Septuagint the editor expressed a hope that some time he might

prepare an introduction to the Septuagint. Fourteen years have passed; the Cambridge Septuagint stands complete and in its second edition; and to its three volumes we are now able to add Professor Swete's *Introduction*. It will be remembered that it was in 1883 that the Cambridge Syndics committed the preparation of their manual edition to Dr. Swete. For eighteen years the preparation of these volumes has been his chief, though by no means his only, task, and upon their completion not only he, but all biblical scholars, are to be congratulated. It seems natural to speak of the *Introduction* as part of the manual edition; for, while it is not so in the strictest sense, it is the product of the same years of labor, and, as it stands now beside the three volumes of that edition, one feels that it is indispensable for their right understanding and use.

The *Introduction* consists of three parts and an appendix. In the first, which deals with the history of the Greek Old Testament, the various versions—Septuagint, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion—are treated, together with Origen's Hexapla and the versions based on the Septuagint. In this part are found the lists and descriptions of manuscripts of the Septuagint, and descriptions of the printed editions. In the second part, on the contents of the Alexandrian Old Testament, the author takes up the titles, grouping, number, and order of the books, distinguishes those which have no equivalents in the Hebrew, and discusses the various divisions of the text into *στίχοι*, chapters, etc. To this part belong also two valuable essays, on the Greek of the Septuagint, and the Septuagint as a version. In the third part, on the literary use, value, and textual condition of the Greek Old Testament, there are chapters on the quotations from the Septuagint in the New Testament and in early Christian writings, and on the influence of the Septuagint on Christian literature. The appendix by Mr. Thackeray, on the letter of Aristeas, contains the Greek text with full descriptions of the manuscripts. Not only every chapter, but every section, is followed by a bibliographical list which will very greatly increase the usefulness of the book. There are many tables of endings, lists of characteristic words, phrases, references, and titles, and stichometrical lists, until one realizes that in Professor Swete's *Introduction* we possess a veritable storehouse of materials for such study of the Septuagint as has hitherto been possible for few men. With the appearance of this book students of the Septuagint pass from a condition, in helps on introduction, bordering on destitution, to an affluence that is as delightful as it is novel.

It is perhaps ungrateful, in the face of the great usefulness of this book, to look for flaws in it, but one or two minor matters must be noted. The estimate of the probable bulk of Origen's Hexapla (p. 74) surely needs revision. Taking account of the sense lines used and the number of columns necessary, the Hexapla must have filled over 10,000 pages instead of 6,500. To cite the Berlin papyri in the same breath with the Petrie papyri as sources of information for Ptolemaic Greek (p. 292) is to ignore the fact that the Berlin papyri are not Ptolemaic, but Roman. Dr. Grenfell's *Greek Papyri* and Drs. Grenfell and Hunt's *Greek Papyri*, II, are better sources for Ptolemaic Greek than the Berlin *Urkunden*. And it may be added that these excavators, by reason of their unparalleled find of Ptolemaic papyri at Umm-el-Baragât (Tebtunis) last year, seem likely to increase greatly our materials for the study of Ptolemaic Greek. It is strange to read (p. 293) that Soter's library "is said to have contained 400,000 codices," for a codex is a leaf-book, and Soter's manuscripts were certainly all rolls. Of misprints I have noticed only Votau (pp. 306 *bis*, 592) for Votaw. But these are insignificant matters in a book in which so much has been attempted and accomplished. Professor Swete's *Introduction* promises to be, for a long time to come, side by side with Hatch and Redpath's *Concordance*, an indispensable adjunct to Septuagint study.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUM BUCH AMOS. VON MAX LÖHR. (Beiheft IV zur *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.) Giessen: Ricker, 1901. Pp. iv + 67. M. 2.50.

PROFESSOR LÖHR is well known as author of a commentary on Lamentations and as editor of Thenius' commentary on the books of Samuel. In the latter publication he seemed to take a somewhat reactionary position with reference to the Old Testament text. It is something of a surprise, therefore—and a gratification as well—to see the freedom with which he attacks the problems of the book of Amos. His essay is in three parts; the first deals with the text, the second with the theological content, the third is an elaborate discussion of the name *Yahweh Zebaoth*.

1. The opening statement is to the effect that the book is doubtless for the most part from the hand of the prophet, but that its original form has suffered various insertions and redactional alterations, as well

as transpositions and corruptions of the text. Examples of all these corruptions are named, following the common consent of critics. Then comes a reconstructed text of each of the discourses, formed with special reference to the strophe as the basis of the prophetic rhetoric, and accompanied by justificatory annotations. The original first discourse is found to consist of four similar strophes followed by a fifth part which arranges itself in ten short strophes. This original discourse has been enlarged by the insertion of three strophes—the threats against Tyre, Edom, and Judah. This result, obtained by study of the rhetorical structure, is confirmed by internal arguments.

The next discourse is made up by putting together sections from chaps. 3, 4, 8, and 9. Then comes an address made up of considerable portions of chaps. 5 and 6. The fragmentary nature of what remains from these chapters allows us only imperfectly to reconstruct still another discourse. The final section of the book contains the four visions and an account of Amos' experiences in Bethel. This of course recognizes that 9:8–15 is a late supplement which does not belong to Amos. It has probably replaced a section whose severity was more than the editors could bear.

For a defense of this reconstruction, and for many suggestive criticisms of the text, the reader must be referred to the book itself. The only operation concerning which I have doubts is the making up of a discourse from so widely separated sections as those taken from chaps. 3, 4, 8, and 9. How did they get separated if they were once together? None of the ordinary processes of transmission will account for the dislocation.

2. The sketch of Amos' theology moves along lines familiar to the Old Testament student. The author indicates his substantial agreement with Giesebrecht and Kittel in their treatment of the same subject.

3. The study of the name *Yahweh Zebaoth* gives a conspectus of all the passages in which the phrase is used, with the usage of the Greek version and a conjectural date for each passage. The discussion which follows shows that the name, as far back as we can trace it (whether this was the original sense we can no longer determine), points to Yahweh's might and victory in war. In the course of time this meaning was modified so as to make Yahweh the ruler of the powers of nature. Finally the double name becomes simply a more solemn synonym of the single word Yahweh.

HENRY PRESERVED SMITH.

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THE PSALMS OF DAVID AND THE HIGHER CRITICISM; or, Was David "The Sweet Psalmist of Israel"? By ALEXANDER WRIGHT. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1900. Pp. xvi+249. 5s.

THE purpose of this book, as stated in the preface, is "(1) to vindicate for the Psalms an earlier place in the history of Israel than a certain school of modern criticism is disposed to allow; and (2) to point out that it is reasonable to suppose that David at least wrote certain of the psalms to which his name as author is prefixed." The first three chapters deal with questions of general introduction to the subject; chap. iv is an "Excursus on Certain So-called Davidic Psalms" which the author admits are not the work of David; and the remainder of the book, chaps. v-xxiv, is given to the consideration of the twenty psalms which the author maintains to be Davidic. The book furnishes no contribution to the solution of the problems of the Psalter. It is rather a working over in popular form of the results obtained by such scholars as Ewald, Delitzsch, Perowne, and Robertson. The author seems to have made no use of the more recent works on the Psalms by Duhm, Baethgen, Wellhausen, and others. While professing to place no reliance upon the superscriptions and to determine the date and authorship of each psalm on the basis of its contents, the author seems to lack the thorough understanding of the history of Israel's thought which is essential to any satisfactory work upon the Psalter. The book is marred by the use of faulty English, by inexactness in the citation of references (*e. g.*, pp. 22, 61, 62 note, 68, 104, 122), and by the exceedingly fragmentary character of much of the material. Popular works, such as this was apparently meant to be, are greatly needed, but scholarship and insight are no less essential in their production than in that of more profound and exhaustive works.

JOHN M. P. SMITH.

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THE BOOK OF DANIEL, with Introduction and Notes. By S. R. DRIVER. (= "The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.") Cambridge: The University Press; New York: Macmillan, 1900. Pp. cvi+215. \$0.75.

IN this little volume the reader will find practically all that is known about the book of Daniel. The only recent commentaries, in English, that compare with it in completeness and worth are Bevan's (Cambridge, 1892) and Prince's (Leipzig, 1899), and these cost respectively \$2 and

§3. For the student of the English Bible Driver's book has no rival. For the student of the Hebrew and Aramaic it lacks the philological notes of the larger commentaries.

It is cause for congratulation that a critic of Dr. Driver's reputation has been selected to prepare this commentary on a book so full of difficulties to the average mind. Driver is so fair in his statements that he cannot fail to win many readers to the rational view of the book which he holds. Students of his introduction will not need to be told that Driver here adopts the view of Daniel which has prevailed among the most moderate and reasonable critics of the past quarter of a century—it is a work of religious fiction with a basis in traditional history, and has a Maccabean origin. This is the position taken in the recent dictionaries of the Bible (Hastings and Cheyne).

The introductory matter fills 106 pages; the additional notes and special introductions to chapters occupy 43 pages more. Unfortunately the King James version of Daniel is printed in full, leaving only something over 100 pages for the commentary proper. But these pages are packed with information, and furnish a sufficiently complete exposition of the book. The only general criticism that seems justifiable is one made by Cheyne long ago upon Driver's work (*Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, pp. 338, 366 ff.). His caution leads him into excessive deference to the conservative position. For example, he will not say that there is no sufficient evidence for the existence of the hero Daniel in the exile, although his facts carry him logically to that conclusion (pp. xvii f.). This discussion, however, seems to indicate a change from the view maintained in his introduction (p. 510, 9th ed., 1899), where he asserts the existence of an exilic Daniel, while here he says the hero is a patriarchal Daniel living long before the exile. Also on the question of the date Driver says "not earlier than *ca.* 300 B. C." and probably between 168 and 165 B. C., when all other critics with the same data and point of view would say "surely 165 B. C." (*cf.* *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 1010). The author holds that Daniel was originally written in two languages in the form in which it has been handed down to us, and maintains, of course, the unity of the book. The last chapters (7-12) he pronounces apocalyptic and includes a most instructive discussion of the apocalyptic literature. He thinks the doctrines of the book (angelology, resurrection, etc.) show only slight traces, if any, of Persian influence. "Antichrist" (11:36-45) is Antiochus, and the New Testament interpretation is, "upon exegetical grounds, untenable." The "son of man" (7:13) is the ideal people

of God and not the Messiah (pp. 102 ff.). The prophecy of the "seventy weeks" admits of no explanation, unless assumptions and corrections are made. It is certainly not, what tradition has held it to be, a prediction of the advent and death of Christ (pp. 144 ff.). The value of the book for popular use is increased by an excellent outline of the period of history from 605 to 164 B. C. There is a good English and Hebrew index.

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KRITIK DER BEIDEN MAKKABÄERBÜCHER, nebst Beiträgen zur Geschichte der makkabäischen Erhebung. Von BENEDICTUS NIESE. Berlin: Weidmann, 1900. Pp. iv+114. M. 2.40.

THIS essay presents the results of investigations made by the author while preparing the third volume of his history of the Greek and Macedonian states. His main conclusion is that 2 Maccabees is more valuable as a historical source than 1 Maccabees. Naturally, he cannot hold the commonly accepted belief that 2 Maccabees was written as a sort of pharisaic corrective of the Sadducean tone of 1 Maccabees. The latter itself Niese regards as falling into two approximate halves. Chaps. 1-7 cover the same ground as 2 Maccabees, and were in large measure from the work of Jason epitomized in 2 Maccabees, while the last eight chapters cover a longer period much less fully. This second half is not based on any one source, but contains a large number of documents, which Niese does not regard as genuine. First Maccabees also fails, barring one episode, to give any account of the seven years 160 (159)-153 (152) B. C. Other omissions, as in the case of the events immediately preceding the Maccabean outbreak, are also noteworthy. On the other hand, the work makes Judea a sort of center of world-politics. The motive for these omissions and additions Niese holds to have been a desire to present the history of the historian's people in the most creditable light.

One must give the entire position of Niese the most respectful consideration, for the critical problems of the sources of any history of the Maccabean period are very perplexing. Willrich does not agree with Niese, however, and the end of the discussion is not in sight. One feels, however, great hesitation in accepting 2 Maccabees as superior to first. At the same time, it is also difficult to feel that 1 Maccabees is not dependent to some extent upon material known

also in 2 Maccabees, but edited pretty thoroughly with patriotic *Tendens*. In a word, the critical historian must use both books with great caution, even suspicion.

SHAILER MATHEWS.

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FACSIMILES OF THE FRAGMENTS HITHERTO RECOVERED OF THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTICUS IN HEBREW. Oxford: The University Press, and Cambridge: The University Press; New York: Frowde, 1900. Pp. 6, plates 60. \$5, *net*.

FIVE years ago when Dr. Schechter published in the *Expositor* the first leaf of the Hebrew Ecclesiasticus recovered, he expressed the hope, raised by that discovery, that other fragments of the original would come to light. How astonishingly that hope has already been realized this splendid edition shows. To the single leaf brought by Mrs. Lewis from Palestine there have been added twenty-nine, in which thirty-nine of the fifty-one chapters of the Greek are represented in greater or less completeness. In 1897 the nine leaves now in the Bodleian were published; in 1899 two leaves from the British Museum, four from one manuscript in the Taylor-Schechter collection, and seven from another in the same; in 1900 two leaves belonging to Mr. Adler, two from a third manuscript in the Taylor-Schechter collection, one belonging to M. Gaster, one from one manuscript in the library of the Consistoire israélite in Paris, and one from another manuscript in the same library. The ten leaves or groups of leaves thus far recovered are thus scattered among the collections of Oxford, Cambridge, London, and Paris, and the need for such an edition as the present has thus been very great.

These ten groups of leaves represent but four manuscripts, here designated A, B, C, D. To A belong four Taylor-Schechter leaves and Mr. Adler's leaf; to B, seven Taylor-Schechter leaves, the two British Museum leaves, the leaf belonging to Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson, and the nine leaves in the Bodleian. To C belong two Taylor-Schechter leaves, M. Gaster's leaf, and a leaf belonging to the Consistoire israélite; while D is represented by the single remaining leaf in the same library.

But for a brief explanatory note and a table showing by chapter and verse number what each manuscript page contains, this edition consists entirely of facsimile plates. It seems a strange omission that the explanatory note, which constitutes a brief catalogue of the fragments

recovered, with the names of their owners and the place of first publication, does not contain a brief description of each manuscript, with some hint of source, date, dimensions, material, and condition; not all of which can be readily determined from the study of the facsimiles. There are sixty plates, each occupying a single detached sheet, and they leave nothing to be desired in the way of beauty, fidelity, or convenience. In printing the facsimiles on but one side of single detached leaves, and inclosing these loose sheets in a stout cloth case, the publishers have probably followed what was, in spite of its obvious disadvantages, the most practical plan, as it not only facilitates the immediate study and comparison of the leaves found, but makes possible the insertion of facsimiles of such other leaves as may yet be recovered. In this splendid edition the great English universities have done students of the Wisdom of Sirach a very great and timely service.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

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DIE GRIECHISCHE SPRACHE IM ZEITALTER DES HELLENISMUS.
Beiträge zur Geschichte und Beurteilung der KOINH. Von
ALBERT THUMB. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1901. Pp.
viii + 275. M. 7.

As we are told in the preface, the purpose of the author was to sketch the problems and needs of the investigation of the *Koinē*, and, on the basis of what has previously been accomplished, to exhibit in brief some important chapters from the history of the Hellenistic language, as well as to carry forward these chapters by the author's own investigations. Thumb has fully attained his end in the six chapters into which the book is divided.

In the first chapter, which treats the idea and extent of the *Koinē*, the *Koinē* is defined as "the whole development of the Greek language, as used by the people and in daily intercourse, from the time of Alexander the Great up to the close of antiquity." By "Hellenism" one understands the epoch in which Greek civilization became the world-civilization, the Hellenistic language being, therefore, what we more concisely term the *Koinē*. Since the development of the Greek language has been continuous, modern Greek is a legitimate descendant in the family of this ever-living speech, and hence is of great importance in deciding questions concerning the *Koinē*, which it follows in line of descent. This is a fact which is being more clearly recognized

in these days. In the second chapter, on the destruction of the ancient dialects, the change into the *Koiné* is shown to have been a continuous process, regular in course, and corresponding to a natural development of the living language. The third chapter treats of the remnants of the ancient dialects in the *Koiné*. The question is: Did dialectical forms enter the *Koiné* and continue in use after the complete extinction of the old dialects? The answer to this question is found, first, by a study of the old texts, and, secondly, by a search of modern Greek and its dialects for such remnants, since, if they are found here, they can only have come from the *Koiné*, in which then they must have existed. The outcome of this study is the fact that the number of dialectical forms is very small.

The fourth chapter, on the influence of non-Greek peoples on the development of the Hellenistic language, is a delight as well as a revelation to one who has been brought up on the old grammars of New Testament Greek. Simcox calls the language of the New Testament "half-Hebraized Greek;" Thumb says that "one is entitled to remain very skeptical in regard to the admission of Hebraisms;" that "in the Bible there is found an un-Hellenic style and manner of thought, but that in general the lexicon and grammar are Greek." The fifth chapter treats of dialectical differentiation of the *Koiné*, and the position of biblical Greek. Here we learn that, as is to be expected in a language spoken in regions so widely separated, there are dialectical differences in the *Koiné*, but that it is incorrect to speak of an "Alexandrian dialect" apart from the "Egyptian," or to say that the Bible represents a "Jewish Greek." The sixth chapter, on the source and nature of the *Koiné*, is especially illuminating, giving one a wide view of the development of the Greek language up to the present. In fact, the book will be hailed with delight by all those who wish to be delivered from the bonds of a pedantic classicism.

HAMILTON FORD ALLEN.

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EINLEITUNG IN DAS NEUE TESTAMENT. VON ADOLF JÜLICHER.
Dritte u. vierte Auflage. Tübingen: Mohr, 1901. Pp.
xvi + 504. M. 8.

JÜLICHER'S well-known book has grown from four hundred pages in the first and second editions to five hundred in the third and fourth. Part of this increase was inevitable, being made up of references to the steadily growing body of literature. But much the larger part is in

the text. It does not need to be said that a larger statement of Jülicher's views was worth while. Yet one questions whether the increased size of the book can justify itself before Jülicher's own purpose as expressed in the preface: he does not intend, he says, to write an Introduction, only an introduction to an Introduction like Holtzmann's. A handbook should be severely jealous of its own length.

Jülicher defines introduction to the New Testament as "*Geschichte seiner Entstehung*" (p. 4). He is to be heartily commended for rigidly adhering to his definition and excluding all matter that does not bear directly upon the subject as he conceives it. But does the definition, strictly taken, permit him to include within his subject the history of the New Testament text? He argues the question at some length (p. 5), as if there might be reasonable doubt on this point. And we are forced to ask a scholar, who shuts out of introduction such material as "*ein Eingehen auf die Verbreitung des Neuen Testaments unter den Völkern, seine Ausnützung in der Kirche, seine Auslegung seitens der theologischen Wissenschaft*" (p. 2), on what grounds he takes in such matter as "*Schreibmaterial*" (p. 453), "*das Format der Pergamenthandschrift*" (p. 461), "*Gelehrter Apparat*" (pp. 465-9). Moreover, taking introduction as Jülicher defines it, what contribution is made by the history of the Textus Receptus? Nearly all the material in his section on the text is part of the history of the New Testament in the church, and has nothing to do with the origin of the New Testament. This is not to say that Jülicher's definition is incorrect. But, granting its correctness, should not the history of the text be excluded from introduction strictly conceived? Once in a while the study of the text of a given book may bear upon its origin, *e. g.*, Blass' theory regarding the text of Acts. But the bulk of the material that goes into the history of the text has no bearing whatever upon the questions essential to introduction. Would not the discipline gain in precision, if this material were excluded?

The positions taken in the first and second editions are not materially changed in the third and fourth. In the earlier editions Matthew was assigned to the reign of Domitian (p. 192). Here it is shut out of the first century altogether (p. 242). In the earlier editions the unlikeness between the Apocalypse and the fourth gospel was exclusively emphasized; Jülicher now emphasizes the resemblances also (pp. 220-21). It is possible that in a future edition he may recognize the improbability of the position taken on p. 221: "*Die Voraussetzung, dass Evangelium, Briefe des Johannes und Apokalypse auf dem gleichen*

Boden gewachsen sind, in einer Kirche, in der sich damals eine eigenartige religiöse Sprache und Anschauungswelt unbeschadet sonstiger Freiheiten durchgesetzt hatte." Surely the likelihood of the "church" reaching an interpretation and view so distinct from the synoptical view at a date anywhere near the year 100 is exceedingly slight. Far more likely is it that the Johannine literature was the output of a school. And that position once taken, Jülicher's assessment of the fourth gospel as a free literary creation (p. 335) must undergo a discount.

It is a pity that so good a book should be disfigured by an occasional touch of German academic manners. Thus Blass is satirically referred to as "der Philologe." It would seem that biblical scholars may take lessons in manners from amateur athletes.

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THE EXPOSITOR'S GREEK TESTAMENT. Edited by W. ROBERTSON NICOLL. Complete in 5 vols. Vol. II. London: Hodder & Stoughton; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Pp. 953. \$7.50.¹

THIS volume embraces the Acts, expounded by Professor R. J. Knowling, of King's College, London; the epistle to the Romans, by Professor James Denney, of the Free Church College, Glasgow; and the first epistle to the Corinthians, by Professor G. G. Findlay, of Headingley College.

It is somewhat unequally divided, the commentary on Acts filling 554 pages, that on Romans 171, and that on 1 Corinthians 228. The method is not the same throughout the volume, and some of the points of difference are worthy of notice. Thus in the commentary on Acts there are no general statements regarding the course of events, no divisions or headings; in that on Romans, while there are here and there brief analyses of the course of thought, there is no connected presentation of the content of the epistle; but in the commentary on 1 Corinthians there are quite full statements both of the thought of the several main sections and also of the subordinate divisions.

Again, in the commentary on Acts the simple Greek text is given; in that on Romans there is a considerable number of marginal references; and in that on Corinthians these references, most varied in

¹ A review of Vol. I, by PROFESSOR W. ARNOLD STEVENS, is printed in this JOURNAL, Vol. II, pp. 884-9, October, 1898.

character, are several times as numerous as in the text of Romans. One other point may be mentioned here, viz., the method of referring to the apostles. The first expositor always prefixes the word "Saint" to the apostles' names; the second omits it as a rule; and the third not only omits it, but in numerous references to Paul is satisfied with the first letter of his name. Thus two writers out of the three agree in dropping the mediæval prefix. It is to be hoped that at least as large a proportion of their readers will follow their example.

From the method of the writers we turn to their critical views. Dr. Knowling, in contending for the Lucan authorship of Acts, lays more stress than has been usual on the use of medical terms. He regards Acts as faithfully historical, and inclines to think that when Luke wrote it he contemplated a *τρίτος λόγος*. He leaves undecided the questions of time and place of composition, and finds no precise chronology in Acts. The Western Text is constantly taken into account, and Dr. Knowling, while not fully accepting the hypothesis of Blass, ascribes very considerable importance to his readings.

In his treatment of apparent discrepancies between Acts and other New Testament books, also in his exposition of passages which contain miraculous events, or which refer to the divinity of Christ, the positions of the author are not always defensible. Thus, *e. g.*, he virtually adopts the old attempt to harmonize Matthew and Acts in regard to the ownership of the potter's field. It is quite possible, he says, that Judas should be spoken of as the possessor of the field, "just as Joseph of Arimathea is said to have hewn his own tomb, or Pilate to have scourged Jesus." These parallels, however, do not appear to be pertinent. For while Joseph and Pilate exercised direct authority regarding the specified acts, Judas was already dead when the field was purchased, and the author gives no confirmation of his assertion that the blood-money was still, "by a fiction of the law," the property of Judas. He had returned it to the chief priests and elders, had confessed that it was the price of sin, and had then shown the depth of his remorse by committing suicide. What ground is there for saying that the money was still his, and that what the priests bought with it could be held to be his property?

As illustrations of the author's treatment of passages in which there is an alleged miraculous element, these instances may be cited. He thinks that Luke regarded the speaking at Pentecost as miraculous, and he accepts it as such, but without attempting to remove the serious objections to this view. He holds that Philip was miraculously caught

away from the eunuch by the spirit of God, and that the cloths which had touched Paul's body actually wrought miraculous cures in Ephesus.

A word regarding some of the references to Christ. The fact that he is called *ὁ Κύριος* seems to be taken (p. 67) as implying divinity. This, however, is without warrant, as the word is simply one of relation. Again, when the author says, "it is equally certain that prayer was directed to Christ in the earliest days of the church," that is, as certain as that it was addressed to Jehovah, he makes a statement not justified by the three Thessalonian verses to which he refers.

The task of writing a commentary on Romans, always sufficiently formidable, has become even more so since the work of Sanday and Headlam. Dr. Denney's work will be compared with that, and the comparison, at least as far as form is concerned, will probably be unfavorable to the later book. It must, however, be said, in the first place, that the author, though a professor of systematic theology, has not treated Romans as a dogmatician, but has conceived of his task as historical. Some of his expositions are the more significant in view of his particular department of work. He holds, for instance, that it is a mistake to find the doctrine of two natures in the one person of the Lord in Rom. 1:3, 4, as theologians have usually done. Again, in discussing Rom. 5:12 he says that "nothing has been more pernicious in theology than the determination to define sin in such a way that in all its damning import the definition should be applicable to infants; it is to this we owe the moral atrocities that have disfigured most creeds." Once more the author's freedom from dogmatic prejudice and his sense of the historical are illustrated in his treatment of Rom. 9:5. He holds that the impression made by the study of Paul's writings makes it impossible to suppose that, in this passage, he called Christ "God blessed for ever."

Of Professor Findlay's *method* as compared with that of the other contributors we have already spoken. He characterizes 1 Corinthians as "the epistle of the cross in its social application," and gives an admirable analysis of its teaching on the nature of the Christian community and on the relations of the Christian to the world.

There are some instances in his exposition where it seems as though a more comprehensive study of Paul and of the Jewish theology would have led to different conclusions. Thus, *e. g.*, the rock which followed Israel was not symbolic of Christ, but "identical with him," and strangely enough the author holds that Jesus virtually made this identification in the words of John 7:37.

In the discussion of the Lord's Supper (1 Cor., chap. 10) we read that "through the cup . . . believers participate in the sacrifice of his [Christ's] blood offered to God." This conception is supported by reference to Rom. 3:25 and Eph. 1:7, neither of which passages, as it seems to us, has any necessary reference to the Lord's Supper. Moreover, this explanation of the cup ignores the one great positive thought in the words of Jesus regarding the significance of the supper, viz., that the blood *seals* the new covenant. If this interpretation appears to be unduly influenced by the theology of the church, so is that of the incarnation when the author says that Christ *wore* the *σῶμα σαρκός*. No one whose views of Jesus were determined by study of the New Testament alone would ever conceive of him as a pre-existent being who for a little time "*wore the σῶμα σαρκός*." But Professor Findlay's work, apart from the interpretation of some theological passages, compares favorably with any of the recent commentaries on 1 Corinthians.

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VINCULA SANCTORUM. Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung der Gefangenschaftsbrieфе des Apostels Paulus. Von H. LISCO. Berlin: Schneider, 1900. Pp. 159. M. 3.

It will be sufficient to state Dr. Lisco's positions. The apostle Paul, in the late summer of the same year in which he wrote the letters to the Corinthians, was, with several of his companions, imprisoned at Ephesus, in or in the neighborhood of a tower which still bears the name of "St. Paul's Prison." During this imprisonment he composed the Philippian, Colossian, and Ephesian epistles, and the letter to Philemon.

The apostle, after having been thrown into the arena, and miraculously rescued from the wild beasts, was released by the proconsul of Asia; an act against which the Ephesian populace, incited by Demetrius, protested in vain. It is assumed that Rom., chap. 16, was addressed to the church at Ephesus, and that Andronicus and Junia or Junias, who are designated as "my fellow-prisoners," were the companions of his imprisonment at Ephesus.

It may be observed in passing that the hypothesis of an Ephesian imprisonment of Paul is not novel. It is regarded as probable by Weizsäcker. Peter Lombard, Lanfranc, and Erasmus held that the Colossian epistle was written from Ephesus, and Nicephorus Callisti

in his church history gives an extract from an apocryphal biography of Paul, relating his imprisonment at Ephesus, and the incidents of his appearance in the arena.

In Rom. 15:26 Paul announces his intention of going to Jerusalem with the collection for the poor Christians which the churches of Macedonia and Achaia have determined to make; and in 1 Cor. 16:1 he declares that he has directed the Galatian churches to raise funds for the same purpose. In Romans, however, there is no intimation that the Galatians have complied, and no allusion to any collection in Ephesus, the richest of the churches.

The reason for this was that the collectors in Ephesus had been robbed of the contribution they had received. The Ephesian Jews had at one time been prevented by the city authorities from sending the annual temple-tribute to Jerusalem, on the ground that the collection was illegal; but were now protected by law. Paul's collection might have been similarly interfered with. It was on this charge that he was imprisoned at the secret instigation of the Jews. Their own legal protection offered an inducement to gratify their hatred of Paul when he attempted to collect money for Jerusalem. The Jews assumed that Paul and the Jewish Christians were under obligation to pay the temple tax like other Jews, and that the collection for the Christians made by Paul was a part of the temple-money which Paul had fraudulently appropriated to his own use. On this ground they denounced him to the magistrates as guilty of *ιεροσυλία*, and succeeded in getting him committed to prison.

Much ingenuity is expended in finding intimations of all this in 2 Corinthians. Thus, when Paul speaks of an eternal *βάρος* of glory, the word indicates that his thoughts were still running on a recent imprisonment in Ephesus. When he follows *φυλακαὶ* with *ἀκαταστασία* in 2 Cor. 6:5, it is a reminiscence of his having first undergone imprisonment, and then experienced the danger of an uprising. That the Acts give no account of the Ephesian imprisonment is due to intention. Assuming that 2 Corinthians consists of three different letters, the author holds that, although Luke gave a full and correct account of the Ephesian transaction between 19:22 and 29:23, yet a new edition of Acts was prepared by the adherents of John, from which the story of Paul's conflict with Jews and heathen in Ephesus was deliberately eliminated, lest the account should detract from the reputation of John. This was done by the disciples of John, along with Aristion, who is assumed to have added the closing verses of Mark's gospel.

The entire treatise is a piece of special pleading, based largely upon fanciful hypotheses, which are worked out in a manner more ingenious than convincing.

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THE RELATION OF THE APOSTOLIC TEACHING TO THE TEACHING OF CHRIST, being the *Kerr Lectures* for 1900. By ROBERT J. DRUMMOND. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribner, 1900. Pp. 442. \$4.50.

THE first output of the Kerr lectureship in the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland was Dr. Orr's *Christian View of God and the World*. The fourth is before us in the present volume. It is a study in New Testament theology, dealing with one of its most difficult problems. The apostolic theology, or rather the elements of doctrine contained in the latter portion of the New Testament, from Acts to Revelation, is viewed as substantially one and homogeneous. The teaching of Jesus the author derives from the four gospels, treating them as sources of coördinate value, a method which naturally yields a different result from that which we find in Harnack's *What is Christianity?* The line of progress in Christ's teaching is indicated by the words "kingdom, Christ, cross, throne." In this part of his work we think the lecturer not at his best. Chap. v, "The Kingdom of God and its Variants," affords a fair test of his method and success. Dr. Orr has succeeded better in defining the New Testament doctrine of the kingdom, both in the volume referred to above and in Hastings' *Dictionary*. Kingdom and church are made too nearly coextensive and interchangeable. Again, to treat the idea of eternal life as a variant of kingdom, "a correlate idea," is false perspective to start with, and results in minimizing that comprehensive and dominant conception in New Testament theology.

There is abundant evidence in these pages of generous reading and painstaking exegesis. Chap. vii, "The Intentions of the Cross, Hinted and Grasped," shows scriptural insight and strong thought. It is right to emphasize the sacrificial sense of *λύτρον*, but why quote Joseph Parker's, "Whatever is not sacrificial is satanic"? The note on p. 274 in reply to those who find the chief significance of biblical sacrifice in the idea of communion between God and his worshipers is quite to the point. But the Pauline conception of dying to sin is

misinterpreted, being viewed as an imputed rather than an ethical transaction.

One question does not receive adequate attention, indeed is hardly more than touched upon. What authority has the apostolic teaching as compared with that directly attributed to Christ? Are the epistles authoritative *to us* as truly as are the four gospels? The lecturer would evidently answer the latter inquiry in the affirmative, but does not undertake to discuss the grounds on which that conviction rests.

The book is certainly a helpful contribution toward the solution of the problems suggested by the title. Their adequate solution, however, demands not only exegetical accuracy and doctrinal insight, but broad historical research. The second sentence in the opening lecture, "The material for the study lies within the boards of the New Testament," is only partially true. Hort would have put the case differently.

WM. ARNOLD STEVENS.

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DIE GRIECHISCHEN CHRISTLICHEN SCHRIFTSTELLER DER ERSTEN DREI JAHRHUNDERTE, herausgegeben von der Kirchenväter-Commission der königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Band 4: *Der Dialog des Adamantius: Περὶ τῆς εἰς Θεὸν ὁρθῆς πίστεως*. Herausg. von W. H. VAN DE SANDE BAKHUYZEN. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901. Pp. lvii + 256. M. 12.50.

IN a less critical age the dialogue of Adamantius *On Right Faith in God* would have appeared among the works of Origen. Adamantius was one of the names of Origen, and Rufinus translated this dialogue into Latin as a genuine work of Origen's. At least as early, then, as the close of the fourth century it was ascribed to Origen, and his responsibility for it does not seem to have been questioned till the time of Andreas Rivetus, to whose doubt Wettstein was the first to call attention. Rivetus urged the reference (872a) to Christian kings in the writer's day as decisive evidence against its being Origen's. Modern criticism, however, rejects the passage as the work of a reviser, and as early as 1685 critics based their denial of any connection of the work with Origen on irreconcilable differences in doctrine — *e. g.*, of the resurrection — between this dialogue and the genuine writings of that father.

The dialogue was composed by no very original author not earlier than Methodius' *περὶ τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου* and *περὶ ἀναστάσεως* — these supply

the *terminus a quo*; it was written before the end of the persecution of the Christians, that is, before the edict of Galerius, 311 A. D. This was also about the time of Methodius' death, so that the dialogue was probably written not far from the year 300, though it has since undergone some reworking. Its chief interest lies in the reflection of the teachings of Marcion and Valentinus, against whose heresies it is directed. Adamantius appears as the champion of the orthodox church against the Marcionites Megethius and Marcus, in public debate before an umpire of their own selection, the heathen Eutropius. Megethius maintains that there are three principles, the good God, the Demiurge, and the evil God; that the Old Testament precepts emanated from another God than those of the New, and that the father of Christ was another than the Creator of the world. These and other Gnostic positions taken by Megethius and Marcus are overthrown by Adamantius, to whom Eutropius awards the victory. In the second part of the dialogue, Marinus, a follower of Bardesanes, appears as the chief opponent of Adamantius. He advances three propositions: that the devil was not created by God; that Christ was not born of a woman; and that there is no resurrection of the body. Again Adamantius triumphs, and the umpire is so affected by his arguments as to seek admission to the church.

This and much more, by way of introduction to the dialogue, Bakhuyzen has given in a compact and comprehensive essay. In this is included a catalogue of the manuscripts of the dialogue and of the translations and editions, and upon it follows the text. The Greek occupies the left-hand page, and is accompanied by the Latin of Rufinus on the right-hand page. The lower margin is devoted to textual notes. Indexes of Scripture passages quoted, names mentioned, and important words used, Greek as well as Latin, complete the book.

The ten Greek manuscripts of the dialogue go back to a lost exemplar which was itself very corrupt. They fall into three groups, of which the Venice manuscript (B) of the twelfth century, the oldest textual witness; the Bodleian manuscript (C) of the early sixteenth century; and the two Paris manuscripts (F H) of the sixteenth century, are severally the representatives. All the other manuscripts connect themselves more or less closely with the Venice manuscript. Upon these four representative codices, then, with some help for the latter part from the two works of Methodius mentioned above, Bakhuyzen has constructed his text. Of translations the earliest and

most important is that of Rufinus, which is more faithful than his translations of Origen's works, although in the longer speeches considerable liberties are taken. Rufinus' translation is here published on the basis of Caspari's edition. Adamantius enjoyed a singular revival in the sixteenth century, when no fewer than four new Latin translations of the dialogue were made — those of Picus, Perionius, Ferrarius, and Humfry. But the first edition of the Greek text did not appear until 1674, when the younger Wettstein published it from a manuscript no longer extant. In 1733 de la Rue included the dialogue in his edition of Origen's works, and Migne and Lommatsch have added little to his work or that of Wettstein. There was thus a real need for a critical edition based on broader manuscript evidence and accompanied by an adequate introduction and apparatus of readings, and such an edition this newest volume of the Prussian Academy's series certainly is.

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DAS TESTAMENT UNSERES HERRN UND DIE VERWANDTEN SCHRIFTEN. Von F. X. FUNK. (= "Forschungen zur christlichen Litteratur- und Dogmengeschichte." Herausgegeben von EHRHARD und KIRSCH. Zweiter Band. Erstes und zweites Heft.) Mainz: Kirchheim, 1901. Pp. xii+316. M. 16.

OF German scholars few were better prepared than Franz Xaver Funk, the Roman Catholic professor at Tübingen, successor to the well-known professor, afterward bishop, Hefele, to give a thoroughly intelligent verdict on the so-called "Testament of Our Lord," which has been introduced to the learned world with so much pretension by the Roman Catholic patriarch Rahmani of Antioch. As early as 1891 he had published a monograph of more than three hundred pages on the Apostolic Constitutions, with which the new document is closely connected, and never since has he lost sight of this kind of literature. Hence the title of the book: *Das Testament und die verwandten Schriften, i. e.*, the early Christian writings connected with it. The importance of Funk's book lies not so much in the elucidation he has given of the new text, as in the conclusions at which he arrives as to those kindred writings which have long been known. That the newly published Testament was not a work of the first or second century everyone saw at once, except the editor and the reviewer, as I see from the last page of Funk's book, in the *Dublin Review* (1900, pp. 245-74); and it does not matter much whether we refer it, with the bishop of

Salisbury,¹ to the school of Apollinaris of Laodicea, or, with Th. Zahn, of Erlangen, to the sect of the Kathari or Audians about the middle of the fourth century, or to some other time and place. But it is of the highest importance whether the so-called *canones Hippolyti* are an original work of the year 218 and the source of this whole sort of literature, as was stated by Hans Achelis, or whether they are the last and latest link in this chain, not attested before the twelfth century. This is the theory put forward by Funk in earlier writings and maintained in the present book.

According to Funk we get the following genealogy :

1. At the head stands AK VIII, *i. e.*, Book VIII of the Apostolic Constitutions, originating about 400, perhaps a little earlier.

2. On this depends AK VIII*b*, *i. e.*, its parallel texts, consisting of the five pieces :

a) Διδασκαλία τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων περὶ χαρισμάτων = AK VIII, 1, 2.

b) Διάταξις τῶν αὐτῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων περὶ χειροτονιῶν διὰ Ἰππολύτου = AK VIII, 4, 5, 16-28, 30, 31.

c) Παύλου τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου διατάξεις περὶ κανόνων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν = AK VIII, 32.

d) Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων διατάξεις = AK VIII, 33, 34, 42-45.

e) Περί εὐταξίας διδασκαλία πάντων τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων = AK VIII, 46.

3. A retouching of AK VIII*b* is KO, *i. e.*, the Egyptian Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles (*ägyptische Kirchenordnung*).

4. Finally, on AK VIII*b* are based, on the one hand, T, the Testament as published by Rahmani, and KH, the canons of Hippolyt.

The present writer cannot claim to have made independent studies in this intricate complex, but much of what is said by Funk seems very probable. There are, however, points open to doubt. On p. 156 Funk compares the doxology in AK VIII, 5, διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου παιδὸς σου . . . δι' οὗ σοὶ δόξα . . . ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, with the Latin translation of KO, per puerum tuum . . . per quem tibi gloria et potentia et honor patri et filio cum spiritu sancto, and he sees in the second an *editorial* alteration. But must this be the work of an *editor*? May it not be merely due to a copyist? In this very passage one MS. of the AK inserts μεθ' οὗ before δι' οὗ, and from T, 8, onward we have many variants of this sort in the AK themselves. An important review of the

¹ On p. 310 he is called "der Bischof J. Sarum von Salisbury (Dr. Wordsworth)." That continental Protestants are not acquainted with the titles of Anglican bishops is to be pardoned or excused; but to find such a misleading designation in the book of a Roman Catholic professor of church history is strange.

book of Funk, by Professor Drews, of Giessen, which appeared in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, No. 17, declares that all will agree with him that the Testament depends upon the Egyptian Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles, but not in his main thesis as to the relation of the KO to KH. On the other hand, Drews concedes that the thesis of Achelis also will have to undergo many changes before it can be finally accepted.* Perhaps Drews is right also in the statement that it was still a little early to write a whole book on the Testament. A recent number of the *Journal of Theological Studies* publishes "A New Syriac Text of the Apocalyptic Part of the 'Testament of the Lord.'" This text was found by Rev. J. P. Arendzen, in Cod. Add. 2918 of the Cambridge University Library, and turns out to be an independent translation from the Greek. In one passage it has a sentence more than the text hitherto known. Before the sentence, in chap. viii, that in the West a king shall rise of another race, the sentence dropped out, apparently in consequence of homoioteleuton: kings there shall be reigning in the East, inglorious, thoughtless, not grown up, "boys, lovers of gold." Arendzen suggests that by the king in the West Alaric the Visigoth is meant; by the boy-kings in the East, Arcadius and Theodosius II. Whatever the final judgment proves to be, the investigations of Professor Funk will be an important help toward the formation of a sound judgment.

EB. NESTLE.

MAULBRONN, GERMANY.

DIE KIRCHENGESCHICHTE DES EUSEBIUS, aus dem Syrischen übersetzt von EBERHARD NESTLE. (*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der alichristlichen Literatur*; N. F., VI, 2.) Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901. Pp. x + 296. M. 9.50.

OF the versions of Eusebius' "Church History" the Syriac is confessedly the oldest. One of the two great manuscripts in which it is preserved, that in the British Museum, belongs to the sixth century; the other, which is at St. Petersburg, is dated 462 A. D., while what seems a reliable Armenian tradition refers the Armenian version, which was made from the Syriac, to the beginning of the fifth century. The Syriac version was thus made not later than the fourth century, and may even go back to the days of Eusebius himself. Its importance for the text of the church history is all the greater because the

*See on this question an article by J. P. BATIFFOL, "Les canons d'Hippolyte d'après des travaux récents," *Revue biblique*, Vol. X, No. 2.

Greek has undergone some corruption in its transmission, and stands in need of more restoration than the Greek manuscripts alone render possible.

The Syriac version has long been known of, and a critical edition of it was promised many years ago by Professor William Wright, of Cambridge. Dr. Wright seems to have completed his copy of the St. Petersburg manuscript (A) early in 1867, and not long after compared the British Museum manuscript with it, but never published his edition. In 1895, however, the work of bringing it out was committed to Norman McLean, who, with the aid of Professor Merx, of Heidelberg, for the Armenian, brought out in 1898 the long-expected critical edition. P. Bedjan had, indeed, anticipated him by a year with his Paris edition of 1897, but for critical purposes the Cambridge edition is its superior.

Immediately upon the appearance of the Cambridge edition, Dr. Nestle was asked by Professor Harnack to contribute a German translation of the Syriac to *Texte und Untersuchungen*, and to that invitation the present volume owes its origin. The peculiar qualifications of Dr. Nestle for the task will be readily recognized. His effort has been to give as exact a representation of the Syriac as was possible in German, and thus to make the textual evidence of the version accessible to those who do not use Syriac. His treatment of proper names well illustrates the fidelity which characterizes the translation. They are not represented by their supposed Greek equivalents restored, but are carefully translated. Thus we find PDDV (ܡܪܝܬ ڤܕܘܘܢ) 2:11:2; Ppia (ܡܪܝܬ ڤܦܝܐ) 2:15:2; TULMI (ܡܪܝܬ ܬܘܠܡܝܬ) 3:25:6. No Syriac characters appear in the book; when Syriac words must be printed, they are set in Hebrew. Such an index as that appended to Professor McGiffert's translation of the Greek text would have added greatly to the usefulness of the book. But as it is, it will be serviceable as being for many their sole medium of contact with the Syriac version.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE PRIMITIVE SAINTS AND THE SEE OF ROME. By F. W. PULLER. With Introduction by Edward, Lord Bishop of Lincoln. Third Edition. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. Pp. xxxv + 568. \$4. *net*.

THE purpose of this volume is a thorough investigation of the Romanist claim that Peter was the founder of the Church of Rome,

and its bishop for the first twenty-five years, and to deal with the theory that communion with the see of Rome is the necessary condition of communion with the Catholic church. Since the doctrine of papal infallibility is logically involved in the doctrine that the pope has a primacy of jurisdiction, and that he is the necessary center of communion, the author does not find it necessary to deal with infallibility.

Dr. Puller brings a great wealth of learning to his investigation, and his work has attracted so much attention that it is now in the third edition. The first edition consisted of five lectures, but the third edition consists of twelve lectures. The whole ground has been thoroughly reviewed, and much of the book has been rewritten, and some of the author's views have been modified. For instance, in the celebrated passage from Irenæus: "For this church [referring to the Roman church] on account of its more influential preëminence, it is necessary that every church should resort." In the first two editions he makes this "more influential preëminence" refer to the imperial position of the city. But in the third edition he makes it refer to the primacy of the Roman church.

The earlier editions of the work were thoroughly criticised by Romanists, and in this third edition Dr. Puller has sought to do justice to whatever of solid reasoning they were able to produce. But he comes out more fully convinced than ever that the Fathers and early church history contain nothing to which Romanism can appeal in support of its tremendous assumptions.

The book, although written primarily in the interests of the Church of England, is, we think, one in which all students of the first six centuries of church history will find much to interest them.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DIE KREUZZÜGE UND DAS HEILIGE LAND. Von ED. HEYCK.
Mit 4 Kunstbeilagen, 163 Abbildungen und 3 Karten.
Bielefeld und Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing, 1900. Pp.
173. M. 4.

THIS work is one of a series of popular monographs on general history designed by the editors to set forth the results of the best modern scholarship in artistic dress and good literary form, and as such is consistent with its *raison d'être*.

The artistic dress consists of an attractive binding in dark blue,

white, and gold, and in an unusual number of illustrations. Being for the most part from photographs of churches, castles, fortifications, sculptures, basreliefs, miniatures, coins, and seals contemporary with the crusades, together with cuts of ground plans and cross-sections of churches, castles, and cities of Syria, either original or from Rey or Vogüé, these illustrations are of real value. Yet, with all the attention given them, they still remain merely accessory.

Avowedly basing his work on the researches of such German scholars as Wilken, Sybel, Heyd, Röhricht, and Kugler, the author gives us a simple, straightforward exposition of his subject in a clear, vigorous style, without citation of authorities. In with the narrative he frequently introduces broad, general surveys of contemporary life and politics in East and West, among Christians and Mohammedans, that the reader may never for a moment lose sight of the place of the crusades in the world's history. While he regards the French as the chief crusading nation, he would not have the crusades looked upon as merely *Gesta Dei per Francos*. He lays considerable emphasis on the activity of the Staufers in the East, for in it he sees the deeply laid plans of a statesman for securing the possessions of the lands of the eastern and eventually of the western Mediterranean, and the revival of the universal empire—a plan apparently acquiesced in by the Christians of Syria at the time, and perfectly comprehended by the infidels.

If the series as a whole is as well executed as this number, it will furnish the German public just such a popular presentation of the results of the researches of modern historians as we need, and will doubtless meet with the success it deserves.

EDITH CLEMENTINE BRAMHALL.

ROCKFORD COLLEGE,
Rockford, Ill.

GESCHICHTE DES ERSTEN KREUZZUGES. Von REINHOLD RÖHRICHT. Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1901. Pp. xii + 267. M. 6.

VON SYBEL's *History of the First Crusade* has long been antiquated, and there has been a great need of a good critical work to take its place. This Röhricht has supplied. Of all who are now studying the crusading movement he was one of the best-equipped for this work. He was already well and favorably known for his excellent works, such as his *Regesta* and *History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*. It is most gratifying to find a history of the first crusade which devotes itself to

the actual history, without wasting time and space on the mass of legends which have overgrown the subject. The author has built on the critical, destructive work of Hagenmeyer, Riant, Kugler, and others, and has written a succinct reconstructive account of the first crusade and of the rule of Godfrey of Bouillon to his death in 1100 A. D. If there is anything which one might miss in the book, it would be a brief, clear statement of the present status of the controversy about some of the sources. The book is to be highly commended. It will serve as a complement to the same author's *History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, reviewed in this JOURNAL, Vol. II, pp. 915, 916, October, 1898.

OLIVER J. THATCHER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE MORISCOS OF SPAIN: Their Conversion and Expulsion. By HENRY CHARLES LEA. Philadelphia: Lea Brothers & Co., 1901. Pp. xii + 463. \$3.

IN a former number of this JOURNAL—Vol. I, pp. 829-32—Mr. Lea's character as a historian was discussed and his principal writings were enumerated. All that was said there can be reaffirmed here. The present work is fully up to the author's high standing, and goes still farther in evidence that Mr. Lea is at the forefront of American historians, and that he has very few equals.

His *History of the Inquisition* is well known, and it has for years been understood that the three volumes already published are but the introduction to his proposed "History of the Spanish Inquisition." The Moriscos will come in for a chapter in that work. But since the subject "not only embodies a tragedy commanding the deepest sympathy, but also epitomizes nearly all the errors and tendencies which combined to cast down Spain in a little more than a century from its splendor under Charles V. to its humiliation under Carlos II." (preface, p. i), it deserved more elaboration than it could have in the general work. Hence we have this special volume of over 450 pages.

It is well understood that Charles V. was a mediæval man confronted by modern conditions. He had no profound religious convictions himself, and he could not understand them in others. Yet from purely political motives he was resolved that religious unity should prevail throughout his dominions. Pledges on this matter had been made to the Moriscos, but Charles totally disregarded them, and the Moriscos were forced to an outward submission. Yet they clung to their old

religion and observed it in such a way that they were easily apprehended. They became the victims of the terrible Inquisition and gave many heroic examples of unflinching devotion to their faith.

Attempts were made to bring about their conversion through instruction and persuasion, but to this the various popes presented objections that could not be overcome. Even Philip II., strange to say, had some true ideas as to how the Moriscos should be managed. The folly of persecution, even from an economic point of view, as is seen in so many other chapters of history, is also here shown with great force by Mr. Lea's vast array of facts, showing the economic condition of the Spanish kingdom, and also showing how the persecuted Moriscos "were well-nigh supporting the whole kingdom with the products of their toil."

This volume is important for the trained historian, and for the general reader from many points of view, and it is to be welcomed as another substantial contribution to American historical scholarship.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF METHODISM. By JAMES W. LEE, NAPHTALI LUCCOCK, AND JAMES MAIN DIXON. St. Louis and New York: The Methodist Magazine Publishing Co., 1900. Pp. vi + 759. \$2.75.

THIS big book tells the "story of the origin and progress of the Methodist church, from its foundation by John Wesley to the present day." It is "written in popular style, and illustrated by more than one thousand portraits and views of persons and places identified with the rise and development of Methodism." Its outward appearance is of the subscription-book order, but the text gives a connected narrative of the origin, advance, and world-wide achievements of the church of Wesley, and on almost every page are found pictures illustrative of the text. The illustrations are for the most part well executed, though a severe taste is not always exercised in their selection. The reader searches the text in vain for incidents in the life of Wesley and opinions entertained by him which would lessen his popularity with his modern disciples, and to which other biographers have called attention; but this perhaps is not a grave fault. Many besides "Methodist readers" will find "delight" in this "unfolding of the glories of their heritage."

ERI B. HULBERT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

GEORGE WHITEFIELD, M.A., FIELD PREACHER. By JAMES PATERSON GLEDSTONE. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. Pp. xii + 359. 6s.

THE minister who feels the need of a tonic will find it in this biography. His drooping spirits will revive as he sees the Gloucester bartender transformed into the flaming evangelist, and the servitor in Pembroke College, Oxford, becoming the most eloquent preacher of modern times. His faith in the power of grace will get a fresh uplift and strengthening as he reads of tens of thousands won to the love of Christ from the rabble and the élite in England, from the degraded and the titled in Ireland, from the dissolute and the educated in Scotland and Wales, and from the gospel-hardened and the "ungospelized" in America. His own "passion for souls" will be rekindled as he follows this man who spent his life "hunting for sinners." If both the smiles and the frowns of fortune have been his lot, he will learn how to escape the perils of popularity, and how to preserve patience and charity when maligned and fiercely assailed. We are persuaded that an attentive and sympathetic perusal of this volume would go far to break up the apathetic tone and despairing resignation and dull routine of many a minister's life.

Of course, Whitefield had his faults, to which he himself was not blind, and which he was always ready to confess and correct. These his biographer handles with fine discernment and discrimination. But his ruling purpose is, without extenuation and without exaggeration, to portray the lofty character and beautiful life and abounding labors of the most ardent and persuasive preacher that England ever produced.

ERI B. HULBERT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE PAPACY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By FRIEDRICH NIPPOLD. Translated by Laurence Henry Schwab. New York: Putnam, 1900. Pp. 372. \$2.50.

THE second volume of Nippold's "Manual of the Latest Church History" is entitled "The History of Catholicism since the Restoration of the Papacy." The translator has given us only a portion of this second volume. The original consists of three parts: "The Papacy," "The History of Catholicism outside of Germany," and "The History of Catholicism in Germany." The translation reproduces only the first part and a few chapters of the second. The introduction is supplied by the translator.

Nippold assumes that there is a distinction between the papacy and the Roman Catholic church. The translator, in his introduction, seeks to establish this distinction by an argument, and pictures the Roman Catholic church as a mourning captive held in chains by a tyrant papacy. The modern papacy, he assures us, has imposed upon the church three additions to the faith, under which she groans. They are the decree of the immaculate conception, the "syllabus" of Pius IX., which Leo XIII. has made infallible, and the decree of papal infallibility. The sympathetic reader involuntarily forms in his imagination a pathetic picture of the church languishing in a dungeon with triple walls, and longing in vain to escape. But the distinction between the papacy and the church is pure fiction; it does not exist in reality. The papacy is the Roman Catholic church, and the Roman Catholic church is the papacy. The three additions to the faith were not imposed upon a reluctant church by a masterful and cruel papacy. They were made because the church as a whole demanded them. The third of these additions, the dogma of papal infallibility, was opposed by a minority, and there was some unworthy management on the part of the pope to secure unanimity. But the minority was relatively small, and, as a body, the church was enthusiastically in favor of the decision of the Vatican council, which only put into official form that which had long been the general belief of the people.

To the ordinary Protestant these three additions to the faith represent ignorance, superstition, and unreason. He supposes that the Roman Catholic church, now weighted down by such manifest absurdities, will sink of itself, and that he does not need to watch and oppose it. But it is not clear that the church was altogether destitute of the wisdom of this world when it made them. Nippold bewails her triumphs in diplomacy throughout the century and her immense numerical gains in the last generation. Men are not always obedient to truth and reason; they are often fascinated by superstition; and it is by no means certain that the rapid growth of the papacy today is not owing largely to its errors and its skilful appeal to human weaknesses.

Since the translation represents chiefly Nippold's history of the papacy, as distinguished from that of the church, it deals almost exclusively with the official acts of the papal government. It reads like one of the histories in fashion a hundred years ago, in which kings and nobles are the only actors, and the people have no place. It tells nothing of the spiritual life of the church, and one cannot learn from it whether this has been elevated or debased during the century.

Is the priesthood more moral? Are the people more intelligent? Are the orders and congregations more obedient to their rules? The reader will look in vain for answers to these and a thousand similar questions. If we had the original volume in full, this defect would perhaps be less conspicuous.

The book is somewhat deficient in interest, not only because it treats of Roman Catholic official action to the exclusion of Roman Catholic life, but also because it gives us no studies of character. It is a history without a single historic character. No doubt this is due to the fact that the papacy is considered as a mere mechanism, worked by the Jesuits, and a mechanism has no character. But history is never made by mechanism. If it is turned in this direction or that, it is because there are designing minds, burning hearts, and determined wills to direct it.

Nippold finds in the recent history of the papacy three marked features: (1) the restoration of the Jesuits and their dominance in papal politics; (2) the concordats with the principal European governments, by means of which the papacy has gained immense advantages; and (3) the growing alienation of the people of Catholic countries from the church which rules them. All these features give him occasion for regret. Indeed, his book is clad in full mourning, and the pessimist will read it with satisfaction. Nothing that is good has been done by the papacy in the past. Nothing that is good may be expected from it in the future. It broods over the world portentous of storm, and no one heeds it.

The most successful of the popes of the nineteenth century, if we are to accept the opinion of Nippold, was Pius IX. It is usual to regard him as the most unfortunate of the popes, with the possible exception of Clement VII. He was driven from Rome by revolution. He lost the temporal power. He shut himself up in the Vatican and refused to come forth during the last eight years of his life. Yet, looking back upon his reign, apparently so disastrous, Nippold declares that it shows "a marvelous series of triumphs," and that "even his later years only prepared the way for the triumphs of his successor."

I have expressed a certain degree of disappointment with this book. Let me add that it is the best we have on the subject in the English language. It is by no means the ideal history of the papacy in the nineteenth century, but it will fill a place left vacant for it, and possibly aid to stir up the Protestant denominations to greater vigilance and activity.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

JONATHAN EDWARDS: A RETROSPECT. Being the Addresses Delivered in Connection with the Unveiling of a Memorial Tablet at Northampton on the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of His Dismissal. Edited by H. NORMAN GARDINER. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901. Pp. xvi + 168. \$1.25.

THE church and town of Northampton, Mass., where Jonathan Edwards labored for twenty-three years, commemorated the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his dismissal, on June 22, 1900, by the unveiling of a memorial tablet in the parish church. In connection with the ceremony notable addresses were delivered, which are preserved in the book under review. The address on "The Place of Edwards in History" is by his biographer, Professor A. V. G. Allen. He finds that "the deepest affinity of Edwards was not that with Calvin or with Augustine, but with the great Florentine poet" Dante. Professor E. C. Smyth, of Andover, discusses "The Influence of Edwards on the Spiritual Life of New England." This subject "brings to the front Edwards' transcendent spiritual personality. It says: See him, and you gain the clearest insight into what he has wrought." The eminent Boston pastor, George A. Gordon, treats of "The Significance of Edwards Today." The exponent of the new theology weighs in the balance the defender of the old. He finds Edwards nearly as much in the wrong as he is in the right, yet yielding a "precious residuum of wisdom and of power" under a critical process of sifting. "The one supreme thing in him that insures his permanence as a teacher is his thought of God. . . . He belongs in the front rank of the great prophets of the eternal."

GEO. E. BURLINGAME.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

KARL VON HASE, ein deutscher Professor. Von RICHARD BÜRKNER. Mit 1 Bildnis in Heliogravüre und 8 Vignetten. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1900. Pp. 181. M. 3.

KARL VON HASE was an attractive and lovable personality. Outwardly his life was singularly well-rounded; he died at ninety; he had lectured 120 semesters, 100 of them at Jena; he had lived fifty-five happy years with the wife of his youth; he had gained affluence, fame, and honors, and finished all that he undertook to do. His inner development was equally harmonious. He was always at home in the Christian faith, and never passed through any violent spiritual crisis;

he early outlined his doctrinal and scientific positions, and his later work simply elaborated the early sketches; he united the qualities of the theologian and philosopher with those of the literary artist and man of the world; he had true piety, but it was not other-worldly; in fact, he was something of a pagan, with a Greek relish for life, beauty, and culture.

This very readable biography sketches his development with easy and felicitous touches; his poverty-stricken youth, when he gave private lessons for 5 cents an hour; the enthusiasm of his student days for German liberty and unity, which cost him eight months in prison; his love story; his many journeys to Italy; and his academic and literary work. He was an early riser, a tireless worker, and had the ease and fertility of production which belong to genius. It is most interesting to see how he struck out his lines of work at a very early age. At twenty-three he lectured as docent at Tübingen on the life of Jesus. No professor at Tübingen had ever taken that subject before, and only Schleiermacher and Winer had preceded him in all Germany. His *Leben Jesu*, published in 1829, was the first scientific opening of the mine which has since yielded such wonderful results. While in prison he wrote a novel, *Die Proselyten*, in which two brothers, a Catholic and a Protestant, exchange letters on their beliefs and each succeeds in converting the other. This line of work resulted later in Hase's classic *Handbuch der protestantischen Polemik*. As a young man of twenty-six, with a courage that bordered on audacity, he published a *Dogmatik*, and it earned him very respectful recognition. Two years later his *Hutterus Redivivus* appeared, a compendium of Lutheran dogmatics of marvelous condensation, which has been the stand-by of generations of students in the throes of examination. Hase was fond of saying that this book, which contained least of his own, had had the largest sale. When he was thirty he began to lecture on church history, because that was poorly represented in the faculty at Jena. By the close of the second semester of it he determined to write a handbook of church history; he published his *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte* three years later, and it took rank almost at once as a theological classic. He really did not at the time have the solid body of information that would justify a man in such generalizing; yet he says that in the dozen subsequent editions he found much to expand, but little to correct.

In old age he summed up his life-work in his diary with the objective simplicity of a historian passing judgment:

Whatever was in me of natural gifts was developed by the favor of a peaceful life; only the orator fell short. I broke the ground for a scientific study of the life of Jesus and made independent contributions to its later development. To church history I lent a richer content, a nobler form, and a free conception, and in that chiefly I found followers. In dogmatics I never founded a school and belonged to none of the ruling parties. I never had a party back of me, but remained in friendly intercourse with individuals of all three main parties, and not a few have proceeded from my school, or have been stimulated by me, who have united Christian enthusiasm, free thought, and modern culture. As a writer I have exercised great influence; in my oral teachings I was almost confined to Jena, and have lived through times of depression there. Great events, to which I might have proved equal, did not come upon me to develop hidden resources. But my hairs have long been white; according to the law of humanity my life is drawing toward its eve; O that I may end it in the joy of life and work, a blessing to many!

WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH.

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A CENTURY OF BAPTIST ACHIEVEMENT. By A. H. NEWMAN.
Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1901.
Pp. 480. \$1.50, *net*.

"THE nineteenth century was preëminently a Baptist century," says Dr. J. B. Gambrell, one of the contributors to the volume under review. Dr. Newman, the editor of the work, regards the achievements of the Baptists as one of the most marked religious features of the century. This is the point of view from which the book was planned.

A Century of Baptist Achievement proposes to set forth concisely, and yet comprehensively, the life and work of the denomination which in a hundred years has grown from one hundred and fifty thousand to nearly six millions.

This volume, edited by Dr. Albert H. Newman, is splendidly conceived and ably wrought out. It is the joint work of forty-two contributors, each one an expert in the subject of which he writes. The whole forms a veritable cyclopædia of Baptist history and life, in which nothing important seems to be lacking—save that imperative need, an index.

The editor has been peculiarly fortunate in securing such men as Dr. A. J. Rowland to write on the Publication Society; Dr. E. E. Chivers, on the Baptist Young People's Union; Professor Norman Fox, on the Baptist Congress; Dr. I. T. Tichenor, on the Southern Home Board; Dr. E. F. Merriam, on the Missionary Union; Dr. R.

J. Willingham, on the Southern Foreign Board; and many other men equally well qualified for their tasks.

It is remarkable how much information has been compressed within the limits of 456 closely printed pages. Among so many excellent articles it is difficult to select a few for special notice.

The editor's introductory "Survey of Baptist History to 1801" is a concise treatment of eighteen centuries in as many pages.

The articles on "The American Baptist Newspaper," by Dr. Conant, of the *Examiner*, and Dr. Eaton, of the *Western Recorder*, are interesting and suggestive. The chapters on foreign Baptists—Canadian, English, continental, and Australian—are especially valuable.

Dr. Newman has rendered a great service to his denomination in preparing this volume. Furthermore, he has made a valuable contribution to that large literature now forming which (in the words of Dr. G. A. Gordon) seeks "to discover and announce the chief significance for faith of the nineteenth century."

GEO. E. BURLINGAME.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONS. By EDMUND F. MERRIAM. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1901. Pp. 261. \$1.25.

IN 1849 Professor Gammell, of Brown University, wrote a history of American Baptist missions. His work covered only thirty-five years, and was, of course, largely an account of pioneer work, but including, as it did, a narrative of the struggles and sufferings of the first missionaries in forcing their way into heathen lands, and of their first successes, and also of the coöperation of their brethren at home in the formation of missionary societies and providing their support, it was of thrilling interest.

During the succeeding half-century a vast amount of missionary history has been made, but no condensed and connected record has been given of it to the public till the appearance of this volume. A few figures will give a hint of what has been accomplished. In 1849 the Union had, outside of America, eighty missionaries, male and female, and 8,646 members in missionary churches; while in 1900 it had 585 missionaries, besides thousands of native helpers, and 217,100 members in its churches.

The author has had access to all the reliable sources of information, especially the files of the *American Baptist Missionary Magazine* and the

letters of missionaries on the field, so that entire confidence may be placed in his statements. The chapter on "Civilization and Baptist Missions," in which he shows the indebtedness of civilization to missions for geography, science, languages, literature, education, social improvement, and commerce, is deeply interesting and significant. To have condensed the history of so great and so varied a work into a volume of readable size—to have given, in fact, the very cream of the history, and to have made it, as he has, not a mere skeleton or epitome, but a work of thrilling interest, is an achievement worthy of any historian. The day is not far in the future when it will be recognized that the most influential force in the world's history during the nineteenth century was the work of Christian missionaries.

Every Christian denomination ought to have a history of its missions similar to this, and a Christian pastor could do no more valuable service than to secure the reading of such a book by every member of his congregation.

We cannot but wish that the author had indicated, by footnotes, where his readers might find fuller details respecting the interesting events mentioned in the history.

N. S. BURTON.

ANN ARBOR,
Mich.

DIE KATHOLISCHE LEHRE VOM ABLASS VOR UND NACH DEM AUFTRETEN LUTHERS. VON ANTON KURTZ. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1900. Pp. 308. M. 6.

THIS year Pope Leo XIII. has granted to the world "the extraordinary graces, privileges, and plenary indulgence of a jubilee." A book, then, which, like the present, treats of indulgences, and especially of jubilee indulgences, is attractively seasonable.

A twofold mental movement evidently impelled this publication. The author, as a historian feeling the modern tolerance which treats with leniency the villains of the populace, wished to vindicate somewhat from long-continued odium that disreputable Dominican, Johann Tetzel. As an ecclesiastic, too, jealous for his church's invariability in doctrine, he wished to remove an opinion, general both among Protestants and Catholics, that, in the exercise of a commendable mobility, and in consideration of the gradual rise of ethical standards among its adherents, his communion had tacitly withdrawn from the extravagant positions regarding indulgences on which Luther warred. To do this

he shows that Tetzel's views harmonized with the teachings of the Roman church both now and then.

In prosecuting this task he presents, of course, the church's present views on indulgences. This doctrinal synopsis, concisely and clearly expressed, carefully digested under headings, copiously supported by authorities, and, as issued "mit kirchlicher Druckerlaubnis," perfectly reliable, is the most important part of his work.

The teachings of the church on indulgences in Tetzel's time he finds in certain passages occurring in documents published at the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. These extracts, compacted according to subjects, translated in the text, with their originals (Latin and Middle High German) in footnotes, compose the bulk of the book.

The present teaching of the church agrees with that of Tetzel; the past teaching agrees with the same; of course, present and past teaching agree. Our author is painfully successful. He demonstrates that doctrinally the Roman Catholic church of today is the church of Luther's antagonism.

The intense mediævalism of this book deprives it of all present practical force, either polemic or irenic. The *rapport* so necessary between parties at issue, if there is to be persuasion or conviction, is not here.

Incidentally we may note that the linguist will find it interesting to contrast the German in the excerpts from the monkish tractates, rough, stiff, Latinized, with that language as it flows flexile and musical from Luther's pen.

The development of the doctrine of indulgences is not alluded to. Did it, indeed, have a development, or did it spring an autoschediasma from the brain of Boniface?

The book, within the limits of the author's purpose, is a considerable contribution to dogmatics.

ROBERT KERR ECCLES.

BOWLING GREEN,
Ohio.

THE THEOLOGY OF ALBRECHT RITSCHL. By ALBERT TEMPLE SWING. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901. Pp. xiv + 296. \$1.40, *net*.

PROFESSOR SWING has sought to set forth in untechnical language the fundamental thought of Ritschl. He states his purpose to be, not

controversy, nor apology, nor even criticism, but sympathetic exposition. By the use of extensive quotations he lets Ritschl speak for himself. The subjects dealt with are Ritschl's conception of the Bible; the person of Christ; the Holy Spirit; the work of Christ for his community; sin and guilt; the forgiveness of sin; the wrath of God; and Christian mysticism and pietism. The discussion of these subjects, which forms the body of the book, is preceded by a chapter on Ritschl's historical presuppositions (Bernard, Luther, Calvin, and Schleiermacher), and a chapter on his philosophical presupposition (Kant, Lotze). He characterizes Ritschl's method as historical, *i. e.*, analytical and constructive, and his aim as practical and churchly, *i. e.*, having a direct relation to human salvation. In his summary he concludes that Ritschl was no reckless adventurer in the theological world, but a cautious and reverent religious teacher, as well as a fresh and acute historian; and the theory of knowledge upon which he constructed his work as that which is considered legitimate in the realm of the physical sciences. He epitomizes Ritschl's conception of the Christian religion in the phrase: "Spiritual freedom in fellowship with the only God there is, in the person of the only Jesus Christ there is, and in the only kingdom of God, which is his living community."

As to the influence which Ritschl's conceptions will have on theological reconstruction, the writer says: "We may safely predict that evangelical reconstruction will continue to be historical, resting on the absolutely normative factors of divine revelation; redemptive love will be the fundamental principle, and the person of the historical Jesus the central factor in it; it will be psychological, dealing, not with a legal order of the universe, but with the living realities of the forgiveness of guilt and of personal fellowship with God; it will place the ethical above the cosmic, the conception of God as compassion above the conception of God as cause."

One of the most valuable portions of the book is the hundred or more pages devoted to Mrs. Swing's translation of Ritschl's comprehensive little work entitled *Instruction in the Christian Religion*. The translator deserves special praise for the accuracy with which the work has been done, and a layman who cannot read the German, but who wishes to gain a first-hand knowledge of Ritschl's method and teaching, can do no better than to begin with this translation.

GEORGE B. FOSTER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE DOCTRINE OF HOLY COMMUNION AND ITS EXPRESSION IN RITUAL. Report of a Conference held at Fulham Palace, October, 1900. Edited by HENRY WACE. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. Pp. 96.

THE growth of ritualism in the English established church, and the causes of it, are clearly illustrated in this "Report." That a representative body of church scholars and leaders should be invited to a conference by the bishop of London and spend several days in discussing the character of the Lord's Supper and its relation to ritual indicates forcibly what is uppermost today in ecclesiastical and theological church circles. Only a few months earlier a similar conference had been held at Oxford through the efforts of Dr. Sanday, including, however, a wider representation of the different evangelical sects, for the discussion of the same question. Numerous books have been issued within the past few years, notably one by Canon Gore, on the same theme.

The notable feature of these conferences and publications is their thoroughgoing mediævalism. One is translated at once into the atmosphere and thinking of the Middle Ages. It takes a little time for the reader to accustom himself to the fact that these men are all Protestants in name and members of a church that is the historical heritage of the English Reformation. In fact, all the members of the conference at Fulham Palace, whatever may be said of minor differences, were united in holding the traditional dogmas of the church in pre-Reformation times. In the settlement of questions concerning the nature and effect of Christ's death and sacrifice, of Christian priesthood and its sacrificial character, of the meaning and grace-giving power of the Lord's Supper as a rite of Christian worship, the appeal of the conference was on all sides to church authority and to antiquity. No Catholic could go farther. The great Protestant appeal to individual and private judgment as given in Christian consciousness apparently had no place. This slavish deference to ecclesiastical authority is perhaps the most suggestive feature in the account of the conference, and shows whither English church leadership is tending. Such men as Dr. Sanday and Canon Gore are scholars and critics. But what shall be said of a discussion in which the note of historical criticism, squarely applied to scriptural exegesis and to the origins of Christianity, is conspicuous only by its absence? Let it be said, however, that one of the most pleasant features of the conference was the complete liberty given to the discussion within certain fixed bounds,

and the evident Christian spirit which seemed to prevail. It was this that especially distinguished it from any like conference in the eleventh or sixteenth century. In truth, such a meeting as that at Fulham Palace would have been impossible in earlier times. When St. Bernard met Abelard at the synod of Sens, he refused to discuss the theological questions at issue, but appealed to church authority. "The doctrines of faith," he said, "had been settled once for all, and must not be made to depend on human disputation." The inconclusive and sad result of the conference between Luther and Zwingli at Marburg on the very questions that were considered at Fulham Palace is another conspicuous example. But leaving out of view the freer air that was breathed throughout this conference held on the very border of the twentieth century, it stands dogmatically on the same ground with all the ancient councils, appealing to external dogmatic authority as the sole basis and standard of individual faith, and hence holding that uniformity of faith is essential to the completely realized kingdom of God. This is simply the old Catholicism, whatever name be given it, and if these recent conferences be accepted as evidence, there can be no doubt as to the direction that the Church of England today is taking. On the whole, the judgment of a French critic in a review of Dr. Sanday's account of the Oxford conference in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* may be accepted as essentially true: "Certain it is that the ritualistic conception seems to be more in harmony with the tendencies which actually predominate among the English people than the spiritualistic conception. This last, more liberal than the other, may experience the same disfavor as liberalism in the political domain." May it not be added that it is the great and growing body of English dissenters that forms the real buttress of English Protestant political and religious liberties?

LEVI L. PAINE.

BANGOR THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

ALBRECHT RITSCHL'S ANSCHAUUNG VOM EVANGELISCHEN GLAUBEN UND LEBEN. VON EBERHARD VISCHER. Tübingen: Mohr, 1900. Pp. 36. M. 0.75.

PROFESSOR HILTY, in Bern, had complained that Protestant theology was not in contact with Protestant churches, with even the educated among the laity. "What have we had," he asks, "from the whole Ritschlian academic controversy, which excites you theologians so? Among hundreds of non-theologians scarcely one has even a remote

idea of what it is all about. The whole theological terminology is offensive to most of us. We do not want to hear anything more of this strife about words, but we would have the gospel preached in simpler language." Vischer takes up the gauntlet thus petulantly thrown down, and successfully shows that the theology of Ritschl had, above all else, an eminently practical and churchly end. Instead of making out of Christianity a mere church, he sought to make out of it a truth for the daily life. It was Ritschl who renewed with emphasis the protest of the Reformers against the opinion that faith was equivalent to "the faith," to subjection to a number of dogmas, to the *Fürwahrhalten* of a series of historical facts. Faith is trust in God's grace. Working this out ever anew is surely not worthless for the laity. Again, Ritschl was the foe to the enslavement of conscience in the name of "the faith." Further, he derived the total religious possession of the Christian from the person of Christ. If this is a dangerous exaggeration, the theologian is more likely to be able to indicate it than the laity. Ritschl also insisted upon overcoming oneself and the world for the sake of service in the present, as against pietistic sentimental communion of the individual soul with the exalted Lord—and this is in the interest of the practical life of church members. In a word, Ritschl's powerful opposition to the Catholicization of Protestantism, and equally powerful support of self-dependent morality and of religious individualism, are contributions to the daily life of Christian people for which we cannot be too grateful. So says our author, and so say we all of us, who know.

GEORGE B. FOSTER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE BODY OF CHRIST: An Enquiry into the Institution and Doctrine of Holy Communion. By CHARLES GORE. New York: Scribner, 1901. Pp. xv + 330. \$1.75.

THIS book is in part an attempt of its author, as he himself says, to clear up his own thoughts on eucharistic subjects, in view of a conference to which he had been summoned by the late bishop of London. In his discussion he uses the language of an ecclesiastic. He speaks of the "holy communion," "the eucharist," "the sacrament," and assumes the truth of baptismal regeneration, all of which is foreign to the New Testament. Nevertheless he endeavors to unfold the teaching of the New Testament bearing upon the eucharist, together with the views of the earlier church fathers, and appeals alike to both in

determining the question in hand. He points out a tendency in the Fathers to go to extremes, and sometimes to opposite extremes, but he regards this as merely incident to the infancy of theology. Admitting their variations of view, he finds that they are in substantial accord.

The earlier Fathers did not teach transubstantiation—that was a later growth, and was contrary, not only to all early tradition, but also to reason and Scripture. But, our author thinks, they did teach that in some mysterious but real sense Christ in his whole being, including his glorified humanity, is attached to, or is in, the consecrated elements of the eucharist, so that those who partake of them receive the body and blood of Christ. On the basis of this opinion the eucharist is regarded, not only as a memorial of Christ in his sufferings and death, but as a sacrifice. It is assumed that the words of Christ, in John 6: 53–58, are identical in thought with his words at the institution of the Supper. Partaking of the eucharist is partaking of the glorified manhood of Christ. It is the intention of Christ in the eucharist “to communicate to his church his own human life.” The gift received by the participant is the whole Christ, human and divine. All this the author sets forth, and endeavors to substantiate by abundant quotations from the earlier and later ecclesiastical writers. To make his thought doubly clear he adds to the body of his discussion forty-two pages of notes.

The whole discussion is a futile attempt to find a middle ground between the extreme Romanistic view of the eucharist, on the one hand, and the extreme Protestant view, on the other. Futile we say, because, in our judgment, either the consecrated bread and wine are, contrary to reason, the real body and blood of Christ, or they are merely symbols which vividly bring to our remembrance Christ, offering himself, on our behalf, “without spot to God.” Moreover, if we receive by *faith* what Christ wrought out for us by his life and death, then we do not receive it by the *mouth* when we partake of the Lord’s Supper. And why should we appeal either to the earlier or later church fathers to ascertain the meaning of Christ’s words uttered at the institution of the Supper? Our author reveals the fact that these Fathers contradict each other. The only safe and scientific procedure is to go back to the words of Christ himself and to the interpretative testimony of Paul. By such a course we get out from under a mass of ecclesiastical rubbish, and are thereby better able to grasp the import of the simple words of Jesus.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

LA RENAISSANCE CATHOLIQUE EN ANGLETERRE AU XIX^e SIÈCLE.
I: Newman et le mouvement d'Oxford. Par PAUL THUREAU-DANGIN. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1899. Pp. lx + 333.

FIVE GREAT OXFORD LEADERS: Keble, Newman, Pusey, Liddon, and Church. By AUG. B. DONALDSON. London: Rivingtons, 1900. Pp. xi + 390. \$1.75.

THE RITUALISTS. By WALTER WALSH. London: Nisbet, 1900. Pp. viii + 95. 1s.

THE CRISIS IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH: A Review. By W. E. BOWEN. With an Introduction by J. Llewellyn Davies. London: Nisbet, 1900. Pp. xvii + 282. 5s.

THESE four publications are concerned with the ritualistic controversy now raging in the Church of England—two in favor and two in opposition.

M. Paul Thureau-Dangin has undertaken a complete history of the Catholic renaissance in England in the nineteenth century. This first volume extends to Newman's break with the English church. The introduction, covering sixty pages, gives a lucid review of the manner in which the Roman Catholic church has regained a footing in England since the Reformation, laying special emphasis on the remarkable revival of Catholic ideas, in the last sixty years, in the bosom of the English church itself. The main work treats of the Oxford movement in its antecedents, its beginning, its height, its crisis, and its outcome. The author is writing for French Catholics who are supposed to be approaching the subject for the first time, and hence his exposition designedly seeks to clear up all obscurities. While Newman is central, his precursors and associates figure prominently, and the entire movement is traced chronologically. These pages, likewise, very clearly disclose the psychological processes which halted some of the leaders at the *via media*, while pushing Newman and many of his disciples into the Church of Rome. This treatise gives the most perspicuous and satisfactory history and rationale of the early stages of the Oxford movement with which we are acquainted.

Mr. Donaldson in his five lectures on the great leaders—Keble, Newman, Pusey, Liddon, and Church—presupposes an acquaintance with the general history. Except in the case of Pusey, he ignores "the sequence of events." His purpose is to explain and vindicate the Anglo-Catholic sentiments of the leaders. For Newman he has a profound admiration, counting him the "greatest mind of the English

church in modern times." Though his secession to the Roman communion was "a very terrible blow to the Tractarian party, and to the Church of England also," nevertheless even for this there are some compensations. The other four leaders were "true sons of the Catholic church," remaining to the end in "the school of the *via media*." These essays exhibit the religious and ecclesiastical spirit and the general principles of the five representative leaders. The writer does not seek "in any way to disguise his sympathy" with all for which the movement stands.

Mr. Walsh, in his small volume on *The Ritualists*, does not seek to disguise his aversion to everything connected with the "Romeward movement in the Church of England." He quotes extensively from the publications of the high-Anglican leaders in proof that they are undisguised Romanists, engaged in "a gigantic and traitorous conspiracy" to bring about a corporate reunion with Rome. This manual is designed for readers to whom the author's *Secret History of the Oxford Movement* is not readily accessible.

Mr. Bowen sees a crisis in the Church of England precipitated by Romanizing departures from the doctrine and discipline of the Book of Common Prayer. He points out this Romeward drift in numerous extracts from the writings of the originators of the movement. His strongest chapter, on "Contemporary Ritualism," covering 125 pages, is made up of quotations from high-church service books, manuals of devotion, catechisms, vade mecums, etc., and from reports of actual services in thirty-four representative ritualistic churches. In his final chapter he points out the defects in the existing legislative machinery and the difficulties in the way of bringing ecclesiastical law-breakers to justice. He prints two draft-bills which he believes would either reduce the ritualists to obedience or drive them out of the established church. He hopes that in the next general election the nation can be aroused to return men to the new House of Commons who will enact such necessary amendments to the existing laws as his appended draft-bills contemplate.

The four works under review fairly exhibit the principles, animus, and intentions of the friends and foes of the so-called Catholic movement now disturbing the peace of the Church of England.

ERI B. HULBERT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE. A Historical and Theological Investigation of the Sacrificial Conception of the Holy Eucharist in the Christian Church. By ALFRED G. MORTIMER. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901. Pp. lxix + 605. \$3.

If one desires to enter the very *adytum* or inmost shrine of the high-church Anglican doctrine of the Lord's Supper, with all its traditional presuppositions and conclusions, this somewhat bulky volume of six hundred pages is a good *vade mecum*. Though wholly wanting in strictly critical research, it gives, along traditional lines, a very clear and substantially accurate résumé of the history of opinions on the subjects treated. The general trend of view of the early Fathers, from Irenæus on through Augustine down into the Middle Ages, is faithfully traced. The most suggestive part of the book is its account of recent German and French speculations.

For the critical student, however, it cannot be said that this book has much value. It takes no note of the complete revolution that has recently taken place in the study of Christian origins. The radical character of the development of Christian dogma in the first hundred and fifty years after the death of Christ is wholly ignored. The theological conceptions of the Greek Fathers like Irenæus and Origen are read into the New Testament, and are found even in Christ's own utterances. There is no just appreciation in the book from beginning to end of the law of historical evolution, either as to its vital power or its methods of working. As I have intimated, the book emanates from the intensely high-church Anglican wing of the English episcopate. Though the author is at present pastor of a church in America, he is an Englishman, not only by birth and education, but also in all his theological views. His book is a good object-lesson to one who would study the path along which the ritualistic wing of the English Protestant established church is traveling straight toward Rome. Its doctrine of the Lord's Supper is that of the Roman mass, with scarcely any disguise. The mystical sacramental veil which men like Canon Gore attempt to throw over the eucharistic elements is brushed rudely aside. The eucharist is a real, "proper," and repeated sacrifice of Christ himself. This really Roman dogma is assumed and shown, to the satisfaction of the writer, to rest on the teachings of Christ and his apostles, and on unanimous church tradition and authority.

The real object of the book is to set forth and oppose a recently developed theory as to the exact character of the eucharistic sacrifice,

namely, whether its sacrificial efficacy is derived from Christ's death on the cross or from his present ascended body in heaven. The latter view is the one that has been lately advanced by certain German, French, and also English speculators, and which our author seeks to overthrow by an appeal to the testimony of church tradition. No doubt this appeal can be sustained, if the evolution of the eucharistic dogma is made to begin with Irenæus and the later Greek Fathers. Where the writer fails is in his whole doctrine of Christ himself and of his gospel. The chief impression left on the mind by this book is the utter materialism which pervades it. This materialism begins with its doctrine of sacrifice, which includes an outward material element, namely, blood, as essential to its completeness. Its position that Christ's sacrifice was completed on the cross, rather than continued in the ascended heavenly life, rests mainly on the same premise that the shedding of Christ's blood was the central feature of his sacrificial work. It was natural in such a discussion that the question should be raised whether the risen body was bloodless, and, if so, what became of the blood shed on the cross. On this point Mortimer quotes the comments of Alford and Bengel on Heb. 12: 22-24. These commentators hold that the blood poured forth from Christ's body was incorruptible and separate from his body in the grave, and remained so during the resurrection period, and at the ascension was transferred in its separate state to heaven, where it continued its atoning sacrificial function. The excursus of Bengel which Alford refers to and apparently follows implicitly is a remarkable example of the materialism that inheres in the whole doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice as held by traditional orthodoxy. I quote a single sentence: "*Adscensionis tempore sejunctus a corpore sanguis in coelum est illatus.*"

LEVI L. PAINE.

BANGOR THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

RECONSTRUCTION IN THEOLOGY. By HENRY CHURCHILL KING.
New York: Macmillan, 1900. Pp. xiii + 257. \$1.50.

THE purpose of this book of 250 pages is well stated by the author in his preface:

This book has been written with the earnest desire and hope that it may contribute something toward the forwarding of a movement already going on—a really spiritual reconstruction of theology in terms that should bring it home to our own day. The book aims, first, to show that such a reconstruction is needed and demanded, because of the changed intellectual, moral,

and spiritual world in which we live; and then to characterize briefly, but sufficiently, this new world of our day; and, finally, to indicate the influence which these convictions of our time ought to have upon theological conception and statement, especially in bringing us to a restatement of theology in terms of personal relation.

The chief "convictions of our time" calling for this restatement are: the disposition to reject all *a priori* reasoning, the recognition of the universality of law modifying our conception of miracles, the principle of evolution, the historical and literary criticism of the Bible which makes a new view of inspiration necessary, but most of all the deepening sense of the value and sacredness of the individual and the fuller recognition of Christ as the supreme person in history.

The author attempts to cover a broad range in small space, and this leads to a little indefiniteness. The plan of the book also involves some repetition. The chapter on the relation of evolution to miracles is the best in the book. The conclusions of the higher criticism are, in the main, accepted, and the author's discussion of their relation to the inspiration of the Scriptures is his best attempt at constructive work. He believes in the universal fatherhood of God and regards love as the unifying principle of the divine government. In rejecting the metaphysical conception of the Trinity as tritheistic, he comes very near making our Lord divine only in the sense of manifesting God. There is nothing in the book to show the author's thought of what a reconstructed theology should say on such fundamental subjects as sin and atonement. A restatement of theology along the lines indicated might be more difficult than at first supposed. It might also be even less adequate than the older statements to cover all the facts and satisfy the inquiring mind. We should like to see the attempt made.

CALVIN GOODSPEED.

TORONTO, CAN.

IS CHRIST INFALLIBLE AND THE BIBLE TRUE? By HUGH M'INTOSH. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; imported by Scribner, New York, 1901. Pp. xxviii + 680. \$3, net.

THIS volume is well bound and printed, as we should expect from its publishers and importers, and its author thinks well of its contents. In his introduction he sums up his argument and judges it. Thus:

Book II considers and examines carefully the supreme and momentous question. . . . Is Christ infallible as a teacher? As the question is a serious

one, so is the treatment of it, especially in its momentous, ultimate issues. It makes a full, strong statement. . . . It makes a searching examination and a radical exposure of the baselessness of the assumption. . . . It shows the untenableness of the idea and the absurdity of the delusion. . . . It shows the falseness and the perilousness of every theory. . . . It sets forth the sure and solid grounds. . . . Book III defines the true state of the question (*status questionis*) in its completeness with precision. In doing so whole groups of confusions and misconceptions . . . have been exposed and scorched. Opposite extremes have been avoided and refuted. . . . The path has thus been left cleared for the correct statement and the true settlement of the real issue. . . . Special and severe but richly deserved exposure is made of the persistent misrepresentation that the religious value and practical uses of Scripture are unaffected by the results of recent criticism or theories of inspiration. . . . By several outstanding examples is this made patent in such cases as Kuenen and Wellhausen, Dr. Ladd and Dr. Martineau, Dr. Samuel Davidson and Matthew Arnold, Harnack, Wendt, and Dr. Horton. . . . Book V gives the apologetic position. . . . In it the whole argument reaches its climax and consummation; and the whole elements of the controversy are massed, and marshalled, and put into contrast for the final struggle and the ultimate issue.

After this, what remains for us to add of praise? Save this, perhaps, that the author's argument is as strong as his self-esteem is merited. For example, against the assaults of the enemy there is "a threefold line of defense, each stronger than the preceding." First line, "that all the malignant ingenuity of skepticism has been baffled to make out one demonstrable error." Second line, "that it is only of the Scriptures as originally given and when properly interpreted that they predicate inerrancy; and since the originals are not now extant, it is impossible to *prove* that the alleged discrepancies or errors were in them; and, therefore, it is manifestly impossible to *disprove* inerrancy." Third line, "that there are difficulties connected with all our knowledge," and so naturally with this doctrine of inerrancy.

Anyone who desires to see these arguments and the like prolonged through 700 pages, in the style indicated by the quotations from the introduction, is advised to buy this book. The rest of us will wonder that it should bear upon its title-page the name of a firm of publishers of repute.

GEORGE WM. KNOX.

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
New York, N. Y.

SHORT STUDIES IN HOLINESS. By JOHN W. DIGGLE. London : Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. Pp. xv+214. 7s. 6d.

THIS is a well-written, timely book. The discussion is based on the similarity or identity of natural and spiritual laws, and is fascinating and impressive. The statements of the author are discriminating, conservative, and scriptural. He defines holiness as inward separation to God and outward fellowship with men. The first without the second leads to asceticism ; the second without the first, to worldliness. The foundation of holiness is the spiritual birth from above. This birth is life from life, and in kind answers to its origin. It is a creation by the Holy Ghost, and, since this is the dispensation of the Spirit, is distinctively Christian. But those thus regenerated must be developed. They grow by feeding on Christ. The church is the school in which they should be trained. It imparts to them knowledge and builds them up in character. Two things they must learn in order to be holy: obedience to God and ministry to men. Holiness is also increased by cultivating the consciousness of God's constant presence, in God's own way putting forth effort to be holy, and observing the laws of holiness, the chief of which are love to God and men, simplicity or singleness of aim, and joy in the Lord. We shall finally attain to consecration, which is the identification of the human with the divine will. Then we must not forget that holiness, which is devotion to God, and righteousness, which is duty to man, while distinguishable, are at bottom inseparable. "Duty is man-ward devotion, and devotion is God-ward duty."

The closing chapters, on the perils and rewards of holiness, are of superior merit.

The author is a churchman and believes in baptismal regeneration. In the interest of that dogma, he declares that the conversion of Paul preceded his regeneration. He was converted outside of Damascus, but was afterward regenerated in his baptism. He characterizes baptism, the communion, the bread and wine as "holy;" but the New Testament does not. He says "communion;" the New Testament says the Lord's Supper. He calls baptism and the Lord's Supper "sacraments;" the New Testament does not. Aside from these churchly doctrines and words, the volume is worthy of the warmest commendation.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

Der Triumph der christlichen Philosophie gegenüber der antichristlichen Weltanschauung am Ende des XIX. Jahrhunderts. Von Engelbert Lorenz Fischer. (Mainz: Kirchheim, 1900; pp. xvi + 398; M. 5.) This is a brief and hostile review of modern philosophy, from the viewpoint of Roman Catholic theology. It is "popular" in character and style, by no means entering into the problems of the systems it so easily overturns. It will be of value to those who wish a smattering of philosophy, while yet desiring to remain undisturbed in their traditional beliefs. After reading the book such persons will wonder at the perversity of modern scholars who adopt teachings, or invent them, which Dr. Fischer, in the space of a few pages, can prove to the meanest intelligence to be wholly false and unreasonable.—GEORGE WM. KNOX.

Truth and Reality. By John Smyth. (New York: imported by Scribner, 1901; pp. xvii + 244; \$1.50, net.) The author's purpose is indicated in a motto adopted from Ward's *Naturalism and Agnosticism*, Preface, p. vii: "I take it for granted that till an idealistic (*i. e.*, spiritualistic) view of the world can be sustained, any exposition of theism is but wasted labor." But whereas Mr. Ward works to his conclusion only by an elaborate criticism of scientific postulates and principles, Mr. Smyth adopts the much easier and shorter plan of evolving the secrets of the universe by an immanent criticism of his own inner consciousness, which happens to be fairly well imbued with the commonplaces of common-sense Scotch orthodoxy. The author ekes out his assumptions and platitudes by a liberal use of capital letters. Philosophical systems are batted here and there in entire ignorance of their meaning. The best which can be said of the work is that, in the light of present-day thought, it is philosophically and theologically worthless.—S. F. MACLENNAN.

Individualität und Persönlichkeit. Von Hermann Lüdemann. (Bern: A. Benteli & Co., 1900; pp. 24; M. 0.90.) The problem of the mutual relations of the individual and environment—in other words, the problem of freedom and dependence—is by Professor Lüdemann brought into the realm of psychological inquiry by distinguishing *individuality* from *personality*. Individuality consists in the peculiar complex of elements which distinguishes a man from his environment. Personality is the normative force which identifies itself with the individual, but which makes use of religious, ethical,

and logical principles to transform environment. Christianity is declared to be the religion of strong, free personality.—GERALD BIRNEY SMITH.

The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages. By Henry Osborn Taylor. (New York: The Columbia University Press; Macmillan Co., Agents, 1901; pp. xv+400; \$1.25.) This book deals with a very fascinating subject. "It seeks to follow the changes undergone by classic thought, letters, and art on their way to form part of the intellectual development of the Middle Ages, and to show how pagan tastes and ideals gave place to the ideals of Christianity, and to Christian sentiment. It is an argument, therefore, covering the world's thought-development from classic Greece into the Middle Ages." This sentence, taken from the preface of the book, expresses exactly what we think the author has accomplished. He is treating a fundamental subject, and also one of great complexity. But he has succeeded in telling the story accurately in a simple and attractive style. We believe the book will be received with much favor.—J. W. MONCRIEF.

Die Vorstellungen der alten Griechen vom Leben nach dem Tode. Von Hans Meltzer. (Hamburg: Verlagsanstalt, 1900; pp. 44; M. 0.80.) This monograph deals primarily with the popular conception of life after death among the ancient Greeks. The author states that up to recent times this branch of the subject has been much neglected. From the classical writers, as well as by the aid of archæology and philology, he has been able to throw additional light upon it. In Homer, for example, he finds important remainders of popular animism. There are clear indications of an earlier period, before cremation of the body came into vogue, when life after death was conceived of as the soul dwelling in the body (not as later in separation from it). Even in later writers, such as Plutarch, he finds evidences, not only of a popular hero-cult, but alongside of this, and older than it, of an ancient ancestor-worship and cults of the soul. Dr. Meltzer has made an important contribution to the subject in hand in that he supplements the work of other writers. He will thus help to pave the way for a more accurate and comprehensive statement of the doctrine of life after death among the ancients—a subject not yet exhausted.—WM. R. SCHOEMAKER.

Voices of the Past from Assyria and Babylonia. By Henry S. Robertson. (London: Bell, 1900; pp. 219; 4s. 6d.) This is another of the multitude of books which seeks to popularize the results of specialist investigation into the life and history of these ancient oriental peoples. The light thrown upon the Bible by these results is kept in the foreground. There are four parts, entitled, respectively, "The Royal Library of Nineveh," "The Chaldæan Genesis," "Abraham's Early Home," "Asshur and Israel." The work, while resting entirely on secondary sources, and these ranging from Schrader to Madame Ragozin, with Professor Sayce for middleman, is rather better done than would be expected. Of course, there are mistakes and extravagancies in the statements, but as a piece of third-hand exposition of these rather difficult topics it may be mildly commended.—GEORGE S. GOODSPEED.

A Short Introduction to the Literature of the Bible. By Richard G. Moulton, Professor of Literature (in English) in the University of Chicago. (Boston: Heath, 1901; pp. 357; \$1.) Undoubtedly biblical students—conservatives and critics alike—in the past have given too little attention to the literary form of the Bible. In emphasizing the importance of appreciating the medium whereby the biblical writers expressed their ideas, in order to understand and enjoy their thought, Professor Moulton has performed an invaluable service. In the present volume he brings his results within the easy intellectual comprehension of the general reader. It consists of a collection of instructive essays, containing a classification of the biblical books under the general heads of "History and Story," "Wisdom Literature," "Lyric Poetry," and "Prophecy," with literary analyses and comments. The treatment of Old and New Testament wisdom literature is especially illuminating. To most readers it will be a surprise to find the sayings of Jesus—and the gospels of Matthew and John, which contain them in fullest measure—associated with Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, and Ecclesiasticus, but the classification emphasizes an important fact commonly overlooked. In trying to maintain a rigid distinction between the literary study of the Bible and theology and criticism, the author avoids antagonizing certain classes of readers, but it is at a great sacrifice; for an "Introduction to the Literature of the Bible," which today almost entirely ignores the influences which gave birth to the different books and determined their form and thought, and which disregards the light shed upon their literary

structure by the critical analysis, at best is only half an introduction.
— C. F. KENT.

Die Autorität der heiligen Schrift, ihr Wesen und ihre Begründung. Von Ernst Haack. (Schwerin i. M.: Bahn, 1899; pp. 83; M. 1.50.) While not pretending to give a definitive solution of the question as to the Scriptures, the author strongly maintains that a satisfactory answer cannot be reached unless the "doctrine of sacred Scripture" of the elder dogmaticians be positively valued, as well as criticised and modified. He accords "supernatural authority" to the Bible. He seeks — vainly, as I think — to controvert the fundamental position of modern theology, viz., that the autonomy of the believing subject excludes of necessity every external objective authority, be it church, or state, or Bible, or God.— GEORGE B. FOSTER.

The Holy Spirit in the Old Testament. By Hugh M. McIlhany, Jr. (Staunton, Va.: Stoneburner & Prüfer, 1900; pp. 108; \$0.75.) The author has collected the Old Testament passages on the Spirit, and treated them from the point of view of the older commentators. Scott, Clarke, and Henry are among his authorities, while recent commentaries and recent special literature are conspicuously absent. He works under the principle that the Spirit is to be understood in the same sense throughout the Bible, and so is obliged to find in the Old Testament merely prophetic foregleams of the uses in the New Testament. We need books on this subject, but they must, to be of value, reckon with present scholarship.— IRVING F. WOOD.

The Messages of the Apostles. The Apostolic Discourses in the Book of Acts, and the General and Pastoral Epistles of the New Testament, Arranged in Chronological Order, Analyzed, and Freely Rendered in Paraphrase. By George Barker Stevens. (= "The Messages of the Bible.") (New York: Scribner, 1900; pp. 258; \$1.25.) In this volume Professor Stevens gives us the essential teachings of the apostolic discourses in the book of Acts, and in the general and pastoral epistles in the New Testament. It is interesting to note that in his arrangement he regards James as written by the brother of Jesus, and, though declining to pronounce any positive judgment upon the date of the two epistles, puts Jude and second Peter as chronologically antecedent to the pastoral epistles. The volume is done with Professor

Stevens' customary accuracy, and it makes a very serviceable addition to the series of which it is a member.—*The Messages of Jesus According to the Synoptists*. The Discourses of Jesus in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke Arranged as far as feasible in the Order of Time, and Freely Rendered in Paraphrase. By Thomas Cuming Hall. (= "The Messages of the Bible.") (New York: Scribner, 1901; pp. 244; \$1.25.) The sayings of Jesus lend themselves very readily to the method of treatment adopted in this helpful series, and Professor Hall is to be congratulated upon his success both in arrangement and in paraphrase. Occasionally, it may be, he pushes too far the poetical arrangement, but even in such cases his decisions are worthy of serious attention. We especially commend the critical method which the author has adopted throughout his work. The little book is a very good introduction to the teaching of Jesus as found in the synoptists, both as regards literary form and the genealogical relationships of the sayings of the different evangelists.—*Our Records of the Nativity, and Modern Historical Research*. A Reply to Professor Ramsay's Thesis. By James Thomas. (London: Sonnenschein, 1900; pp. xvi + 400; 6s.) In this volume the author has brought together all material more or less connected with the historical problem as to the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem. It is, in fact, a polemic against the position of Ramsay in *Was Christ Born in Bethlehem?* We do not think that he has broken the force of some of Ramsay's arguments, but his discussion of the census is well worth serious attention. It cannot be denied that Professor Ramsay has hardly overcome the difficulties in some of his positions. The truth probably lies somewhere between the conclusions of the two books.—*Das spätere Judenthum als Vorstufe des Christenthums*. Von W. Baldensperger. (Giessen: Ricker, 1900; pp. 30; M. \$0.60.) Professor Baldensperger in this brief essay has discussed the historical relationship of later Judaism, especially the messianic hope, and scribism to early Christianity. His treatment is such as to make the essay a helpful introduction to the entire matter of the messianic point of view in the interpretation of the gospels. The line of cleavage between the formal and essential elements of historical Christianity is also indicated in his position that the historical basis of Christianity is not its different teachings, or even the preaching of Jesus as a whole, but rather his personal faith in God and the fulness of his unique religious life.—*Die Bildersprache Jesu in ihrer Bedeutung für die Erforschung seines inneren Lebens*. Von

Heinrich Weinel. (Giessen: Ricker, 1900; pp. 49; M. 1.20.) The line of investigation opened up by Dr. Weinel is one of great interest. By a study of the parables he undertakes to investigate the inner life of Jesus, both as an observer, as a poet, and as a sharer in the historical movements of his time. From almost any point of view the essay is an exceedingly illuminating study, and one to be welcomed by any man who realizes the importance of understanding the relation of the inner life of Jesus to his teaching.—*The Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament*. By Thomas Dehany Bernard. Fifth edition. (New York: Macmillan, 1900; pp. xxvi + 236; \$1.75.) This new edition of a work which has been of great service does not give evidence of having been subjected to any special revision beyond the few trifling corrections and three brief additions mentioned in the preface. Historically the work has been of importance as one of the first English attempts at biblical theology, but its method and spirit will seem anachronistic to those acquainted with recent treatises in that field.—*The Use of the Apocrypha in the Christian Church*. By William Heaford Daubney. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1900; pp. vi + 120; 3s.) In this little volume the author has brought together in brief form a large amount of historical material bearing upon his subject. For the general student of historical theology it is therefore of importance, while for the student of the New Testament the chapter upon "New Testament Use of the Apocrypha" will be found especially serviceable. The chief contention of the book is that the Apocrypha contain much valuable teaching, have always been freely used in the past, and should be more used today by the church.—*The Books of the New Testament*. By Leighton Pullan. (London: Rivingtons, 1901; pp. 300; \$1.25.) The author has made a careful presentation of the conservative position as regards the work of the New Testament. To him are all genuine, although he admits that others have found difficulties with second Peter. On most points of criticism the author is largely affected by the position of the Fathers. Their usage is set over against all difficulties. The work is scholarly, though biased, and probably presents its position as well as possible in the same amount of space. One of its most commendable features is its analysis which is appended to each book. The temper of the author is to be seen by his characterization of Weizsäcker, Harnack, McGiffert, and Bacon as rationalist critics. Altogether it makes a very good popularization of the work of Zahn, and will be of service to those who are ready to accept the usage of men living a century

or more after the death of Jesus as final in all questions concerning the authorship of the New Testament books.—SHAILER MATHEWS.

Twenty-five Agrapha, or Extra-Canonical Sayings of Our Lord, annotated by Bloomfield Jackson. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1900; pp. 77; 1s.) Two of Mr. Jackson's agrapha are confessedly at variance with his title, being from Acts, and two others are from the Bezan text of the gospels. The others are more strictly extra-canonical, being selected on no very critical principle from Fathers from the Roman Clement to Jerome. The sayings are usually accompanied by the original Greek or Latin text, and always by the verdict of the critics and helpful hints as to interpretation; for with all its learning this little book has a devotional import. It is a hint of what may be done by way of enriching modern devotional literature from the monuments of the early church.—*The Liturgy of the Eighth Book of "The Apostolic Constitutions";* Commonly Called the Clementine Liturgy. Translated into English with Introduction and Notes by R. H. Cresswell, M.A. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1900; pp. 94; 1s. 6d.) The so-called Clementine liturgy, deemed the oldest complete liturgy extant (ca. 370–80 A. D.), is here presented in an English translation from the Greek text of de Lagarde, with a critical introduction and four liturgical appendices. One may object to some details; 107 is too early a date for Ignatius' martyrdom (p. 8), and 139 for Justin's apology (p. 18), while 240, even with a question mark, is too late for Tertullian's death (p. 21). In the transliterated Ethiopic *kādāsā* (p. 79) all the vowels should be short. But the whole constitutes a useful popular presentation of the origin and contents of a representative ancient liturgy.—EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

Luther and the Augsburg Confession. By J. W. Richard. (Gettysburg: the author; pp. 148.) This pamphlet consists of articles from the *Lutheran Quarterly* for October, 1899, and January, July, and October, 1900. It is a minute survey of all that Luther did in reference to the Augsburg Confession, as set forth in the correspondence of the chief actors at the diet and in other documents. In his *Philip Melancthon, the Protestant Preceptor of Germany*, Dr. Richard shows us Melancthon eager for peace with the Roman Catholics, and ready to concede too much, though not departing from Luther very far. In this new and more careful study of the case, he shows us

Melanchthon ready to concede everything and to surrender the entire Reformation to its foes. But for the vehement intervention of Luther the papacy would have gained a complete victory, and the Lutheran church would have been strangled at its birth. This has often been said before, but it has never before been established beyond controversy. Dr. Richard explains the timid course of Melanchthon by various considerations, but his picture of the "Protestant preceptor of Germany" is so little heroic that one almost regrets its existence in the literature of church history, even though one's love of truth may lead him to admit its faithfulness and remember its unpleasant features. The author seems to enjoy finding Krauth in error where he can, and he is able to do so more than once or twice, for, with all his ability, Krauth always wrote as a partisan rather than as a historian.—*Die Reformation; ihre Begründer und Förderer. Der deutschen Jugend dargeboten von Dr. Hermens.* (Berlin: Graphischer Kunstverlag; pp. 61; bd. M. 5.) The numerous and fine illustrations will render this sketch interesting to young people. But the story is not told with that vivacity and sympathetic insight which one might expect. The most essential facts are all here, from the reformers before the Reformation to the heroes of the Thirty Years' War. In a land where children are expected to learn history by a sort of military drill, perhaps this is all that will be demanded. But for the children of other lands the pages are too dry and the sentences too involved. There is great need of a history of the Reformation adapted to the tastes of the young, with a due admixture of dates, anecdotes, character-sketches, and simple expositions of doctrine.—*Father Hecker.* By Henry D. Sedgwick, Jr. (Boston: Small, Maynard & Co.; pp. xi + 157; \$0.50.) This is one of the "Beacon Biographies," a series of little books intended to give brief readable accounts of the lives of those Americans whose personalities have impressed themselves most deeply on the character and history of their country. Each volume is furnished with a portrait, a calendar of important dates, and a brief bibliography. The series will meet a distinct want in this busy age. To judge of it by the example before me, the writing is fairly well done. Father Hecker is brought before us as a sincere inquirer for religious truth, as seeking it in contact with men of various opinions, and as finding his home at last in the Roman Catholic church. But there, as elsewhere, he was restless and revolutionary. Though an ignorant man, he had power over others, and instituted a society which does much good and creates much questioning and disturbance.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

Nachgelassene Aufgaben für die Theologie des 19. Jahrhunderts. Von R. Seeberg. (Berlin: Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1900; pp. 32; M. 0.50.) Three leading movements of the nineteenth century are here considered in their relation to theology: (1) the application of the historical method with the ideal of development to the Bible and to church history; (2) the advance in empirical psychology; (3) the emergence of the practical spirit, which judges the value of institutions by their efficiency. In all these lines the foundations have been laid for lasting progress. We may expect from historical exegesis an accurate representation of primitive Christianity against the background of the religion of the Old Testament; from a "sacred psychology," light on the problem of the acceptance of historic dogmas; from the practical spirit of the age, a solution of the difficulties due to the union of church and state. A readable and suggestive address.—*Theologie und Kirche.* Von Adolf Deissmann. (Tübingen: Mohr, 1901; pp. 22; M. 0.55.) Modern Protestant theology, in its attempt to become a true science, refuses to recognize ecclesiastical control. Hence the alienation of theology and church. This unfortunate break is to be healed, not by mutual compromise, but by the recognition of theology as the science of religion, and of the church as the promoter of religious life. Genuinely religious theologians and churchmen of truly scientific spirit will not be far apart. A most attractive discussion.—GERALD BIRNEY SMITH.

The Divine Origin of Christianity Indicated by its Historical Effects. By Richard S. Storrs. (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1901; pp. xiv+674; \$2.) This is a reprint of a work which was copyrighted in 1884. Its merits have given it a wide circulation. In ten lectures it treats of the external evidences of the divine origin of Christianity. It sets forth the new conceptions of God, of man, of the duty of man toward God, of man's duty to man, and of the duties of nations toward each other, which the new religion has introduced. It traces the effects of Christianity on the mental culture and moral life of mankind and on the world's hope of progress.—*Oliver Cromwell.* Von Otto Schnizer. (Calw und Stuttgart: Vereinsbuchhandlung, 1901; pp. 283; M. 2.) The introductory chapter gives a résumé of England's ecclesiastical history from Henry VIII. to the end of the reign of James I. This is followed by an account of Cromwell's early years, the rise and character of the Puritans, the unparliamentary reign of Charles I., the meeting of the Long Parliament, the civil war, the reorganization of

the army, the conflict between the Presbyterians and the Independents, the execution of Charles, and the protectorate of Cromwell. Barring here and there an error in date and minor inaccuracies of statement, the German reader will gain from these pages an intelligent view of the great commoner and of the stirring events in which he was the commanding genius.—ERI B. HULBERT.

Christianity as an Ideal. By P. H. Waddell. (London: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1900; pp. 211; 3s. 6d.) The author has his own philosophy of religion, and he presents it "as a contribution toward a liberal theology." He finds the ultimate ground for religion in the inherent necessity for man to posit faith in an ideal. In the older Hebrew thought this idea was presented to the mind as purely external; later there is a development which brings the ideal nearer to humanity. This development culminates in Christ, who presents the ideal as an unrealized possibility within humanity. Man is the son of God: he needs to realize his sonship. Words are inadequate to describe the ideal; it must be set forth in terms of character and life. Therefore Christ taught no creed. The infinite task of the church in every generation is to present the ideal in terms of conduct and character. Pursuit of the ideal is its own reward. The present transition in religious thinking is due to a transfer of emphasis from a creedal expression to a character-expression of the ideal. There are many luminous sentences in the book; while, on the other hand, there are whole paragraphs where one is not quite sure just what the author means—words are such poor vehicles for philosophical ideas as well as for the religious ideal. However, the general movement of the book is clear, and especially the concluding chapter, where the author is dealing with the problem of transition, or, as he calls it, "The Return of the Ideal." —HENRY T. COLESTOCK.

Aspects of Revelation, being the *Baldwin Lectures* for 1900. By Chauncey B. Brewster. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901; pp. 304; \$1.50.) The seven lectures, delivered on the Baldwin foundation before the students of the University of Michigan, bear the titles: (1) "A Revelation in Nature;" (2) "A Revelation in Man;" (3) "A Revelation that Reveals;" (4) "A Revelation of Personality;" (5) "A Progressive Revelation;" (6) "The Revelation Consummated: God in Christ;" (7) "The Revelation Continued: Christ in Man." Revelation is conceived, not as the mechanical impartation of intellectual

propositions, but as the personal relationship between God and man. The third lecture contains an admirable discussion of the theory of knowledge, with a keen criticism of positivism. Throughout the book emphasis is laid on the fact that revelation can be appropriated only by the exercise of religious faith. The last two lectures are somewhat disappointing, partly because they must treat great themes in a very cursory fashion, but especially because the author apparently does not appreciate the difficulties which many men find in the way of accepting *in toto* the New Testament miracles and the Nicene theology. His protest against Ritschlianism leads him to the verge of a metaphysical tritheism. As a whole, however, the book is a suggestive and wholesome discussion of a difficult theme.—GERALD BIRNEY SMITH.

The Fact of Christ. By P. Carnegie Simpson. (Chicago: Revell, 1901; pp. 208; \$1.25.) This volume consists of a series of six lectures given before a public class on Sunday evenings. Their aim: to satisfy the honest doubts of inquiring minds concerning the real meaning of Christ. The author seeks to realize his aim in a thoroughly thoughtful discussion, combining with the evangelical a philosophical spirit. The first lecture deals with the data of Christianity, namely: the fact of the historical Christ; the second, with what the fact of Christ is, namely: his greatness as estimated by "the extent of his influence upon mankind, and by the purity and dignity of his character;" the third, fourth, and fifth, with the meanings of the fact, (1) "for moral life and character," (2) for a foundation of faith—"for some real assurance concerning a God," and (3) for the fact of sin; the last chapter applies the conclusions reached to the question: "What is a Christian?" The book is a very helpful one and deserves to be widely read, especially by such as need a firmer basis for Christian faith.—E. C. KUNKLE.

Der Menschheit Zukunft. Tod, Auferstehung, jüngstes Gericht, Weltende, Hölle und Himmel, im Lichte der Bibel. Von Heinrich Ebeling. (Zwickau: Herrmann, 1900; pp. v + 223; M. 2.60.) As sources for the knowledge of the last things the author uses citations from all the books of the Bible, apocryphal as well as canonical, and he does this without noting any distinction of authority or value. His position is orthodox to the extreme of literalism. He is not content to treat the usual questions in eschatology; he raises and undertakes to answer from the Bible questions the most curious and even puerile.

For example, he devotes a paragraph to the question, "What will be the size of the bodies of those who are raised from the dead?" He answers by saying that they will be the same in size as they were before death, giving as a reason that, if a larger or smaller body should be raised up, it would not be the same body that died. This view he then confirms by a proof-text from Rev. 20:12, "And I saw the dead, *the great and the small*, standing before the throne." Another question which he discusses and answers is this: "Werden die Weiber als Weiber auferstehen?"—*Messiah's Second Advent: A Study in Eschatology*. By Calvin Goodspeed. (Toronto: Briggs, 1900; pp. 288; \$1.) On reading this book, one finds that it is not a discussion of the second advent, pure and simple, a scientific study of the data to be found on this subject in the New Testament. It is an attempted refutation of the premillennial view of the second coming, and is constructed wholly from that point of view. The two chapters on "The Ever-Imminent Coming of Our Lord" constitute the most valuable part of the book. For, while here, as throughout, opposing the premillennial view, the author makes some suggestions as to the difficulty involved in those sayings of Christ and the apostles which seem to imply that the second coming would take place in their day. He says that special providential visitations of the Lord are spoken of in the New Testament as a "coming;" that the Lord is said to "come" to his people when they die; that the Lord declares he would "come" in the coming of his spirit. He further and strikingly says: "There *was* a 'coming' which *was* imminent, viz., the grand stroke of Providence in the destruction of Jerusalem. And there *is* a 'coming' which *is* always imminent, namely, death; and at this 'coming' our destiny will be fixed for the grander 'coming' which is to follow" at the last day. These suggestions are not new, and, while they are perhaps true, they do not furnish a satisfactory solution of the difficulty involved in the language of Jesus and the apostles concerning the second coming in the generation then living. The arrangement of the matter and the method of treatment might be improved. The style is such as to make the book rather hard to read. However, the author undoubtedly succeeds in showing the untenableness of the premillennial view, and yet he maintains throughout the discussion the spirit and temper of the Christian and lover of truth.—GROSS ALEXANDER.

Old Creeds and New Beliefs. By W. H. Gray. (Edinburgh: Blackmoor & Sons, 1899; pp. 305; 5s.) The author admits that

great changes have been taking place during the last fifty years in all our evangelical churches on very important subjects, such as, *e. g.*, God's character and dealings with his children, our Lord's work in their behalf, the function and authority of our sacred Scriptures, man's early history on earth, and his after-life in heaven or hell. It is a time when full discussion of these subjects should be welcomed and encouraged. The author disclaims being a theologian or speaking with ecclesiastical authority, but says he has thought out these subjects for himself, mostly after having given up the active duties of the ministry. Recognizing that he has "drifted from the old moorings," he yet holds to the essentials of the traditional faith. His main object is to show that, while the love of the Godhead is a holy love, it is a love which extends to all God's "earthly children," and which endures forever; to emphasize the fact that the "adversaries of our holy faith do not, by denying the miraculous, get quit of the supernatural in connection with Christ and Christianity." There remains "the spiritually supernatural." The book is well written. But one feels that it is not quite up-to-date nor sufficiently impressed with the more serious problems arising from criticism, evolution, and a monistic ethic and philosophy.—*The Atonement*. By Borden P. Bowne. (Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings, 1900; pp. 152; \$0.50.) This book is due—so the author says—"to the conviction that the gracious truth in the doctrine has often been hidden from us by theological theories which, while well-meant, are really confusing or misleading." The author's aim—a praiseworthy one—is to help troubled minds which have not learned to distinguish between the Christian fact and the theological theory. The latter is not of faith, but of speculation. Bowne practically identifies atonement with the forgiveness of sin, and holds that the only condition of the divine forgiveness is the human repentance. While recognizing the merit of the book, and heartily commending it to pastors and thoughtful Christians generally, I yet think that the problem is not so easy as Professor Bowne would have us believe. For whatever God does, be it to forgive or to punish, the *whole* of God must do. But in divine nature there is *righteous indignation* against sin. One can see how easy it would be for love and nothing but love, as Professor Bowne defines it, to forgive; but the *crux* of the matter is, How can moral indignation *forgive*? How can that which would function punitively function forgivingly? At this point his treatment of the subject is inadequate.—*Die Loci Communes Philipp Melanchthons* in ihrer Urgestalt nach G. L. Plitt in dritter Auflage von neuem herausgegeben

und erläutert von Th. Kolde. (Leipzig : Deichert, 1900 ; pp. x + 267 ; M. 3.50.) The first edition of Plitt's work appeared in 1864 ; the second edition was issued by Kolde in 1889, and the third in 1900. The historical introduction by Kolde is an entirely new piece of work of fifty-five pages. It is mainly occupied with the *Entwicklungsgang* of Melancthon, but there is also a glance at the beginnings of the Protestant apprehension of Scripture. The peculiarity of the third edition is Kolde's return to the *Loci* of 1521 as the *editio princeps*. Kolde has taken great pains to give us the text as accurately as possible. "Biblical and other citations are revised." The book is of real value to students of Melancthon and of the Reformation period in general. — *Ueber den fundamentalen Unterschied der Ritschlschen und der kirchlichen Theologie*. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ethik. Zwei Vorlesungen. Von Ernst Haack. (Schwerin, i. M.: Bahn, 1897 ; pp. 56. M. 0.90.) (1) The Lutheran-ecclesiastical doctrine is instructive as to how a poor sinner comes to grace, and becomes certain of salvation ; the Ritschlian doctrine purports to show how the spiritual personality gains dominion over the world and becomes a whole of its kind. (2) The former makes sin great that grace may seem great ; the latter makes sin little that grace may be superfluous. (3) The former attributes all to God and nothing to man, and makes the heart humble and obedient ; the latter glories in its own moral power and makes character self-conscious. (4) The former believes in the incarnate, eternal Son of God ; the latter "believes *how* the Son of man came to be valued with the title of a god — the religious hero-of human history." (5) The former rests on miraculous, historical, redemptive deeds of God ; the latter on the experiential facts of the Christian consciousness formed by training in the *Gemeinde*. (6) The former confesses to a real conviction in the *living* God of the Bible ; the latter, to the *idea* of God. (7) The former is content with God ; the latter will have God, and be master of the world besides. (8) The former yearns for heaven ; the latter knows nothing of the *Heimweh* of the children of God — is a religion of *Diesseitigkeit*. (8) The former preaches repentance and conversion ; the latter, morality and strenuous will. (10) The former knows itself one with all the children of God from the beginning, and recognizes in the forms and externalizations of mediæval piety the work of the *one* spirit of Jesus Christ ; the latter holds that the true ideal of piety was first discovered in the sixteenth century, and consummated in the nineteenth. (11) The former is grievous to the natural man ; the latter has done away with the *scandalum*

crucis—is a *theologia gloriae*, of which one need not be ashamed in comparison with the modern *Weltanschauung*. Such is the substance of this partisan book, a Lutheran polemic and something of a caricature of Ritschl. The author concludes as follows: "The crowds go after Ritschl because, in the hard conflict between an unabridged gospel and the modern view of the world, they have lost foothold and confidence. But the church of God is built on a supernatural foundation; therefore it will be an offense to the naturalism of the old man as long as *one* stone of this foundation remains, and it will fall if one removes this foundation and substitutes therefor building stones hewn from the natural-historical development." A detailed criticism of the statements of the author would carry us too far afield, since it would involve a discussion of the two points of view of orthodoxy and Ritschlianism.—GEORGE B. FOSTER.

The Doctrine of the Real Presence. A Letter about the Recent Declaration of the English Church Union and its Appended Notes. Reprinted with additional remarks. By William Ince. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900; pp. 32; 6d.) The authors of the declaration in favor of transubstantiation recently adopted by the English Church Union had the misfortune to quote several of the early Anglican divines in defense of the doctrine. The writer of this letter takes them sharply to task for misrepresentation. They also had the misfortune to appeal to some of the Fathers of the Christian church, and here the writer accuses them of one-sided interpretation. He appears to make his contention good in both cases.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

Martin Luthers Stellung zum Socialismus. Von August Heinrich Braasch. (= "Beiträge z. Kampf um die Weltanschauung," 2. u. 3. Heft.) (Berlin: Schwetschke, 1897; pp. viii + 180; M. 3.) This is a controversial brochure elicited by a speech of F. Naumann. The German Protestants, compelled by socialism to restudy social problems, are turning much attention to the writings of the great Reformer who, in his own way, discussed almost every social question of his age with great force and evangelical faith. The author discusses the attitude of Luther to capitalism, private property, prices, usury, trade, church and state, education, beggars, and the Peasants' War. The summary and citations are useful to one who would go over the ground for orientation and further investigation.—*Jesus Christ and the Social Question.* By Francis G. Peabody. (New York: Macmillan, 1900; pp. viii +

374; \$1.50.) The topics are weighty: "The Comprehensiveness of the Teaching of Jesus;" "The Social Principles of That Teaching;" "The Special Doctrine of the Family, of the Rich, of Charitable Work, of the Industrial Order;" and "The Correlation of All These Teachings." The style is charming and clear; the illustrations are apt and instructive. Perhaps one of the most valuable contributions to the subject of the volume is the treatment of German thought on the relations of religion to the social problems of our time. The student of social ethics will be stimulated at every point. The preacher will have before him a model of harmonious, sane, and inspiring expression of the application of Christianity to life.—*Die Aufgabe des evangelischen Geistlichen gegenüber den sozialen Problemen der Gegenwart.* Von A. F. Hoerner. (Leipzig: Richter, 1900; pp. 56; M. 0.60.) An intelligent sketch of the new ethical problems presented by changed industrial conditions and the formation of secondary social classes. The author is opposed to preaching specific economic and political creeds in the name of Christianity. He is conservative, even timid, but earnest in pleading for a sermon that will take hold of living men; that will instruct the conscience, yet not pretend to decide problems which belong to experts in the several sciences and in responsible social offices.—*Christentum und sittlich-soziale Lebensfragen.* Von Carl Bonhoff. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1900; pp. 100; M. 1.60.) These lectures belong to the mediating, liberal tendency of thought in the German state church. The theologian considers the central truths of Christianity in the light of science and philosophy. He seeks to answer the objections of educated men based on the narrowness of Christianity, on its alleged limitations in relation to the demands and interests of society, and to the higher ideals of personality, duty, and culture. The essential points of the mental conflict between modern thinking and traditional church conceptions of the Bible, of education, art, and civil duties, are presented by a man of learning and faith.—*Holy Matrimony.* By W. J. Knox Little. (= "The Oxford Library of Practical Theology," edited by W. C. E. Newbolt and D. Stone.) (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900; pp. xii + 296; \$1.50.) This volume belongs to the literature of edification and counsel. It is in a series of works on practical theology, written for "devout laymen who desire instruction, but are not attracted by the learned treatises which appeal to the theologians" (editor's preface). The Anglican doctrine of marriage and of domestic obligations is presented in elegant English dress.—C. R. HENDERSON.

Das innere Leben oder der Verkehr des Christen mit Gott und Menschen. Von Richard Löber. Dritte, gänzlich umgearbeitete Auflage. (Gotha: Schloessmann, 1900; pp. 360; M. 6.) The title of this work indicates clearly its scope. It treats of the Christian life in its inmost nature and in its manifold expressions as determined by that nature. It is thus comprehensive. It is also popular, not scholastic. The author has long been a preacher and pastor. He is a profound theologian, but his theology finds its fit expression through Christian life. With Christian experience in its roots, growth, and fruitage he has a minute acquaintance. His power of exposition and explanation is unusual, whether dealing with the life's inmost principles or its outward expression. He has a rare power of apt illustration from almost every field of human knowledge. The author knows what others have said of Christian experience, and has been a close observer of all forms of Christian life, normal and abnormal, genuine and spurious. But obviously it is his own experience which has first and chiefly made him familiar with that life. This enables him to speak and write with a singular clearness, directness, and assurance, as one having a valid authority. It never occurs to him to draw a distinction between the teaching of his consciousness and that of Holy Scripture, because they are the same in kind. This most thoughtful, thorough, inspiring, readable discussion treats of "the inner Christian life" under the following heads: its nature; the prime condition of its origin ("man's reception into the inner life of God"); its reality as opposed to an empty imagination; its preparation in antecedent experience; its sources; its birth and unfolding; its "high points" (or seasons of extraordinary intensity); its sicknesses and death; and its ultimate completeness. As an aid to the cultivation of one's own Christian life there are few, if any, better discussions. The minister of Christ will find the treatise invaluable in many ways. If it were translated into adequate and idiomatic English and published in a suitable form, it could hardly fail to have a wide sale and a wholesome influence.—GEO. D. B. PEPPER.

Die seelsorgerliche Diagnose. Von Bernard Liebermann. (Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing, 1900; pp. ix + 194; M. 3.) This book will prove interesting and helpful to pastors who believe that, in a time when the masses are turning away from religion and the church, the Christian pastor has the special mission to win back as many as he can, and that the means through which this is to be accomplished is

personal contact. The book lays special emphasis upon the value and success of such personal pastoral work. It is written on broad lines, taking account of the whole of man's moral and social life as it is seen in Christian communities. It points out the psychological as well as the physiological characteristics of the whole catalogue of sins which poison the soul and are at the bottom of all the antagonism to religion. A special feature of the book is the many examples, drawn either from the personal experiences of the author, who is a pastor in Hannover, or gathered from the standard works on pastoral theology. The author has the Augustinian view of sin and knows but one reliable remedy for its cure—the Christ-life in the soul of man.—*Der Glaube. Ein Beitrag zur Reform des Katechismusunterrichts.* Von Bernard Dörries. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901; pp. ix + 334; M. 4.80.) In this book an attempt has been made—and the success of it may be inferred from the fact that the third edition of the book is before us in review—to interpret the scripture doctrines of creation, the person and work of Christ, and the office and work of the Holy Spirit in the light of Ritschl's system of doctrine. The author declares himself to be an ardent follower of Ritschl, and calls his book a contribution toward the reform of the Lutheran Catechism, because he has selected the statements of the doctrines just mentioned as they are usually taught from Luther's Short Catechism. The expressed purpose of this book is to give pastors and teachers who are charged with teaching Luther's Catechism, and who are in sympathy with Ritschlian views, a connected and popular exposition of these views and so aid in popularizing them. The book is very clearly written, but one feels at times that the great German Reformer would protest most emphatically against the construction put on some of his doctrinal statements, if he were allowed to read them.—ALBERT J. RAMAKER.

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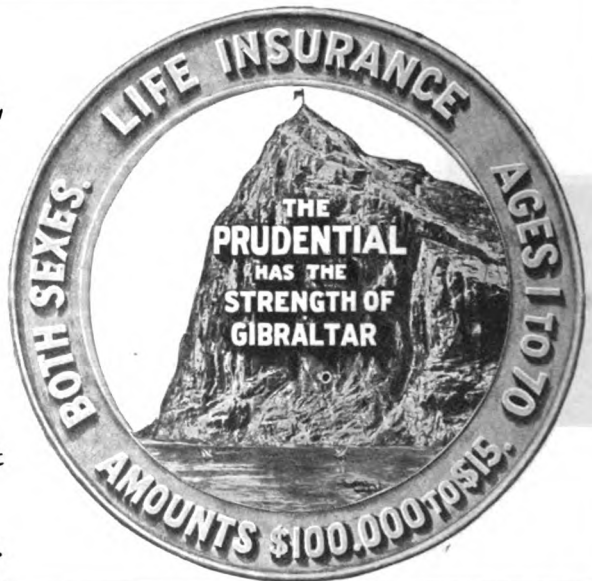
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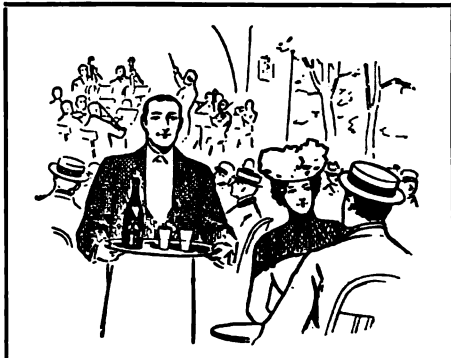
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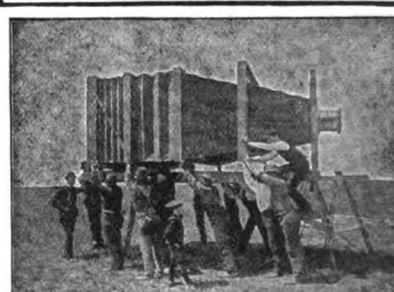
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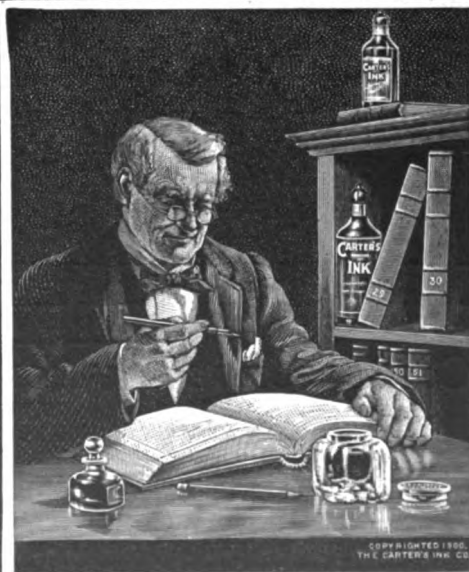
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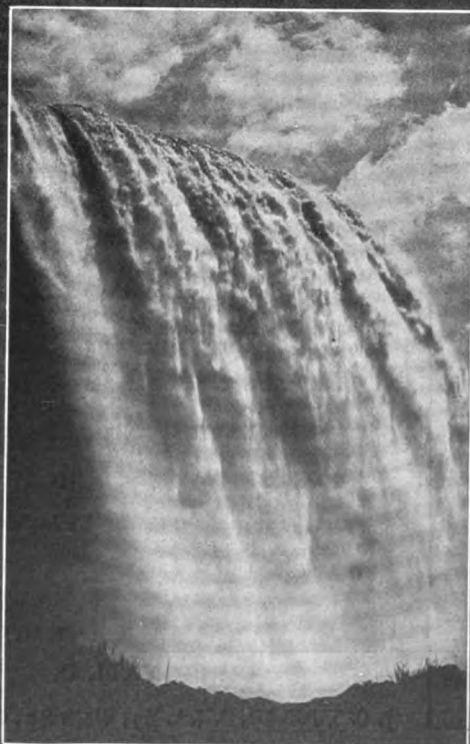
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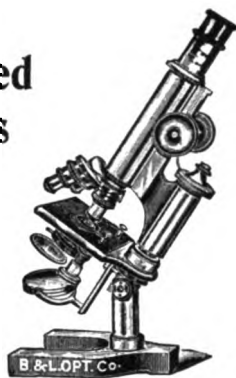
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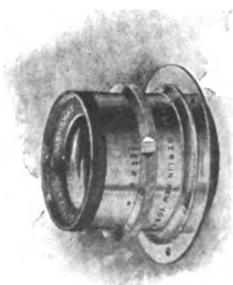
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John V. Shoemaker, M.D., LL.D., *Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics in the Medico-Chirurgical College of Philadelphia, etc., in the New York Medical Journal, June, 22, 1899:*

"The **BUFFALO LITHIA WATER** is doubly efficient in **Rheumatism and Gout.** It dissolves **Uric Acid and Phosphatic** sediments, as well as other products difficult of elimination, while at the same time it exerts a moderately stimulant effect upon the renal cells, and thereby facilitates the swift removal of insoluble materials from the body. Without such action insoluble substances will precipitate in the Kidneys and Bladder. The intense suffering produced by **Stone**, together with consecutive **pyelitis and cystitis**, are avoided by prompt elimination. Unquestionably, although the speedy removal of **Uric Acid** and other products of faulty tissue change is of conspicuous benefit, yet to **PREVENT** their formation is a service still more important. **This service is performed by the BUFFALO LITHIA WATER** when it corrects those digestive failures which are responsible for the production of deleterious materials."

The late Hunter McGuire, M.D., LL.D., *Formerly President and Professor of Clinical Surgery, University College of Medicine, Richmond, Va., and Ex-President of the American Medical Association, says:*

"**BUFFALO LITHIA WATER** as an alkaline diuretic is invaluable. In **Uric Acid Gravel**, and indeed in diseases generally dependent upon a **Uric Acid Diathesis**, it is a remedy of extraordinary potency. I have prescribed it in cases of **Rheumatic Gout** which had resisted the ordinary remedies, with wonderfully good results. I have used it also in my own case, being a great sufferer from this malady, and have derived more benefit from it than from any other remedy."

Dr. P. B. Barringer, *Professor of Physiology and Surgery, University of Virginia:*

"In more than twenty years of practice I have used **Lithia** as an anti-uric acid agent many times, and have tried it in a great variety of forms, both in the **NATURAL WATERS and in TABLETS.** As the result of this experience, I have no hesitation in stating that for prompt results I have found nothing to compare with **BUFFALO LITHIA WATER** in preventing uric acid deposits in the body. My experience with it as a solvent of old existing deposits (calculi) has been relatively limited, and I hesitate to compare it here with other forms to their disadvantage; but for the **BUFFALO LITHIA WATER STANDS ALONE.**"

Dr. Thomas H. Buckler, of Paris (Formerly of Baltimore), *Suggestor of Lithia as a Solvent for Uric Acid, says:*

"Nothing I could say would add to the well-known reputation of the **BUFFALO LITHIA WATER.** I have frequently used it with good results in **URIC ACID DIATHESIS, RHEUMATISM, and GOUT,** and with this object I have ordered it to Europe. **Lithia** is in no form so valuable as where it exists in the carbonate, the form in which **BUFFALO LITHIA WATER,** nature's mode of solution and division in it is found in **BUFFALO LITHIA WATER,** water which has passed through **Lepidolite and Spondumne Mineral formations.**"

Dr. J. W. Mallet, *Professor of Chemistry, University of Virginia.* Extract from report of analysis of **Calculi** discharged by patients under the action of **BUFFALO LITHIA WATER** Spring No. 2.

"It seems on the whole probable that the action of the water is **PRIMARILY and MAINLY EXERTED upon URIC ACID AND THE URATES,** but when these constituents occur along with and as cementing matter to **Phosphatic or Oxalic Calculus materials,** the latter may be so detached and broken down as to disintegrate the **Calculus** as a whole in these cases, also thus admitting of **Urethral discharge.**"

James L. Cabell, M.D., A.M., LL.D., *Formerly Professor of Physiology and Surgery in the Medical Department of the University of Virginia, and President of the National Board of Health, says:*

"**BUFFALO LITHIA WATER** in **Uric Acid Diathesis** is a well-known therapeutic resource. It should be recognized by the profession as an article of **Materia Medica.**"

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